Perspectives on the
AFRICAN DIASPORA

SECOND EDITION

Volume Two: Since 1800

Edited by
EMORY J. TOLBERT

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Emory J. Tolbert
HOWARD UNIVERSITY

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The editor also thanks the many authors and publishers who have granted permission to present their work in this collection.

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INTRODUCTION

by

Emory J. Tolbert

This is the second volume of a collection of essays and documents on the history of the African Diaspora. By 1800, the period when this volume begins, the African diaspora was well established in many parts of the world. Black communities of long standing continued in India and other parts of Asia, while African communities in the western hemisphere had grown to include millions struggling for release from slavery and status as citizens. Antislavery activities within the African diaspora and in Europe led to the establishment of colonies on the African continent to receive diaspora blacks who were returning to Africa from nations where they had been brought as slaves or immigrated as free men and women. The best known were Sierra Leone and Liberia on the west coast of Africa, and Freretown on the east.

The African diaspora in the west eventually developed Pan-African and Black Nationalist movements that were reflected in political organizations and cultural initiatives. Indeed, the concepts of Negritude and Pan-Africanism sprang from the western hemisphere diaspora during the early decades of the twentieth century as Blacks in many nations sought a relationship with their ancestral homelands. Leaders like William E. B. Du Bois and Marcus Garvey built movements to address the colonization and exploitation of the African Continent that followed the Berlin Conference in 1885. The ensuing "Scramble for Africa" brought European domination during the decades that followed.

Part One discusses various frameworks or approaches to the study of the African Diaspora. This section begins with three maps that are based on the research of Joseph E. Harris, Distinguished Professor of History at Howard University. These maps offer a comprehensive picture of the major movements of diaspora people over the centuries from Africa to various parts of the world, and back to Africa as well. An essay by Professor Harris follows. Dr. Harris presents the Comparative approach, which looks at various African communities in the diaspora (as well as those in Africa) in search of similarities and differences that might inform our understanding of their historical development. The emphasis is on African diaspora people as not only the major focus of slavery and the slave trade from the Age of Discovery to the late nineteenth century, but also as leaders in crusades against oppression and builders and contributors to every society they entered.

Part Two is an essay on servitude in Africa that questions the casual use of the term "slave" to describe the many varieties of "dependant" relationships in African societies. Dr. Joseph E. Inikori, Professor of History at the University of Rochester, challenges historians to become as creative in examining African social and political relationships as they have been in their discussions of European societies. This would include applying old terms and constructs like "serf" and "serfdom" to African societies when describing people whose status was like that of Europe's non-slave yet unfree workers of medieval times. Some instances require coining new terms that recognize, when appropriate, the differences between the social institutions of African nations and those of Europe or the Americas. Inikori suggests that the terms "slave" or "slavery" when used too broadly do not adequately describe the people or institutions of Africa.

Part Three is a selection that examines the vision of Africa and the retention of African cultural traits (Africanisms) among enslaved Blacks in the American South. Margaret Washington Creel's "Gullah Attitudes Toward Death and The Supernatural" is an account of the beliefs of the often-studied Gullah people of the islands off the coasts of Georgia and South Carolina. Their relative isolation from the mainland allowed for a greater retention of African terms and customs than can be seen in other parts of the United States. Gullah practices regarding the treatment of the dying and the burying of the dead closely resembled those of the BaKongo and other African societies, even when the terms they used reflected their conversion to Christianity.

Part Four consists of essays and documents reflecting the views of American Blacks regarding emigration to Africa during the nineteenth century. In some western hemisphere nations, travel to and from Africa by non-slave Blacks who had the means was a fairly common practice. This was especially true in the case of Brazil and the African states that now comprise Nigeria. In the United States, emigration back to Africa was a controversial topic among both Blacks and Whites. Some Blacks, especially Frederick Douglass, the former slave who became the leading voice of Black America, believed that emigration to Africa would not solve the problems of enslavement and discrimination facing Blacks in the United States. Miles Mark Fisher's article, "Deep River," explores the lyrics of songs by enslaved Africans on the plantations of Virginia and the Carolinas during the period of early migration to Liberia. These enslaved Africans were well aware of the campaign of the American Colonization Society to recruit and send freed Blacks to Liberia, a nation on the west coast of Africa that had been created to receive them. Fisher finds that lyrics about "crossing over" were sometimes references to crossing the Atlantic and returning to Africa, and that songs about "Moses" and "Daniel" concealed exhortations about liberation from slavery.

Also favoring emigration was a vocal and articulate minority of free Blacks, including a group in Baltimore, Maryland, who in 1827 appealed to the Whites of the city to help them to go to Africa. This was also true of Alexander Crummell, who emigrated to Liberia and became a leading educator, Martin Delaney, an important recruiter for African emigration, and Bishop Henry Turner, a Black clergyman who became the leading advocate for Black emigration after the Civil War.

Part Five examines the state of Black America during the process of emancipation from slavery and afterward. Edna Greene Medford, Associate Professor of History at Howard University, looks at the dilemma of free Blacks in slave-holding Virginia during the Civil War. As residents of the Confederacy, their status as non-slave Blacks invoked suspicion from their White neighbors. Their challenge was to protect their families and possessions as much as possible while giving support whenever possible to the Union cause and the end of slavery.

Regina T. Akers, a historian with the United States Navy, explores the end of slavery in Washington D.C. during the Civil War and the implications of that event for Black participation in the military. Lincoln's reluctant agreement to admit Blacks into the Union military in 1863 was an essential ingredient in the Union victory according to many American historians.

In Part Six Linda M. Heywood, Associate Professor of History at Howard University, and Joseph P. Reidy, Professor of History at Howard, discuss the role of blacks in the economies of western hemisphere nations after emancipation. The end of slavery occurs at different times in Mexico (1820s) the British West Indies (1833), the United States (1865) and Brazil and Cuba (1880s). Yet in these economies and others Blacks continue to play an important role as industrialization and commerce proceed. Heywood and Reidy discuss the plight of workers, the patterns of migration, the development of unions and protest movements, and many other topics extending to the 1960s.

In Part Seven, two specialists in European history, Allison Blakely, Professor of History at Howard University and Dana Hale, Assistant Professor of History at Howard, discuss images of Africa and Africans in Dutch and French culture. Blakely uses definitions and descriptions of Blacks in Dutch dictionaries and other reference books, as well as representations in Dutch art, to examine a variety of racial attitudes and beliefs. Dutch views are important because of the far-flung colonial empire they acquired - an empire that included millions of dark-skinned and black-skinned people. Their opinions of blackness appear to be mostly negative, as illustrated in the negative connotations of Dutch words related to black people and the color black, as well as negative images in art and advertising.

Dana Hale focuses on the French view of Africans as presented in product labels and advertising during the late nineteenth century, and as illustrated in "African" exhibits at the 1900 Paris World's Fair. Placed on display and critically examined, Africans from nations the French had recently colonized were judged on their ability to learn French and appreciate French culture. French trademarks for tropical products often included images of blacks, both realistic and caricatured. Advertisements for cleaning products sometimes included references that equated blackness with being dirty. Dr. Hale concludes that French commentators and officials supported the so-called "civilizing mission" of their nation, offering positive appraisals of Africans who cooperated in the colonization process, while condemning those who resisted as "uncivilized" and possibly beyond redemption.

Part Eight looks at aspects of African diaspora history in Cuba andPuerto Rico. In the first essay, Louis Perez revisits the 1912 "race war" in Cuba. Black Cubans and West Indian immigrants had played a major role in the war for independence against Spain. After the war, Blacks found themselves stripped of their status in the military and shut out of the political process. The "war" that followed, Perez says, was deliberately characterized as a race war by Cuba's White power elite, who used the rhetoric to galvanize opposition to Black demands and put down the rebellion.

Ibrahim K. Sundiata, Chairman of the History Department at Howard University, examines the roles of Africans and African culture on the Caribbean island of Puerto Rico. Like others in the Spanish-speaking African diaspora of the Americas, Puerto Ricans developed a view of their culture as the merging of three cultures: European, Amerindian and African. Sundiata observes that Puerto Rico underwent a program of "whitening" through the recruiting of White immigrants that resulted in a "White" majority. Puerto Rico's relationship with the United States, a nation in which the people of Puerto Rico also hold citizenship, further complicated the picture. Now Puerto Ricans sought to define themselves as other than "Negro" in a nation where racial discrimination based primarily on African origins continued to prevail.

Part Nine discusses women in the African diaspora. In the first essay, Rosalyn Terborg Penn, Professor of History at Morgan State University, points out the differences between the African slave trade among men and women. The "diaspora" must include Africans remaining on the continent if the circumstances of women are to be considered. The internal trade (on the African continent) was heavily female, much more than the trans-Atlantic trade. Dr. Terborg Penn calls for the development of new paradigms in the study of diaspora women.

The next essay, written by journalist and historian Paula Giddings, surveys the club movement among African American women during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Their fight against the defamation of Black women, and for the social and political concerns they chose to champion, publicized issues that remain current many decades later. Giddings discusses the views of outspoken leaders like Mary Church Terrell, Josephine St.

Pierre Ruffin, Ida B. Wells and others as they challenge racism in American society and sexism among both White and Black men.

Elizabeth Clark Lewis, an Associate Professor of History at Howard University and a specialist in public history, wrote the last essay in this section. Using oral history interviews with women who were a part of the Great Migration of American Blacks to the Northern states during the 1910-1960 period, Dr. Clark Lewis reveals the dilemmas these women faced and the solutions they developed. She concludes that Black women were proactive in their search for "A Better Life for Me."

Part Ten consists of essays on Pan-Africanism and Garveyism. The first essay, written by the late Clarence Contee, who was Associate Professor of History at Howard, shows W.E.B. Du Bois's development into a Pan-African leader by revealing his role and the roles of others in the first Pan-African Conference in London. Beginning with the first meeting, in which his role was not central, Du Bois went on to convene the very important Pan-African meetings of the 1920s. In the next essay, S. O. Arifalo surveys the history of the Pan-African Movement and the organizations that grew out of it, including the Organization of African Unity.

The next two essays were written by Emory J. Tolbert, Professor of History at Howard University and chairman of the department from 1991 to 1998. The first presents an overview of the Garvey movement, the most important and largest mass movement among the African diaspora during the 1920s. The second examines the campaign against Marcus Garvey as conducted by J. Edgar Hoover and the Bureau of Investigation within the US Justice Department. In the end, Garvey's imprisonment and eventual expulsion from the United States came as a result of a decision to curtail the domestic and international growth of his movement by defaming its leader.

Part Eleven is the work of two senior scholars in Howard University's History Department. The first essay is by Dr. Arnold Taylor, Professor of History and chairman of the department from 1981 to 1987. He surveys the African American reaction to accusations of "slavery" against the Liberian government during the 1930s. Some American Blacks had seen Liberia as a refuge in earlier years. That nation's position as one of the two remaining "independent" nations on the continent (Ethiopia was the other) made it especially significant to the African American press, civil rights leaders, and Black opinion leaders in general.

Dr. Joseph Harris looks at the Black American reaction to the crisis in Ethiopia when Italy, under the leadership of Mussolini, successfully invaded the nation. Like Liberia, Ethiopia had symbolic significance to Black Americans, who showed their frustration in riots, angry protests, and pro-Ethiopian fund raising.

Part Twelve presents the speeches and writings of two important leaders in the struggle for independence in two West African nations, Nigeria and Ghana. Nnamdi Azikiwe and Kwame Nkrumah both attended Lincoln University in Pennsylvania, the oldest historically Black college in the United States. Azikiwe also attended high school at a Black school, also in Pennsylvanian, and later attended Howard University. Their recollections of America clearly establish the diaspora connection with African leadership.

Also in Part Twelve is an account of Malcolm X's travels in Africa during the last months of his life. His speeches and interviews reflect his transition from a nationalist to an internationalist .

Part Thirteen is an essay by Gordon K. Lewis. He examines attempts at federation among the British colonies in the Caribbean. He concludes that strong nationalist sentiments coupled with the lingering belief in the "civilizing mission" of the British Empire worked against the success of the "federal venture."

Part Fourteen is an essay by Stokely Carmichael and Charles V. Hamilton explaining the "Black Power" philosophy of the 1960s. The movement coincided with the growing success of independence movements on the African continent and in the Caribbean. In the United States, a growing appreciation of Africa and anticolonial movements worldwide, coupled with a new spirit of pride in African heritage, helped to fuel this new movement.

Part Fifteen is commentary by two distinguished scholars on issues of importance to the present African diaspora. Dr. Elliott Skinner, the Franz Boas Professor of Anthropology at Columbia University, discusses African immigrants to the United States and their status compared to the millions from around the world who preceded them. Dr. Ibrahim K. Sundiata looks at the film "Amistad" as a popular theatrical presentation of the slave trade by examining both the film and its makers. In a second essay, Dr. Sundiata offers an analysis of the debate on "Afrocentrism" that currently occupies scholars in history, classics and other fields.

This volume offers an introduction to some of the major themes of the African diaspora. This area of study has undergone substantial growth in recent years as universities in the United States and other parts of the world have begun to devote courses and programs to the subject. Howard University continues its role in developing a field where its scholars have been pioneers. This volume is evidence of that ongoing pursuit.

PART ONE

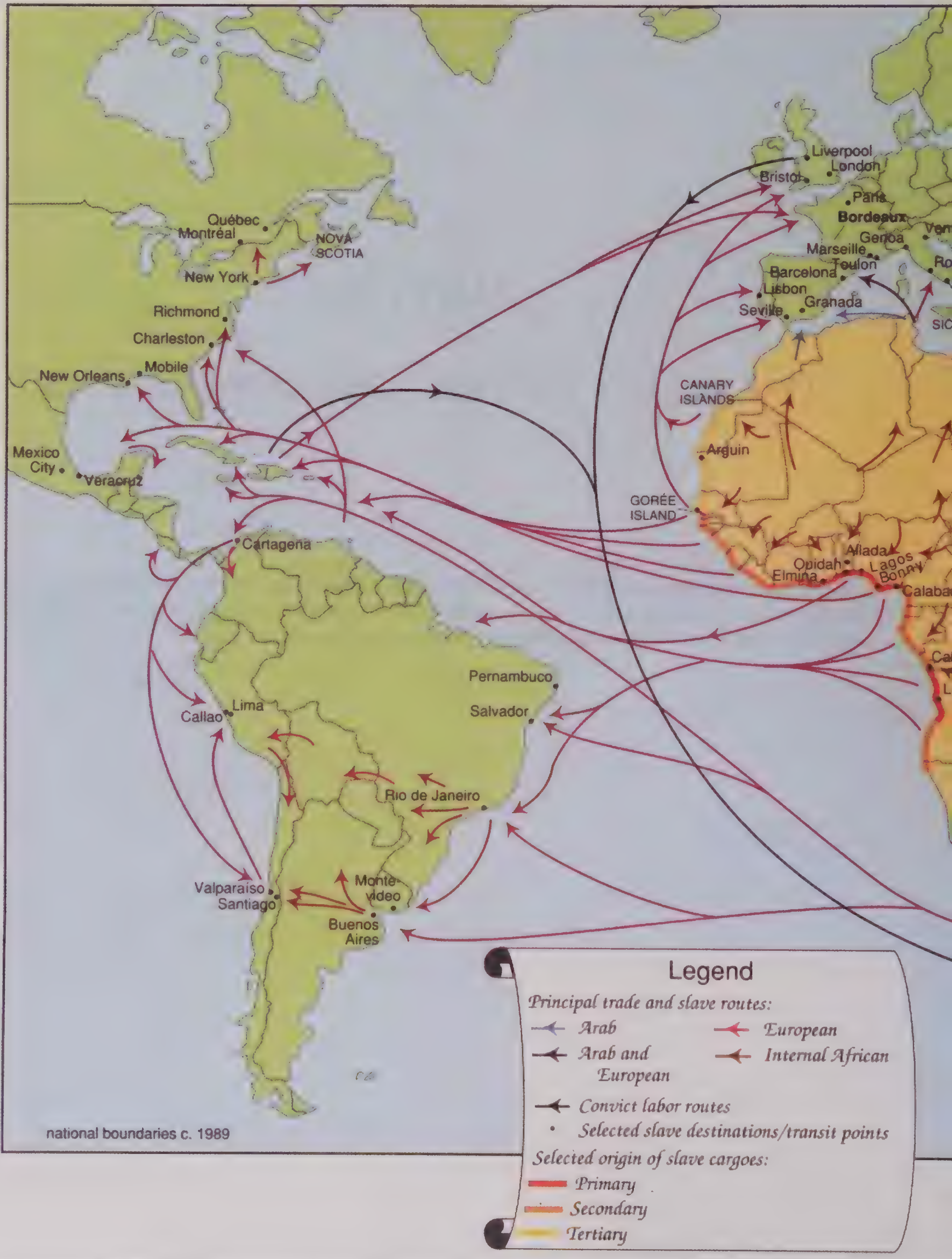
THE STUDY OF THE AFRICAN DIASPORA

[The] comparative approach clearly has potential for the history of Africa and its influence abroad; it also promises to provide a more realistic perspective on the history of Africa as well as the areas in which the African presence was established - Europe, the Americas and Asia.

Joseph E. Harris

The African Diaspora Map — I

Based on research by Joseph E. Harris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New York
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Charleston
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Mexico City
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Pernambuco
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Lima
Callao
Rio de Janeiro
Valparaiso
Santiago
Monte-video
Buenos Aires
Liverpool
London
Bristol
Paris
Bordeaux
Genoa
Marseille
Toulon
Barcelona
Lisbon
Granada
Seville
CANARY ISLANDS
Arguin
GORÉE ISLAND
Allada
Ouidah
Elmina
Lagos
Bonny
national boundaries c. 1989
Legend
Principal trade and slave routes:
Arab
European
Arab and European
Internal African
Convict labor routes
Selected slave destinations/transit points
Selected origin of slave cargoes:
Primary
Secondary
Tertiary

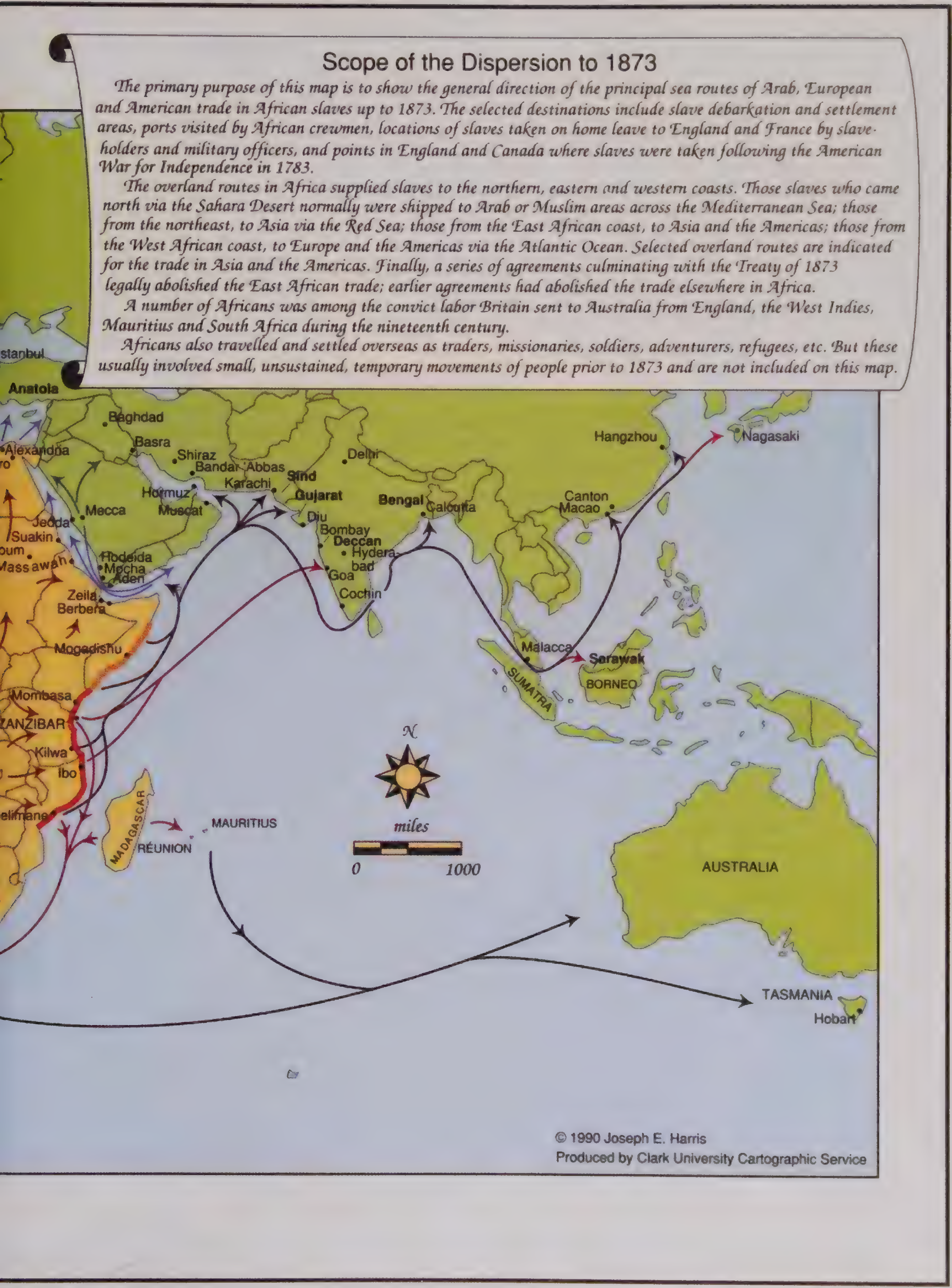
Scope of the Dispersion to 1873

The primary purpose of this map is to show the general direction of the principal sea routes of Arab, European and American trade in African slaves up to 1873. The selected destinations include slave debarkation and settlement areas, ports visited by African crewmen, locations of slaves taken on home leave to England and France by slave-holders and military officers, and points in England and Canada where slaves were taken following the American War for Independence in 1783.

The overland routes in Africa supplied slaves to the northern, eastern and western coasts. Those slaves who came north via the Sahara Desert normally were shipped to Arab or Muslim areas across the Mediterranean Sea; those from the northeast, to Asia via the Red Sea; those from the East African coast, to Asia and the Americas; those from the West African coast, to Europe and the Americas via the Atlantic Ocean. Selected overland routes are indicated for the trade in Asia and the Americas. Finally, a series of agreements culminating with the Treaty of 1873 legally abolished the East African trade; earlier agreements had abolished the trade elsewhere in Africa.

A number of Africans was among the convict labor Britain sent to Australia from England, the West Indies, Mauritius and South Africa during the nineteenth century.

Africans also travelled and settled overseas as traders, missionaries, soldiers, adventurers, refugees, etc. But these usually involved small, unsustained, temporary movements of people prior to 1873 and are not included on this map.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Aden
Zeila
Berbera
Mogadishu
Mombasa
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RÉUNION
MAURITIUS
Diu
Bombay
Deccan
Hyderabad
Goa
Cochin
Delhi
Bengal
Calcutta
Hangzhou
Nagasaki
Canton
Macao
Malacca
Sarawak
BORNEO
SUMATRA
AUSTRALIA
TASMANIA
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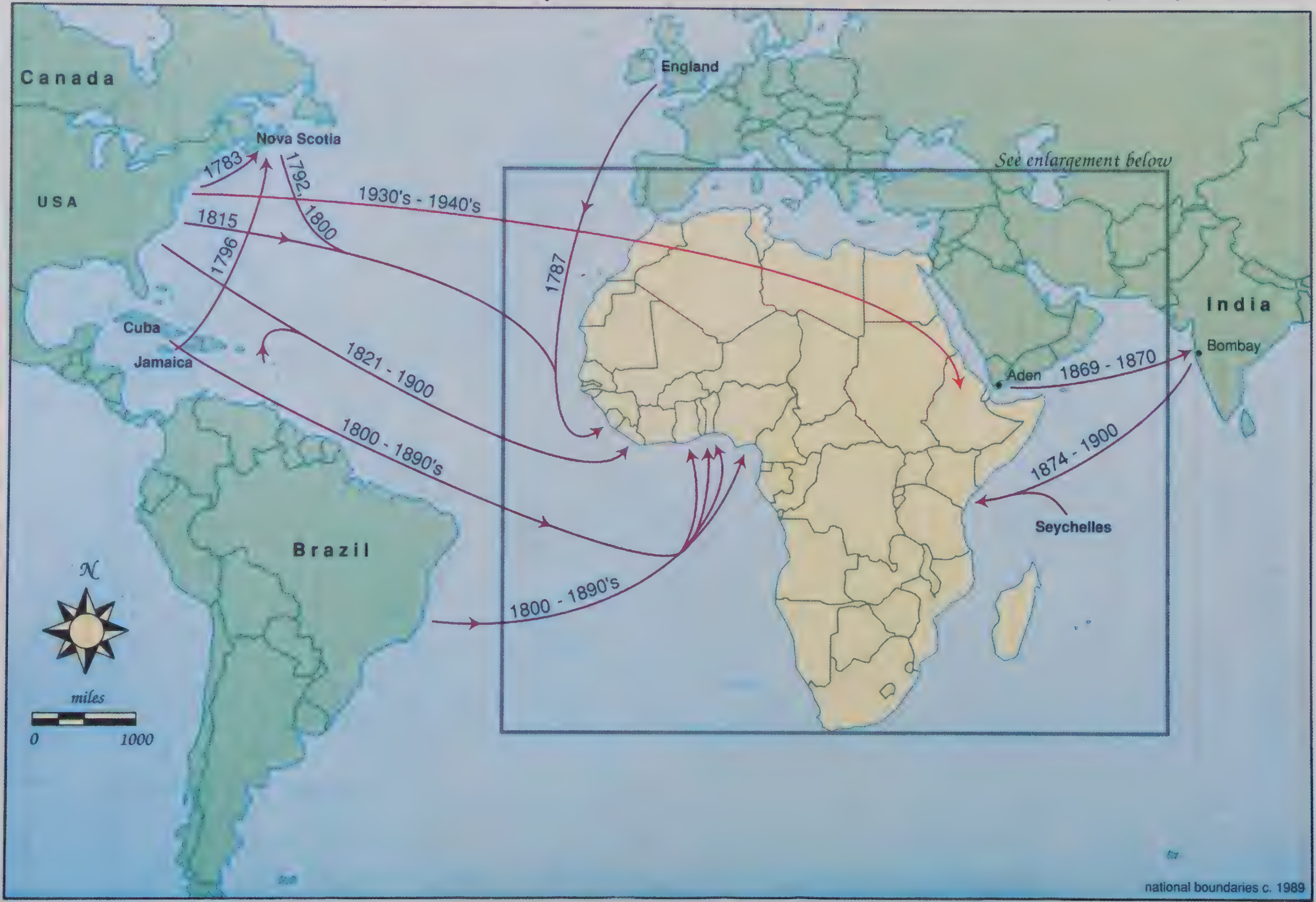
The African Diaspora Map — II

Based on research by Joseph E. Harris


Canada
USA
Nova Scotia
1783
1792, 1800
1796
1815
1930's - 1940's
England
1787
See enlargement below
Cuba
Jamaica
1821 - 1900
1800 - 1890's
Brazil
1800 - 1890's
India
Bombay
Aden
1869 - 1870
1874 - 1900
Seychelles
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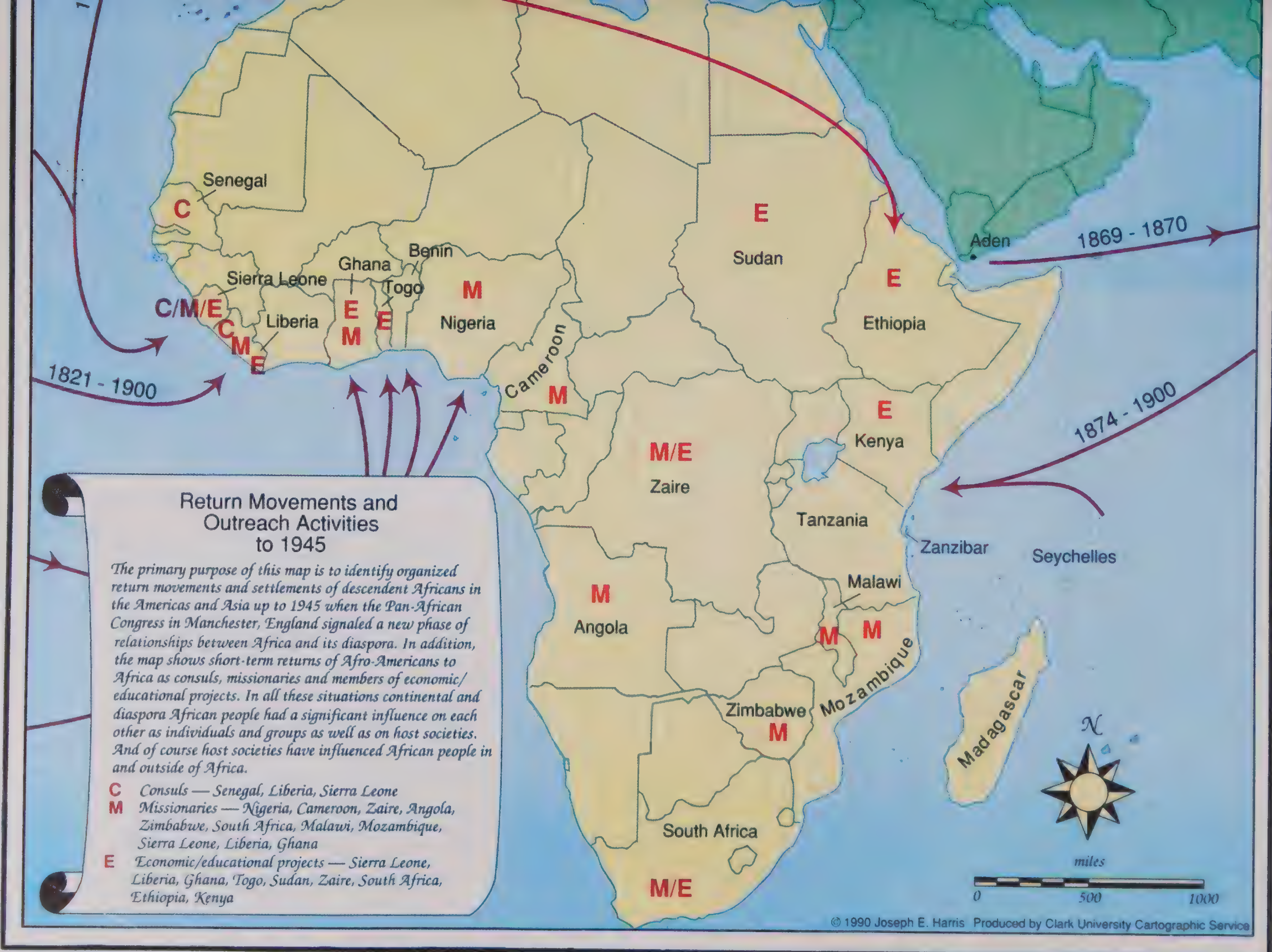
national boundaries c. 1989



Return Movements and Outreach Activities to 1945

The primary purpose of this map is to identify organized return movements and settlements of descendent Africans in the Americas and Asia up to 1945 when the Pan-African Congress in Manchester, England signaled a new phase of relationships between Africa and its diaspora. In addition, the map shows short-term returns of Afro-Americans to Africa as consuls, missionaries and members of economic/educational projects. In all these situations continental and diaspora African people had a significant influence on each other as individuals and groups as well as on host societies. And of course host societies have influenced African people in and outside of Africa.

C *Consuls — Senegal, Liberia, Sierra Leone*
M *Missionaries — Nigeria, Cameroon, Zaire, Angola, Zimbabwe, South Africa, Malawi, Mozambique, Sierra Leone, Liberia, Ghana*
E *Economic/educational projects — Sierra Leone, Liberia, Ghana, Togo, Sudan, Zaire, South Africa, Ethiopia, Kenya*

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Senegal
C
Sierra Leone
C/M/E
Liberia
C
M
E
Ghana
E
M
Togo
E
Benin
Nigeria
M
Cameroon
M
Sudan
E
Ethiopia
E
Kenya
E
Zaire
M/E
Tanzania
Angola
M
Malawi
M
M
Mozambique
Zimbabwe
M
South Africa
M/E
Aden
Zanzibar
Seychelles
Madagascar
1821 - 1900
1869 - 1870
1874 - 1900
N
miles
0
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1000

A COMPARATIVE APPROACH TO THE STUDY OF THE AFRICAN DIASPORA

by

Joseph E. Harris

The significant crosscurrents of mutual influence between Africans in the United States and the Caribbean, and among those two areas and Africa as well as between India and Africa, have very deep historical roots which, from the perspective of the African heritage, form a useful pan-African approach to the study of blacks throughout the world. The key problems of that approach are: first, to trace the changes that occurred among Africans as they adjusted to varied conditions abroad during the period of slavery, abolition and after; second, to determine the extent to which African customs and memories survived abroad and in what form; third, to analyze the ways in which the idea of Africa arose and manifested itself in the diaspora and related itself to Africa and Africans; fourth, to assess the nature, extent and significance of contacts between and within Africa and the areas of the diaspora.

The 1770s and 1780s were critical decades in African diaspora history. The key year was 1787. Its significance was twofold; First, because of European decisions about Africans in Europe and America; second, because of the decisions and actions Africans in the Americas were taking. In 1787 Americans wrote into their constitution a provision which permitted the termination of the slave trade in 1807. The consequences of this act resulted in a more limited source of slaves, federal subsidy for disposal of slaves liberated on the high seas and cooperation with the American Colonization Society which founded Liberia in 1821. In Europe in 1787, a group of English abolitionists completed plans for the resettlement in Africa of Africans residing in England. In the wake of the 1772 decision against slavery in England, some abolitionists believed they could found a society of free labor, develop trade in goods, spread Christianity and contribute to the abolition of slavery and the slave trade in Africa by settling Africa with unwanted, Christianized Africans. Thus, in 1787 some 400 Africans left to begin that experiment in Sierra Leone; shortly thereafter they were joined by a group from the United States who came by way of Nova Scotia, Canada. A third group from Jamaica, West Indies followed a few years later.

It was also in 1787 that Africans in the United States were formally organizing their separate institutions: the church, which became the largest black organization in the country; the African lodges; the African Free Schools; and so on. Not only did all these institutions bear the African label; they also expressed interest in the welfare of Africans. Some of them, notably the churches and schools, became seriously involved in the development of a deepening consciousness of and cooperation with Africans in the Caribbean and Africa.

Between 1820 and 1860 there occurred what is sometimes called the first black renaissance in the United States, a period when blacks expressed themselves and their heritage in literature, art, music and dance. It was also the era when black schools and churches, in particular, sent representatives to Africa and the Caribbean as teachers and preachers. In 1841 Edward Jones, the first black college graduate in the United States, became president of the recently established

Fourah Bay College in Sierra Leone. This and other examples confirm that a situation had developed in the United States that provided a pool of educated and concerned Africans for work in the diaspora and in Africa at a time when such opportunities were rarely available elsewhere.

Because Sierra Leone's repatriates were from England and the Americas, they valued Western culture and education. They enrolled their children in the several mission schools and sent their sons and daughters to English universities. In fact, the liberated African's desire for Western education, and the missionary's commitment to education to "civilize" Africans, had led to the founding of Fourah Bay College by the Church Missionary Society (CMS) in 1826. In 1876 a connection was established between Fourah Bay and Durham University, thereby bringing university education to Sierra Leone, where it became available to students across West Africa, especially British West Africa. In a very real sense, therefore, Western education, in general, and Fourah Bay College, in particular, distinguished Sierra Leone in Africa and the diaspora.[1]

The very nature of these developments, and the fact that the repatriated Africans had not come from that area originally, provided Sierra Leone with the unique opportunity of spearheading a pan-African tradition. As the repatriates began migrating throughout West Africa in search of their families, a way back home, opportunities to expand their business interests, or, in the case of some, to spread the faith, they took with them aspects of Western education and culture. Those trained at Fourah Bay College were selected by British missionaries, merchants and colonial officials to entrench British influence. At the same time, however, there were men like Samuel Crowther, who wrote books in the Nupe and Ibo languages and compiled a Yoruba dictionary; Samuel Johnson, who wrote the valuable *History of the Yorubas*, and Thomas Macauley, father of Herbert and sometimes known as the father of Nigerian nationalism. These were all either repatriates or their descendants and were graduates of Fourah Bay College. Many other examples could be given to show that although they were sometimes exploited for European purposes, the repatriated Africans still forged links in West Africa that broadened the horizons and expanded the channels of communication of several local societies, and thus facilitated Sierra Leone's role in this early pan-Africanist tradition before a strong, independent base had emerged.

Sierra Leone's experiment had a significant impact on groups in the United States, although repatriation took a somewhat different course. Africans had on their own, early in the eighteenth century, petitioned for freedom and a return to Africa. But the real black repatriationist was Paul Cuffe, that black shipper who organized groups in the United States and Sierra Leone to assist in his efforts to settle Africans from the United States in that colony. He himself financed the settlement of thirty-eight persons in 1815. Cuffe's efforts and the success of Sierra Leone demonstrated the feasibility of black settlement in Africa. Within a few years colonization schemes to rid America of free Africans became a serious concern of white Americans.

In the United States slave society, the African was forbidden to speak his language or practice his religion; free blacks were denied many of the rights of freedom. In addition, with the independence of Haiti in 1804, many slave owners in the United States and the Caribbean referred to that black state as the "Black Menace," which could cause blacks elsewhere to revolt for freedom. For these and other reasons, many ordinary and prominent white Americans joined efforts which resulted in the organization of a society to settle "free" blacks in Africa. This endeavor led to the founding of Liberia.

Liberia's development was similar in several aspects to that of Sierra Leone, but there are some differences. First, although the overall number of Liberian settlers was much smaller than Sierra Leone's, the great majority in Liberia had previously resided in the United States. Second, while most of the Liberian settlers were poor, a significant number of them had been born free, were educated and had owned property in the United States. Their connections with America were, thus, very real and strong. It is not surprising, therefore, that many of Liberia's institutions were patterned after American ones.

In addition to the churches, the University of Liberia helped to prepare Liberians as agents of social change, Western-style, as Fourah Bay College was doing in Sierra Leone. But more than in Sierra Leone, Liberian settlers took greater responsibility for their own physical and social survival, which led to their independence in 1847.

With independence, Liberia became a unique phenomenon in Africa and in the diaspora. Not only was Liberia the result of the repatriation of Africans from abroad, it also became the only internationally recognized independent black state in Africa until well into the twentieth century. And precisely because of its unique status and history, Liberia became a symbol of hope for many at home and abroad. The pioneer Liberians viewed their venture as an opportunity to exercise their freedom, and within a few years their leaders envisioned the country as destined to become a "province of freedom" for the uplift of all persons of African ancestry. The Liberian constitution noted that the object of forming the state was "to provide a home for the dispersed and oppressed children of Africa." Even more than the case of Sierra Leone, the Liberian situation facilitated continued close relations with Africans overseas, especially in America. The story here is well known: Joseph Roberts from the United States became the first president; John Russwurm who co-founded with Samuel Cornish the first Afro-American newspaper in the United States also founded the first newspaper in Liberia, the *Liberian Herald*; John Day left the United States to become the country's chief justice; and Edward Blyden, from the West Indies, became Liberia's most distinguished citizen, as publisher, diplomat, minister of state and intellectual. [2]

Although Blyden is well known, he deserves special attention. His efforts on behalf of unity and freedom for Africa ranged across West Africa, as he held posts in Liberia, Sierra Leone and Nigeria. His popular appeal to persons of African descent was extended to the diaspora and to the indigenous peoples on the continent. Blyden wanted to make Liberia College (the second Western-style college in Africa) one in which African religion, political systems and other customs could be studied; and in this sense, he became the major proponent of black studies at the national and international levels. Later, he pioneered a synthesis of African and Western culture, a task which he realized would require the dedication and labor of large numbers of educated and skilled Africans from the diaspora. We will never know whether his objectives and the Liberian goals might have been achieved because the thrust of nineteenth-century colonial rule diverted and delayed those efforts from establishing tangible and lasting ties between African and the American diaspora. Marcus Garvey through his Universal Negro Improvement Association, W.E.B. DuBois and others through the several Pan-African congresses, the Harlem Renaissance and Negritude movements, and the Nation of Islam (Black Muslims) continued that trend in the twentieth century and had a significant impact on nationalism in West Africa.[3]

Let us now examine developments on the other side of the continent, where the Indian Ocean slave trade was many centuries older than that of the Atlantic, and where Africans had been planted at various points in Asia from the Middle East probably as far as China since the first or second century A.D., if not earlier. These are episodes which require more extensive examination by researchers, for by the time of my own research - which focuses on the nineteenth century primarily—African communities were already centuries-old in India, Turkey, Arabia, Iraq, Iran, Yemen, Pakistan, and possibly elsewhere.[4]

In India, for example, frequent reference to Africans may be found in records from the thirteenth century. Groups of Africans (referred to in Asia as *Habshis* and *Siddis*) revolted in Bengal, India, during the latter part of the fifteenth century and established control there for a few years before finally suffering defeat. During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, Africans in western India, Gujarat in particular, emerged in positions of prominence in military and administrative affairs. One such person was Malik Ambar, sold as a slave in Ethiopia, Mocha, Bagdad and finally in India in 1575. Malik Ambar had been taught clerical skills in Arabia and later was placed in important clerical positions in the Deccan. Because of his loyalty and military skills, he eventually became a commander of the slave guard in Ahmadnagar. In this role, Malik Ambar commanded a unit of a thousand African soldiers and built auxiliary units of Asians; with these two groups he seized power and emerged as the undisputed leader of the Ahmadnagar area between 1602 and 1626. In this role he prevented the Great Mughuls of Delhi from conquering the Deccan for more than a quarter of a century.[5]

Other groups of Africans became prominent on Janjira Island, some forty miles south of Bombay. They claim descent from Ethiopians and have several legends to support their claim. In any case, it appears that most of these people arrived by way of the Indian Ocean slave trade. By the seventeenth century the community had become large enough and had built a fleet strong enough to command control over the area between Bombay and Goa; they were therefore sought as allies not only by local Indian groups, Mughuls and Marathas, but also by European merchants - Dutch, Portuguese and British. At various times during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the Janjira Africans played one group against the other and received subsidies to keep open the sea lanes around Bombay. However, when the economic and political stakes became higher during the eighteenth century, Britain invaded the island, destroyed the fleet and declared it a colony in 1834. [6]

A different kind of African community in Asia sprang from the abolitionist campaign of the nineteenth century. Between 1820 and 1873, after the legal abolition of the West African slave trade in 1807, Britain negotiated a series of abolitionist treaties with Asians and African sovereigns. In addition to suppressing the slave trade, the British also pressed for the liberation of slaves on the Asian continent itself - and had a measure of success. Thus, Africans liberated from ships on the seas and those freed on the Asian mainland were channeled to three depots for settlement: Aden in Arabia, Bombay in India, and the Seychelles in the Indian Ocean. These places had long been frequented by Africans, and they attracted others seeking the economic and social security these depots provided during the nineteenth century.[7]

Africans resided in Bombay at least as early as the eighteenth century, when British merchants also engaged in the slave trade to India. Several documents refer to British cruiser commanders complaining about the difficulty of controlling the "Madagascar slaves." The British East India Company purchased, trained and advertised Africans as contract slaves in the eighteenth century. And in the latter part of the century, an official British abstract listing persons who could be called on to defend Bombay included nearly a thousand Africans.

As a depot for liberated Africans, Bombay received its first allotment in 1835. That year a group of 200 African children came from Karachi and was sent to Bombay's police commissioner to place among families, in employment or in a charitable institution. From that time until the 1870s at least, European and Indian families in Bombay requested and received liberated Africans as domestics. In addition, the British navy in India enlisted so many liberated Africans that by the 1850s the government observed that the majority of its seamen were Africans.

Mission stations also accepted liberated Africans in India. The principal stations were the Roman Catholic orphanage at Bandora, the American mission at Poona and the Church Missionary Society (CMS) African Asylum at Nasik. In these cases the government contributed a monthly allowance for the children's upkeep. Thus, by the time of the Treaty of 1873, the East African slave trade was legally ended. When Bartle Frere recommended the establishment of settlements of liberated Africans on the East African coast, liberated Africans in India were prepared to return and make a meaningful contribution to East Africa.

The CMS mission at Nasik, in particular, was called upon to provide the initial group. Nasik had been established in 1854 by the Reverend William Price with initial funds from fines imposed on convicted slave dealers in India. In 1857, the government of India began making annual awards from the public revenues. As a center for liberated African children, its responsibilities included the conduct of a school which taught history, geography, English, arithmetic and Bible studies; in addition, the girls were trained in sewing and cooking, while the boys were trained as blacksmiths, carpenters, masons and printers. At that time it was felt that the Africans should be prepared to seek jobs in addition to their missionary work. David Livingstone was one of the staunch supporters of the school. In 1865 he visited the school and returned to Africa with nine of the boys, one of whom was with him when he died.[8]

Now, let us turn to the Kenya connection. In 1874, the CMS sent William Price, who had established the program at Nasik, to organize the station in Mombasa. Prior arrangements had already been undertaken as early as 1864 when William Henry Jones, who had been rescued as a slave and landed at Nasik in 1854, was sent to Mombasa to join Johann Rebmann, the CMS missionary. While on the coast, Jones visited several areas, including Zanzibar, to explore the possibilities of establishing mission stations for the resettlement of liberated Africans. He returned to Bombay in 1871 and appealed to Africans to return to the coast and to Zanzibar under the auspices of the CMS. Clearly, therefore, the movement to return was already in motion when Frere recommended that liberated and captured Africans be repatriated at Mombasa.[9]

The history of Nasik led to the selection of William Price, the former superintendent, to supervise the establishment of the community at Mombasa which came to be known as Freretown and was patterned after Nasik. The aims of the CMS project were to form an industrial, Christian settlement of liberated Africans at Freretown and Rabai, and to expand toward Kilimanjaro. To accomplish these objectives a church and a school were built, and William Jones, Ismael Semler, David George and their wives, all Africans formerly at the Nasik school, became Price's principal assistants. They were joined later by others from the Bombay area, who, thus, have become known in some quarters as Bombay Africans, Bombay boys, and Nasik boys.[10]

The early settler Africans became pioneers in the Freretown settlement. They helped to set the cultural tone and substance of the community through their leadership roles in the churches, schools, media, trade unions, crafts and civil service; and neighboring Africans, Europeans, Arabs and Indians in Kenya viewed the Christian community of Freretown as an influential outpost of Western society.[11]

Freretown poses some contrasts to Sierra Leone and Liberia. First, unlike the two West African examples, Freretown was founded by repatriated Africans who, for the most part, were born in Africa, and who had been away only for up to twenty years before returning. They, therefore, retained much more of their culture, especially language (they spoke Swahili and some of the vernaculars); they also had not been abroad long enough to sever ties with families and friends (indeed, some among them were reunited with members of their families and friends at Freretown and Rabai). In addition, since those who returned came from a mission station apart from Indian society, they had not been exposed to any great extent to the wider Indian community and, therefore, had little reason to identify with it, though several of them had been taught the Hindostani and Gujarati languages.

However, like their West African counterparts in Liberia and Sierra Leone, the Bombay group had had significant exposure to Western cultural values for up to a maximum of twenty years. They were Christians, spoke English, adopted European dress, acquired skills as blacksmiths, carpenters, masons and tailors. Some of them gained experience as railroad and dock workers. All of these activities made them attractive potential for European missionaries propagating the faith, for merchants expanding their businesses, for explorers venturing into the interior and the colonial officials entrenching colonial rule. Thus, some of the repatriated Africans became missionaries who settled widely along the coast establishing mission stations. The Imperial British East Africa Company (IBEA) and other businesses made use of repatriated Africans as clerks and interpreters, while explorers employed them to accompany caravans into the interior and relied heavily on their accounts of inland societies. William Jones, for example, accompanied Bishop Hannington to Uganda. In addition to returning with news of Hannington's death, Jones also provided valuable information on the state of affairs between the coast and Uganda.

With the establishment of colonial rule, people of Freretown were employed as clerks, interpreters and advisers in the courts, post office and other agencies. Indeed, one of the few highly qualified printers, African or otherwise, on the coast in the 1920s was James "Jimmy" Jones, son of William Jones.

No one at Freretown really compares with Blyden of Liberia, but there are some similarities with William Jones. He was an exslave who was reared in the Indian mission, where he received a good Western education. Like Blyden, he made several trips from Africa to India to encourage Africans to return to the continent. There seems to be no record of the number who responded to his appeals, but he must be given credit for having been responsible for encouraging some of the several hundred who ultimately joined the community directly from India. In Freretown and Rabai, Jones stimulated pride in Africans and provided a rationale for the responsible involvement of the liberated community on behalf of Africans, especially on the matter of slavery and human dignity. For this stance, Jones was denounced by his fellow European missionaries, but he became a hero to Africans.

Because of their background in a Western setting, the pioneer settlers in Freretown, Sierra Leone and Liberia identified themselves with European culture and ideas. However, because of the great numbers of other Africans who also accepted Christianity and European ways, intermarriages occurred and— as in Sierra Leone— there emerged the Creole society which represented a blend of African and European beliefs, languages, cuisine and so on. This group, thus, became exclusive and achieved the greatest mobility in trade and Western-style professions, where Africans could earn the most money. This also happened in Liberia where the repatriates believed that theirs was the task of redeeming Africa, which meant a special position for them in the country's affairs. In Liberia the strong impact of American racial denigration of blacks as well as the development of the "providential design" concept caused the "Americo-Liberians" to have a greater commitment to the gradual uplift of the masses than the other areas, especially after independence, which— at least theoretically - provided for greater authority in policy formulation for Liberians. A compulsory educational system to facilitate national integration did emerge in principle in the nineteenth century and slowly proceeded to incorporate other ethnic groups in Western-style activities.

Unlike Liberia, Sierra Leone remained a colony on which Britain placed some priority in Africa. Thus, Creoles received appointments to civil service posts and seats in the executive and legislative councils not only in Sierra Leone but also in other British West African colonies.[12] However, from 1896 when the British declared a colony over the hinterland, Creole fortunes diminished because interior people, the Mende and Temne in particular, regarded the Creoles as "black Englishmen."[13] The British then proceeded to limit Creole influence in the colony by restricting the expansion of Christianity in the hinterland and by appointing Englishmen to posts formerly held by the Creoles on the coast. This policy assured greater ethnic particularity.

At the same time, Creole merchants had to compete with European merchants whose presence in Africa increased perceptibly during the last quarter of the nineteenth century. And while the Creole community's influence in Sierra Leone declined during this period, and distrust between them and indigenous Africans increased, one should also note that Creole influence on business, education, journalism, the civil service and in other areas was deeply imprinted in neighboring countries of West Africa. The same imprint was made by Freretownians in Kenya and to lesser degrees in Uganda, Tanganyika and Zanzibar.

In Freretown there developed a generally steadier trend of identification with neighboring peoples than in either Sierra Leone or Liberia at the early stage of growth. This probably resulted from the fact that Freretownians had not been as completely alienated from the area as their West

African counterparts had been and thus could more easily understand the indigenous groups. Certainly this was evident in their language. In addition, better preparations had been made for the return to Africa, which may have resulted in part from prior knowledge of the West African experiences. Jones had surveyed the area, and Frere discussed plans and negotiated an agreement with Arabs on the coast, and they readily accepted the idea and eventually benefited from the community's presence in such things as trade, medicine and education. The Arab School in Mombasa drew on the Freretown community for some of its teachers in the 1920s, 1930s and later. Freretownians thus served as a social and economic bridge between Africans and Arabs on the coast.[14]

Further, several of the local missionaries tolerated (and some, especially the Africans, welcomed) the presence of their brothers fleeing slavery. In addition, neighboring Africans were attracted to Freretown for education and economic survival, especially during the several famines of the 1880s and 1890s and for security (particularly those running away from slavery). The close identification of the area with Swahili culture also facilitated the eventual development of closer cohesion among the repatriates, refugees and indigenous Africans. Very early, therefore, Freretown became a mixture of several ethnic groups, and although the first settlers were viewed as, and considered themselves, a kind of elite, the fact is that they soon recognized that the Europeans, Arabs and Asians did not accord them equality but regarded them as inferior, though a step above indigenous Africans. These factors had the effect of facilitating a fusion into the larger African community, a process which continues today.

The Freretown settlers never constituted a large group and were always dependent not only on the European missionaries but also on good relations with their neighbors, among whom they missionized and taught. Indeed, by the turn of the century the "Bombay group" as a class had greatly diminished, as they moved to coastal towns and into the interior, fusing with other groups. Some of them migrated because of grievances against the white missionaries; other sought economic opportunities in the towns; still others joined different mission stations. Today, therefore, the descendants of the first settlers are widely scattered on the coast, with only a few remaining in Freretown proper.

Many of the migrating Freretownians became teachers in various parts of the country. It is probably no exaggeration to say that most Africans educated in Kenya prior to World War II were taught by Freretownians or Freretown-trained teachers; and most Christian Africans in Kenya probably had close contact with Freretown. The Freretown Divinity School was the main source of primary and secondary education in the country until 1931, when it was relocated near Nairobi at Limuru. This educational and missionary influence was also spread in neighboring Tanganyika. Zanzibar (Tanzania) and Uganda; and Freretownians were also among the first pioneering Kenyan journalists, radio announcers and trade unionists, especially among the Africans of Mombasa.

The first national political party among Kenya Africans, KASU/KAU (Kenya African Study Union/Kenya African Union), was founded by several repatriates, including Francis Khamisi, the first general secretary; Thomas Mbotela, assistant general secretary and later vice president under Jomo Kenyatta; and "Jimmy" Jeremiah; all from the Freretown tradition. Other leaders then and later received their education and had close contacts with Freretown. Indeed, the influence of ideas such as multiracialism, nonviolence and a constitutional approach to independence became major objectives of KAU until late 1951, in large measure because of the impact of these men. It is noteworthy that when Jomo Kenyatta returned to Kenya in 1947 after many years abroad, his leadership depended on assistants who knew the country—the Europeans, Africans and Asians—who could communicate easily in English and local languages and who had a "national image" to underscore the national character of the party. The Freretownians met those criteria better than anyone else and emerged as key party leaders until Mau Mau ushered in a more radical approach to replace the moderate, constitutional approach pursued by the repatriates and others.

In conclusion, Sierra Leone, Liberia and Freretown are examples of an important physical return of African people from the diaspora to Africa, thereby greatly influencing not only their immediate settlements but surrounding societies as well. Whether the repatriates served as teachers or civil servants, doctors or trade unionist, journalists or politicians, they were conveyors of ideas and skills necessary to modernize Africa. Their contribution to the development of managerial skills and conceptual approaches necessary to understand international problems and interrelationships greatly accelerated modern freedom movements and the emergence of a national consciousness in several African states. This is not an argument that these developments would not have occurred without the returnees; it is an argument that they did occur with critical assistance from the diaspora.

The black returnees could not escape the influence of their physical and social environment abroad. That influence not only accounted for the contributions they made as returnees in Africa, it also facilitated their continued links with the diaspora. Although their language and life styles changes and their values and goals were modified, traces of several African languages persist in the Guineas and the islands of the southeastern United States; Yoruba became widely spoken in parts of Brazil; Swahili was planted in India; and Creole emerged in Africa and several diaspora communities. Indeed, evidence of cultural continuity continues to be uncovered and it is likely that the continuity in substance rather than form is even greater. Without a doubt, therefore, cultural as well as biological links were forged between Africa and the diaspora communities and those links facilitated a meaningful return to Africa.

Whether in music or literature, social or economic relations, military or political achievements, Africans in the diaspora have been major contributors to their adopted societies, in spite of inhibiting racial prejudices on the part of the Euro-Americans. Perhaps the greatest contribution of Africans abroad was labor, which facilitated the accumulation of capital, the advance of technology, the internationalization of banking and insurance and the general administrative organization, especially in the West, but also in the Persian Gulf region and southern Asia where much additional research is needed.

This comparative approach clearly has potential for the reconstruction of the history of Africa and its influence abroad; it also promises to provide a more realistic perspective on the history of Africa as well as the area in which the African presence was established— Europe, the Americas and Asia.

NOTES

1. Many sources consider this subject: Christopher Fyfe, *A History Of Sierra Leone* (London: Oxford Univ. Press, 1962); John Peterson, *Province Of Freedom: A History Of Sierra Leone* (Evanston: Univ. of Illinois Press, 1969); Johnson U. J. Asiegbu, *Slavery And The Politics Of Liberation*, 1787-1861 (New York: Longmans, 1969); Arthur Porter, *Creoledom* (New York: 1963): Leo Spitzer, *The Creoles Of Sierra Leone: Responses To Colonialism, 1870-1945* (Madison: Univ. of Wisconsin Press, 1974); Jean H. Kopytoff, *A Preface To Modern Nigeria: The Sierra Leoneans In Yoruba, 1880-1890* (Madison: Univ. of Wisconsin Press, 1965); Kenneth L. Little, "The Significance of the West African Creole for Africanist and Afro-American Studies," *African Affairs 49 No. 197* (1950); John D. Hargreaves, "African Colonization in the 19th Century: Liberia and Sierra Leone," *Sierra Leone Studies* 4. See also chapter 22 by Akintola Wyse in this volume

2. The following are sources on Liberia: Raymond Buell, *Liberia: A Century Of Survival*, 1847 - 1947 (Philadelphia; 1947) Merran Fraenkel, *"Tribe And Class In Monrovia* (New York; Oxford, 1964) Hollis Lynch, *Edward Wilmont Blyden: Pan Negro Patriot* (London: Oxford Univ. Press 1967); C. L. Simpson, *The Symbol Of Liberia* (London: Oxford Univ. Press 1961); and several issues Of The Liberian Historical Review.

3. These developments have received much scholarly and popular attention and do not need extended discussion here, especially since some of the contributors to this volume consider the topic. See chapters 2, 4, 6, 14, 15, 17 and 23 of this volume.

4. This a largely unexplored dimension of the African diaspora. Consequently, most of the published sources are those of the author: Joseph E. Harris, *The African Presence In Asia: Consequence Of The East African Slave Trade* (Evanston, Ill.: Northwestern University Press, 1971); *Abolition And Repatriation In Kenya* (Historical Association of Kenya, East African Publishing House, Nairobi, Kenya, 1977); "The Black Peoples of Asia," *World Encyclopedia Of Black Peoples* (Scholarly Press, 1975); *Recollections Of James Juma Mbotela* (East African Publishing House, Nairobi, Kenya, 1977).

5. Harris, *The African Presence In Asia,* pp. 87-98; Sheikh Chand, Malik Ambar (Hyderabad; 1931) in Urdu; D. R. Seth, "The life and times of Malik Ambar," *Islamic Culture: An English Quarterly 31* (Hyderabad, January 1957); Bena Rasi Prasad Saksena, "Malik Ambar," *Hindustani Academy 4* (October 1933), in Hindi; M. S. Commissariat, *A History Of Gujarat* (Calcutta: 1957); E. Dension Ross, *An Arabic History Of Gujarat* (London; 1921).

6. D. R. Banaji, *Bombay And The Siddis* (Bombay: 1933); R. V. Ramdas, "Relations between the Marathas and the Siddis of Janjira" (Ph.D. diss., University of Bombay, n.e.); Harris, *The African Presence In Asia,* pp. 80-87.

7. India, Political Department, "Report on the Emigration of Siddhies of Hyderabad" (December 1882) 1: 110-13; Harris, *The African Presence In Asia,* pp. 99-114.

8. Harris, Abolition And Repatriation, p. 19.

9. Ibid., p. 20

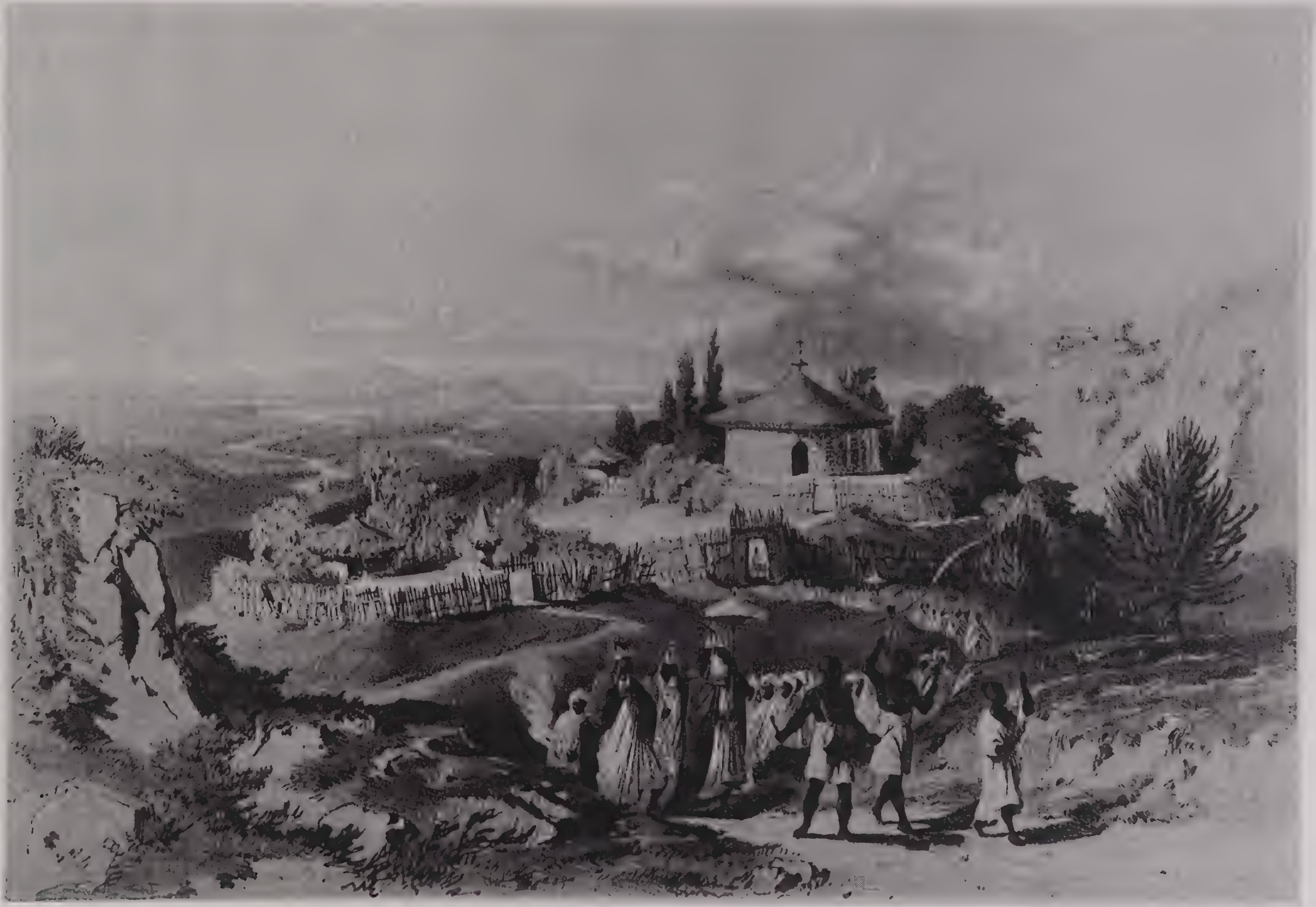
10. Ibid., p. 21.

11. James Juma Mbotela, *The Freeing Of The Slaves In East Africa* (London: Oxford 1956) and in Swahili, *Uhuru Wa Watumwa* (London: Oxford 1934).

12. Kopytoff, *Preface To Modern Nigeria;* I. K. Sundiata, "Creolization on Fernando Po: The Nature of Society," *The African Diaspora: Interpretive Essays* (Cambridge:Harvard University Press, 1976).

13. Akintola Wyse modified this characterization. See page 324 of this volume.

14. For a fuller discussion of this and the remainder of this section, see: Harris, "A Comparative Approach to the Study of the African Diaspora," *The African Diaspora* (Afro-American Studies Program, Boston University: Boston, 1979), Occasional Paper No. 5, pp. 52-55.



A religious procession from the Church of St. Michael at Ankobar (1852)
Moorland-Spingarn Research Center
Howard University

PART TWO

SLAVERY IN AFRICA AND THE TRANSATLANTIC SLAVE TRADE

What happened in the coastal societies of Western Africa and their hinterlands after the fifteenth century, following the socioeconomic and politico-military conditions associated with the transatlantic slave trade, was a transformation of free peasants, political clients, servants, and quasi-serfs into slaves and serfs. Following the worthy accomplishments of the research of the last two decades, what is needed now is terminological precision. We need to find ways of separating slaves from other dependent social categories in precolonial Africa and reinterpret the evidence.

Joseph E. Inikori

SLAVERY IN AFRICA
AND THE TRANS-ATLANTIC SLAVE TRADE

by

Joseph E. Inikori

After decades of neglect, slavery in Africa took the center stage in African historiography in the 1970s and 1980s. Suddenly there was a lot of excitement about the subject among European and North American historians and anthropologists, although, somewhat curiously, the then-vibrant schools of history on the African continent - in particular the Ibadan school in Nigeria— showed little interest. The excitement generated an impressive amount of empirical research into African socioeconomic institutions, which the researchers labelled "slavery." Historians studying slavery on other continents, especially in the New World, where the slave population comprised people of African descent, were surprised to be told that "there were certainly more slaves in Africa in the nineteenth century than there were in the Americas at any time," and that

> The scholarship of the last twenty years [1970 to 1990] has demonstrated that the variety and intensity of servile relationships and methods of oppression that can be equated with slavery were probably more developed in Africa than anywhere else in the world at any period in history.[1]

Some of these researchers also claim that in 1897 the slave population of northern Nigeria alone was "certainly in excess of 1 million and perhaps more than 2.3 million people," and that "Northern Nigeria's slave system [was] one of the largest slave societies in modern history."[2]

But can we be certain that the institution studied by Africanists approximates that studied by historians of classical history, European history, Asian history, and New World history? As Claude Meillassoux has stressed, "Slavery, rigorously defined, may have universal characteristics, but its definition . . . must be generally accepted if a real discussion is to take place." [3] Certainly, the use of terms such as slave and slavery invites comparison, and students of slavery in Africa have not been insensitive to the need to compare. In general, they have compared the slaves they discovered in Africa with those of the Americas. While conceding that there were some differences, it is argued that enough similarities existed for the people they identify as slaves in Africa to approximate to the universal social category of slave and slavery. [4] It has even been argued that there were extensive slave plantations in many African regions comparable to New World slave plantations.[5]

A few scholars have expressed discomfort with this analytical thrust, which certainly characterizes the mainstream literature on the subject. Some have argued that the late nineteenth-century servile institutions in Africa did not approximate to slave or slavery, but, not finding what they consider an appropriate alternative term, they have reluctantly used both terms with quotation marks.[6] Others have employed terms such as captives or serfs without offering a convincing explanation for their use. Frederick Cooper has criticized this trend, pointing out that "the word 'slave' carries with it a bundle of connotations— all of them nasty. This has led some Africanists to use terms like 'adopted dependents,' 'captives,' or 'serfs' for a person whom others would call a slave." He adds:

> The first euphemizes a process that was based on violence and coercion; the second distracts from the various possible fates that befell people and their descendants once the act of capture was completed; and the third misrepresents the nature of dependence and the slave's relationship to the land.[7]

This intervention by Cooper seems to have silenced the few dissenters. Apart from one or two lonely voices, it has been business as usual in the study of slavery in Africa since the 1980s. Meillassoux has stated that the inclusion of non-slaves is responsible for the claim that slavery in Africa was mild or benign,[8] but apart from this very helpful effort to provide a universal definition, he has not shown which social categories to include or eliminate. Similarly, Joseph E. Inikori has complained of terminological looseness in the study of slavery in Africa,[9] yet has failed to show how to bring precision and discipline to the enterprise.

Such an exercise is attempted in this essay, which will present a comparative examination of servile social categories in medieval Europe and precolonial Africa. I contend that slavery and serfdom under the socio-economic conditions of medieval Europe provide better comparative insights for a precise and disciplined study of servile institutions in pre-colonial African than the New World comparisons that have hitherto been conducted. The societies of medieval Europe were closer in all respects to those of precolonial Africa than were the New World slave societies, which were specifically organized for the large-scale production of commodities for an evolving capitalist world market. In addition, slavery once coexisted with other dependent social categories in pre-capitalist Europe, and the coexistence of slavery and non-slave servile categories has been carefully studied by students of European history.

Drawing on these studies, I will apply their methods of separating the various dependent social groups to the descriptive evidence on precolonial African servile categories, in order to determine which of them corresponds more closely to slavery or to serfdom or to some other category. For the exercise to be manageable, I have chosen two extreme geographical points in Europe: England to the extreme west and Russia to the extreme east. The exercise affords the opportunity to delve further into the old debate of the contribution of the transatlantic slave trade to the transformation of African servile institutions.

Slavery was first brought to England by the Romans, but their departure in 407 A.D. did not end slavery in that country. The chaos that followed the collapse of the Roman empire provoked slave raids and encouraged slavery in England and other parts of Europe. The Anglo-Saxons, from the Danish peninsula and the coast lands of northern Germany and Holland, raided England for slaves and eventually took over the country.[10] Many of the indigenous Celts were enslaved. After their settlement, the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms continued to fight among themselves and take captives. In consequence, slaves made up a large proportion of the population of Anglo-Saxon England.[11]

Slave raids and slave trading by various groups in the British Isles continued into the eleventh century, with Bristol as the main exporting port and Ireland a major export market. The Anglo-Saxon bishop of Worcester, who fought hard against the slave trade from England, lamented, "You might well groan to see the long rows of young men and maidens whose beauty and youth might move the pity of the savage, bound together with cords, and brought to market to be sold."[12] In the end, the conquest of the warring groups in Britain and Ireland by the Normans stopped the slave raids and the trade in captives. The Westminster Council of 1102 proclaimed that "no one is henceforth to presume to carry on their shameful trading whereby heretofore men used in England to be sold like brute beasts.[13]

But the Normans did not enact a law abolishing slavery in England. Slaves remained a statistically important part of the population. Based on the Domesday enumeration of 1086, it has been estimated that all categories of free peasants taken together constituted only 14 percent of the total population of rural England in 1086. Various categories of unfree peasants made up the remaining 86 per cent, of whom slaves were 10.5 per cent of the whole rural population and different groups of serfs accounted for 75.5 per cent.[14] Thus, over a period of several hundred years, slavery coexisted with other servile institutions in England. The disappearance of slavery was a long process, in which slaves were gradually converted to other dependent social categories.

This process of conversion has been examined in some detail by M. M. Postan in *The Famulus: the estate labourer in the xiith and xiiith Centuries* (1954). It started when Anglo-Saxon slaveholders, like their counterparts in the Frankish kingdoms, began to move their slaves, whether manumitted or not, into separate landholdings of their own. The new arrangement allowed them much freedom to cater for themselves and maintain households of their own, while continuing to render labor services to the lords in the cultivation of their estates. This new group of landholding dependent cultivators were distinguishable from their preexisting counterparts mainly in terms of the greater labor services they owed to the lords.

At the same time, however, the lords continued to hold other slaves directly in their estates. These were housed, fed, and clothed by the lords, and they spent most of their time working the latter's estates. As a recognition of the significant difference between these groups of dependent cultivators, contemporary practice and modern medievalists limited the application of the term slave to those directly resident on the lords' estate and completely maintained by them. The slaves enumerated in the Domesday Inquest of 1086 belonged to this category.[15]

The process of converting slaves to landholding dependent cultivators in England was completed in the twelfth century, but by this time the most recently converted groups were still somewhere between being slaves and fully settled landholding dependent peasants. The holdings were small in size and had been carved out recently from the lords' estates.[16] They still spent the greater part of their time cultivating those estates, from which they earned much of their livelihood in food and money. In addition, like the fully settled dependent peasants, by law they were not free to move. [17] Postan refers to them as serf smallholders settled on servants' holdings; medieval sources refer to them as *bovarii* or *famuli*.

What happened in England in the twelfth century, according to Postan, was a wholesale conversion of the remnants of the slave class to *bovarii*. As he put it,

> a bovarius was a serf who possessed few rights or franchises denied to the late-Roman or German slaves, and whose greater independence resulted not so much from his superior status as from his separate holding and his life away from the lord's *curia* [estate]. It is in this physical separation that the key to the change must be sought. The smallholder was able to set up a family and have some inducement to exploit to the full the land of his holding.[18]

Postan insists that the smallholders settled on servants' holding, the *bovarii*, were not slave: Twelfth-century *bovarii* were not slaves; and neither were the bulk of their Domesday namesakes. Twelfth-century *bovarii* were serfs, and the difference of status between slave and serf may have been very slight. Yet it is impossible wholly to identify medieval serfs with slaves without repudiating the accepted view of medieval serfdom as a condition intermediate (though of course far from equidistant) between those of slavery and freedom. Now and again the Domesday scribes, more especially those responsible for recording the Herefordshire entries, go out of their way to underline the difference between the *bovarius* and the slave.[19]

Thus, by contemporary practice and by the method of separation and classification adopted by medieval historians, there were several categories of serfs in England in the twelfth century. The common denominator for all of them was the possession of land, which they cultivated for themselves. Also linking them was the labor service they owed their lords and their lack of freedom to move under the law. They were, on the other hand, separated by the amount of labor dues they had to render, the amount of land they held, and the amount of time available to them to cultivate it. Serfs without slave origin, by local custom and tradition, had larger holdings and more time to cultivate them. For serfs of slave origin, the labor dues, the size of holdings, and the amount of time available to work them all tended to depend on the distance in time from their slave ancestors. On these differences, Postan observes:

> The services of a smallholder regularly employed as a *famulus* were, relative to his holding and rent, incomparably greater than the labour dues of an ordinary villein. . . . The latter, unlike the true manorial servant, was left enough time to work his own holding, and had enough substance to employ a servant himself if he needed one. There was no question of maintaining him and his family by the lord's plough-team, food and money. In economic fact he was still a customary tenant, discharging his labour obligations, while the full-time *famulus* . . . was a labourer working another man's land and deriving his livelihood wholly or in the main from his employer's wages.[20]

In order to place Postan's examination of England's case in the general context of medieval Europe, it is enough to refer to the summary statement by R. H. Hilton, who notes that the word *serf* comes from the Latin word *servus*, which in classical times meant "slave"; while in the early Middle Ages the word *slave* was derived from the ethnic term *slav*. By this time the descendants of the slaves of the classical period and most of the slaves of the Dark Ages had been settled on separate holdings of their own and were *servi casati*. Many of the slaves still resident on their lords' estate were Slavonic captives acquired by the Germans in their eastward expansion and sold in the slave markets of Western Europe. Medieval historians, therefore, use both words to distinguish between the conditions of the two broad categories of dependent cultivators. As Hilton put it

> Although some slaves in antiquity were by no means completely without property the distinction between slaves and serfs is based on the fact that, on the whole, slaves were the chattels of their master, employed as instruments of production in agriculture or industry, receiving food, clothing and shelter from the master and possessing nothing. . . . Some peasants were descended from the *coloni* of the late Empire, who...sank into serfdom under the heavy weight of the obligations imposed on them by the estate owners and the state....Other peasants were descendants of full slaves, some of their ancestors having been slaves under the Roman Empire, others having been enslaved during the wars of the Dark Ages. What distinguished those serfs from their slave ancestors was, of course, the fact that they were now *servi casati*, provided with their own holdings from the landowner's estate. Other medieval peasant serfs were descended from free men who had entered into various forms of dependence under lords.[21]

Like England and the rest of Western Europe, slavery antedated serfdom in Russia. But, while in England slavery died out in the twelfth century and serfdom in the fifteenth, in Russia slavery remained alive up to the early eighteenth century and serfdom began its development only in the mid-fifteenth, to be abolished by state law in the 1860s. The enserfment of the Russian peasants was associated with the construction and expansion of the Russian state. Muscovy had been one of several Russian principalities up to the fifteenth century. In 1462 a Russian empire ruled by the Muscovite state was established. The creation of the Russian empire was accompanied by the rise of a powerful nobility. The size of this aristocracy and its capacity to dominate the peasantry grew *pari passu* with the geographical expansion of the empire and the power of the Russian tsar. As all this happened, the previously free Russian peasants increasingly lost their freedom. The development followed an observable historical sequence. In the first instance the peasants' general freedom was gradually curtailed in the second half of the fifteenth and the greater part of the sixteen-century. This was followed by a total prohibition of their right to move in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. Between the seventeenth century and the first half of the eighteen, the changes were formally codified. Thereafter the conditions of the Russian serfs moved closer and closer to those of chattel slaves as the powerful nobles acted in total disregard of the law and tradition.

Meanwhile the Russian *kholopy* (slaves) were being transformed into serfs. From the mid-fifteenth to the early eighteenth century the enserfed peasants coexisted with their older servile "cousins," the slaves. In the course of the seventeenth century, however, slaves and serfs gradually merged. The remnants of the slave class were moved into the rank of serfs by the tsar Peter I in 1723. As to distinguishing the slaves from the serfs in the period during which they coexisted, Kolchin writes:

> The main distinction between kholopy [slaves] and serfs was that whereas the latter were usually self-supporting, growing their own food on allotted plots of land, the former were usually maintained by their owners; instead of living in a village with the peasants, they lived in or near their owner's residences.[24]

However, the conditions of the Russian serfs deteriorated considerably over time. The practice of selling and buying serfs by noblemen, which began in the second half of the seventeenth century, became generalized in the eighteenth. Kolchin states that in the cource of the eighteenth century serf were "bought and sold, traded, won and lost at cards."[25] Legally they remained serfs, however, and the Russian government made it clear that what was abolished by state law in the 1860s was serfdom, not slavery. In 1858, on the eve of emancipation, there were a total of 11.3 million male serfs (11,338.042). In 1795 the figure had been 9.8 million (9,787,802).[26] Assuming an equal proportion of female serfs, the totals come to 19.5 million in 1795 and 22.7 million in 1858. The literature has regularly referred to all of them as *serfs.*[27]

In the preceding examples the formula employed by students of European history to distinguish serfs and other dependent social categories from slaves incorporates unambiguous elements: First and foremost, the serfs or non-slave dependent people must possess a means of production (mainly land) large enough to provide an income to support a household with unproductive children and old members; second, they must have enough free time to produce for themselves, in order to realize the potential income from the employment of their means of production; third, they must be allowed to retain for their own use as they pleased the income realized; and fourth, their residences must be physically separated from those of their lords. On the other hand, for a dependent people to be classified as slaves, they must spend virtually their entire working day on their lords' estates—they may be allotted some plots, but the size, and the time available to work them, would be so limited that they would have to be fed, clothed, and housed by their lords; and their owners must be free, under the law and by tradition, to sell them to any buyer. I propose to apply this formula to the dependent social categories of precolonial Africa.

Incidentally, the pioneers of modern African historiography conducted a somewhat similar exercise more than three decades ago when they debated the issue of whether the concept of feudalism could be applied to any of the political systems in precolonial Africa. Some aspects of that debate are relevant for the present purpose. It is, therefore, appropriate to start with a summary of its major points.

Following efforts being made in the 1940s and 1950s to constitute a typology of political organizations in precolonial Africa, Jacques Maquet suggested in 1962 that "the feudal system deserves to be considered as an important type of political organization in traditional Africa." He outlined the defining features of feudal regimes that should be considered in applying the feudal concept to Africa, noting that the concept was originally applied by historians of Europe to describe the main features of the dominant political regimes that existed in Europe between the ninth and thirteenth centuries. The defining features were, therefore, stated in accordance with the conceptions of feudalism employed by two broad groups of students of medieval European history: Marxists and non-Marxists. For non-Marxists the essential element of feudal regimes is the vassalage bond, while for Marxists, the distinguishing element is the relation of surplus extraction defined by a particular form of land ownership.[29]

Jack Goody criticized such attempts to apply the concept of feudalism to precolonial African regimes. He began with the problem of transferring to African history a term for which there are conflicting conceptions, citing an Anglo-Soviet discussion on feudalism in which the English speaker dwelt on military fiefs and the Russian participant concentrated on class relations of surplus extraction between lords and peasants. Goody concluded that "the core institution of feudal society is seen as vassalage associated with the granting of a landed benefit (fief), usually in return for the performance of military duties."[30] He also examined specific cases of the application of the concept to African societies. His summary of Potekhin's description of Asante is of particular interest:

> Potekhin writes that "Feudal land ownership constitutes the foundation of feudal relations." Land belongs to a restricted circle of big landowners, while the peasant pays rent or performs services for the right to cultivate his land. In Ashanti, he finds "the exclusive concentration of land in the hands of the ruling upper strata," together with the conditional land tenure and hierarchies of dependence typical of feudal society."[31]

Goody did not question the factual accuracy of the description, but thought that defining feudalism in terms of the ownership of land was not appropriate.

Of all the cases cited and summarized by Goody, only that of Basil Davidson specifically touches upon the question of slavery in Africa. Davidson's main point was to show that African feudalism shared many common features with feudalism in medieval Europe. He pointed out that during the formative period of feudalism in the European Dark Ages slaves were gradually transformed into serfs, while in Africa strong states and empires destroyed tribal equality and produced a mass of dependent people who were serfs and not slaves. Comparing Asante with England at the time of the Norman conquest, Davidson showed further similarities:

> Thus the titles and the rights of great lords, the obligations of the common people, the customs of trade and tribute, the swearing of fealty, the manners of war - all these and a hundred other manifestations have seemed to speak the same identical language of feudalism.[32]

Davidson seems to imply that slavery is incompatible with feudalism. For our present purpose, however, suffice it to say that we do not have to prove the existence of feudalism in order to establish the existence of serfs. Feudalism is a form of sociopolitical organization with several elements. At a given moment and place some elements may be present without others. Had Davidson been primarily concerned with the issue of slavery or serfdom in Africa, the right question to ask would have been whether the conditions of the people being considered approximated more closely those of serfs or those of slaves in medieval Europe.

However, these were not the issues queried by Goody whose main discomfort was with Davidson's tailoring of African history too tightly to European history. At the then stage of African historiography, Goody thought that African institutions should be studied in depth in their own right without attaching European labels. While encouraging comparative studies, he admonished African historians to stay clear of terms such as *tribalism*, *feudalism*, and *capitalism*, which invite crude comparison.[33]

J.H.M. Beattie concurred; in his study of Bunyoro in modern Uganda, he found that the political regime there contained three of the five features listed by Marc Bloch as defining feudalism in Europe. The missing elements were a special military class and evidence of the disintegration of a pre-existing strong state. Beattie concluded:

> Like Goody, I consider it to be more useful and illuminating to retain the term "feudalism" and its associated vocabulary for the complex European polities to which they were first applied (and perhaps to such other systems, like the Japanese one, which can be shown to resemble it in all or most of its essential features), and to describe the political Institutions of traditional Bunyoro and of other African kingdoms as far as possible in their own terms.[34]

It is a pity that the debate did not proceed further and examine in depth the issue of slavery and serfdom raised by Basil Davidson. Apparently it was concluded that these terms are to be avoided in the writing of African history, but this conclusion may be misguided. As will be shown shortly, slaves and serfs, properly defined, can be encountered in African societies in specific periods and regions. The problem is how to distinguish them from each other and from other dependent social categories, and trace their historical development.

Let us now attempt to resolve this conundrum by applying the formula employed by historians of precapitalist Europe as outlined above. The main difficulty is the scantiness of descriptive evidence on the dependent social categories in question. However, the research of more than three decades has produced a reasonable amount of such evidence to make the exercise feasible. What is particularly important, this research has been most intensive in the geographical areas where dependent populations in precolonial Africa were mostly concentrated: The Western Sundan, the Sokoto Caliphate in the Central Sudan, and the East African Coast. These constitute the main focus of the exercise, but scattered evidence from other areas will be examined to provide the basis for a continental generalization. The late nineteenth century will provide a starting point, and then we will turn to the period before the transatlantic slave trade.

The dependent populations of the nineteenth-century Sokoto Caliphate of modern northern Nigeria were among the first groups of such populations in tropical Africa to be scientifically studied by modern scholars. In the later 1940s Michael Smith and his wife, Mary Smith, conducted an elaborate data collection on the socioeconomic conditions of the servile populations among the Hausa-Fulani in the northern parts of the Zaria emirate in the Sokoto Caliphate. [35]

Smith's descriptive evidence shows a hierarchical sociopolitical organization of the Zaria emirate. The population was distributed into two spatial locations: walled towns, which included the capital city of Zaria; and agricultural villages where the peasants lived, groups of which were located near each walled town. Administratively, the ruler of the emirate was the emir of Zaria, referred to as a king by Smith. Being part of the Sokoto Caliphate, he was answerable to the overall ruler of the Caliphate, whose seat was in Sokoto city. Assisting the emir in the administration of the emirate were fief-holding officials, all of whom resided in the capital city of Zaria. The walled towns and agricultural villages were held as personal fiefs by these officials, who appointed subordinate staff (*jekadu)* to oversee their administration. At the lowest level of authority, the agricultural communities were run by village chiefs. Several of these agricultural villages, known locally as *rinji* (plural, *rumada),* were made up of servile cultivators;

Smith called them "slave-villages." They belonged mostly to the emir and his fief-holding officials residing in the capital city, although some also belonged to merchants and other non-office holders. Like the other villages, they had their own village chiefs.

The servile cultivators in the *rumada* lived in separate households, and possessed lands allotted to them by their lords. These were separate from the lords' field and the harvests were retained by the servile peasants for the support of their households. In the mornings these dependent cultivators worked with their families on their own farms from the early hours to 9:30, at which time they went to their lords' fields. At midday the lords sent them food, and at 2:30 they were free to return to their own farms. Apart from the meal provided on the field, the servile cultivators were responsible for the maintenance of their households.

According to Smith, the dependent populations of Zaria were of two categories, the native-born *dimajo* (plural, *dimajai*) and those brought from outside by capture or by purchase. Those brought from outside could be sold, but the native-born could not be alienated. The latter "formed the main body of the military force, of the police, and of the administrative staff at a subordinate level."[36]

Polly Hill's study of Kano Emirate, one of the largest emirates in the Sokoto Caliphate (covering an area of over sixteen thousand square miles), adds further descriptive evidence. Of particular interest is the servile village belonging to the emir. A member of the village of servile descent, who was born in about 1885, told Hill in 1972 how the village had functioned in precolonial days:

> He said that in the early days there had been "about fifty" men and women slaves working on the land; that many were strangers who spoke poor Hausa; that they lived separate houses they had built themselves, since there was no house corresponding to a *rinji*; that each slave was given a farm plot (*gayauna*) for his own use, a plot that could be inherited by a son (though not by a daughter) or lent to someone else (*aro*) but could not be sold. He said that the usual crops (grains, cassava, groundnuts, etc.) were grown on the main estate (*gandu*); that some slaves became right enough to ransom themselves; that the slave household cooked or bought most of their own food, though during the farming season cooked meals were provided in the evening as well as on the farmland at midday; that the slaves were paid for any work (such as thatching) done for the Emir in the dry season; that some free men worked alongside the slave... [37]

In general, Hill's description of the conditions of the servile populations in Hausaland complements Smith's evidence, although she is critical of some points. For example, she points out that the restriction on the sale of bonded people was not based on generational difference; rather, Hausa tradition and public opinion imposed severe limitations on the rights of masters to sell servile individuals living in a household. She further states that most bonded people in Hausaland lived in households "with their spouses and children, richer male slaves being polygynous." [38]

Another elaborate study of bonded populations in the Sokota Caliphate is the one on the Bida emirate by Michael Mason, who described how the Bida state, a unit of the Sokoto Caliphate, was established by a Fulani aristocratic family and expanded from 1857 to 1901. This expansion led to the subjugation of the Nupe, an indigenous population in the area that became the Bida emirate. Bida's military incursions into neighboring territories also brought captives from other ethnic groups, such as the Yoruba, Afenmai, Igbirra, and even the Hausa and Fulani. Both the subjugated Nupe populations and the captives brought from outside were settled in agricultural villages around Bida City, the capital of the emirate. These captive villages or settlements, known locally as *Tungazi* (singular, *Tunga*), numbered 55 by 1859; between 1859 and 1873, 694 new captive settlements were created; and by 1901 there were a total of 1,601 captive villages in the emirate. About two-thirds of them were settlements composed of subjugated indigenous Nupe populations. Mason believes that the total population of these villages must have been around 100,000 by 1901.[39]

The dwellers in these captive villages did not work collectively on their lords' fields, nor did they render any labor services. Rather, they produced entirely for themselves and paid tributes to their lords in cash (*cowries*) and in kind (farm products).[40] Mason calls them slaves, and their settlements, slave plantations. However, he points out:

> In Nupe, although slaves did not live together with the lineages of their owners, we do not see that the social relations between slaves and their masters were fundamentally different from the relations between the lords or *egbazi* (sing. *egba*) and the peasants who paid them tribute. Slaves and peasants both paid tribute. Otherwise, the slaves kept their own products.

He adds that there was only one social relation of production in nineteenth-century Nupe, "the one which we have called 'tributary'. This mode colored all relations between masters and slaves and between lords and peasants." [41]

> Based on the descriptive evidence presented, how do we categorize the servile populations of the Sokoto Caliphate in the nineteenth century? We need to stress that the studies presented do not cover all the emirates of the caliphate, and that the extent to which the emirates studied are representative of the whole caliphate is not easy to say. These emirates do, however, adequately represent the ethnic composition of the caliphate: Kano Emirate (predominantly Hausa); northern Zaria (servile settlements studied were held mostly by the Fulani); and Bida Emirate (predominantly non-Hausa-Fulani). Whether the geographical location and the ethnic composition of the emirates affected the conditions of the servile populations is unclear; what is clear is that they were all involved primarily in agricultural production. It should also be noted that in all the emirates of the caliphate, members of the Fulani aristocracy were large holders of servile populations.

Having said this, it is possible to agree that in parts of the caliphate some newly acquired captives, by purchase or through capture, and some of those who lived within the residences of their masters lived and worked under conditions that approximated those of slavery. These would be the ones Jan Hogendorn refers to as unmarried slaves who were fed by their masters throughout the year.[42] (Certainly, unmarried members of servile households worked and ate with their parents.) Based on the evidence presented, it is clear that this category of dependent cultivators did not constitute a large proportion of the total servile population in the Sokoto Caliphate in the late nineteenth century. The vast majority were householders settled on holdings of their own and were therefore, *servi casati*. They possessed enough land and had enough time and motivation to produce for themselves and maintain a household.[43] Both in status and in economic independence, most of them were superior to the *bovarii* of twelfth-century England. Many were in the category of the villein of medieval Europe, and, as Mason's work shows, the dwellers of the captive villages in Bida had greater economic independence than even the villeins of medieval Europe. What is more, the dwellers of the servile villages in the Sokoto Caliphate were superior in economic independence and social status to the nineteenth-century Russian serfs. Applying the formula employed by European historians to distinguish between slaves and serfs in precapitalist Europe to the evidence from the Sokoto Caliphate therefore leads to the conclusion that the bulk of the servile populations in the caliphate hitherto referred to as slaves by scholars were in fact *servi casati*, that is serfs. To call the servile villages in Bida and other parts of the Caliphate "slave plantations," we would have to accept the that medieval manor in England and the serf village in nineteenth-century Russia were all slave plantations.

In fact, several of the authorities cited above are uncomfortable with the use of the terms *slave* or *slavery* to describe the servile populations they studied. For example, Mason explains:

> I have used the term "slave" only because of its familiarity and its currency in discussions of unfree labour in African societies. As I have suggested in the title, "captive" is a more appropriate term, as it is principally the mode of recruitment which the West African "slave" had in common with his brother in Cuba or Brazil.[44]

While Hill writes:

> Unlike genuine chattel slaves in ancient Greece and Rome in the United States, and in Brazil and Haiti, who were always totally devoid of rights, farm-slaves in rural Hausaland normally enjoyed so many rights (including those of self-ransom) that it is reasonable to ask whether the term slave is, in fact, an appropriate translation of the Hausa *bawa*. However, quite apart from the impossibility of finding any alternative English word, it is clear that present-day definitions ... are sufficiently commodious to include the Hausa variant.

When a definition is too "commodious" it ceases to define anything, however, and Hill later complains: "So it seems that, after all, the use of the term 'slavery' does confuse certain essential issues in rural Hausaland and that a substitute ought to be coined."[45]

Michael Watts has also argued that the extent to which the upper classes in the Sokoto Caliphate depended on the supply produced by slaves has been "implausibly inflated":

> In some of the modern and peripheral emirates, perhaps less than 10 percent of the populace was servile, and while Kano and Sokoto may have been high-density systems, we are after all referring to a society constituted by perhaps 8 to 10 million "free" peasants.... The rights of ownership and production that farm slaves possessed converged with the slaveholders' ideology of the Islamic patriarch, assimilation, and the possibility of manumission. In short, the political, economic, and ideological tendencies in the Caliphate were toward the *production of peasants* who, if not entirely free, could at least be taxed or retained in a quasi-client status.[46]

So, while some members of the servile population in the Sokoto Caliphate were approximately slaves, a more precise use of terms, in the manner of modern historians of precapitalist Europe, would compel scholars to describe the vast majority of them as serfs. In other words, what the British colonial administration ended in Northern Nigeria in the early twentieth century was more serfdom than slavery.

The evidence for the Western Sudan is similar in many ways to that of the Sokoto Caliphate. Martin A. Klein, who has written extensively on the servile populations of the regions, describes how their labor was rationally exploited in the nineteenth century: "slaves were settled in separate villages or separate quarters and there was increasing control over labour, feeding and dues."[47] He points to two possible ways of grouping the populations: the native-born versus those acquired by purchase or by capture, and those who resided within their lords' compounds versus those who settled in separate village. The native-born could not be sold, while many of those residing within their masters' compounds were newly acquired, along with some trusted retainers and concubines. The latter group were fed and clothed by their masters, and those settled in villages worked under chiefs of servile descent. As Klein reports, "the larger numbers and the relative autonomy" of those living in separate villages "made possible the development of leadership." [48]

The micro-studies by Marion Johnson and by William Derman provide descriptive detail for the region. Johnson studied the state of Masina, established by a Muslin teacher and his followers in the region generally referred to as the Niger Bend (including Timbuktu and areas to the west). The state was created in the early nineteenth century and lasted until the 1860s, when its capital was destroyed by Al-Hajj Umar. The process of establishing the state and expanding its geographical area created subjugated populations, referred to as *rimaibe* (singular, *diamadio*), some held by the state and others by private Fulani pastoralists. Many of these people were settled in villages and were given lands, with one-sixth of the harvest to be paid as rent; a quantity of grains was also paid in dues called *diamgal* (settlements held by the state paid only *diamgal*). Johnson dismissed the suggestion that the settlement of the servile populations in separate villages of their own was brought about by the founder of the Masina state, who transformed preexisting chattel slaves into serfs with defined rights. The Masina system is so similar to the arrangements in adjacent territories which never came under control of the Masina theocracy, that it seems more probable that Sheku Ahmadu [the found of the Masina state] formalized and regulated a pre-existing system.[49]

Derman's study was conducted in the Fouta-Djallon area of the modern Republic of Guinea, where, in a Fulani-led *jihad* from about 1727, the indigenous Diallonke, Susu, and Poullis were conquered and reduced to servile status. The subjugated indigenous population and captives brought from outside were settled in villages, where they produced for themselves on lands rented from the Fulani overlords: "they were economically self-sufficient. They lived in their own villages, they cultivated their own fields and women's gardens (although they did not own the land), owned property and had their own kin groups." [50] They often rented lands from their masters, but sometimes from other Fulani landowners. Apart from the rent, they owed their masters labor dues, working "five days a week for their masters from early morning until early afternoon." Although Derman contends that these people were reduced to poverty by the amount of labor demanded by their masters, the labor dues seem to be of about the same magnitude as those of Kano Emirate and Zaria in the Sokoto Caliphate. The fact that the servile population of the Fouta-Djallon grew naturally after French conquest ended the wars and stopped the supply of new captives is an indication that the servile cultivators produced enough from their lands to support households with unproductive children and old members. [51]

The servile villages also had a good amount of autonomy to look after their own affairs. For example, disputes in a village were settled by the elders, while political leadership was provided by a member whose master as a chief. This political leader was also the link between the servile village and the Fulani overlords.

Taking all the evidence together, we can agree with Klein that many of the newly acquired captives and some others in the nineteenth-century Western Sudan lived and worked under conditions that approximated those of slaves, but the majority of the servile population did not belong to this category. The evidence shows clearly that those in the servile villages were *servi casati* living in households and supporting themselves. These people constituted the majority of those in servitude in the region on the eve of French conquest.

We now come to servitude on the East Coast of Africa. Here Frederick Cooper has studied servitude in four important locations: two islands, Zanzibar and Pemba, where Omani Arabs produced cloves on a large scale in plantations; and two towns on the mainland, Malindi and Mombasa (both in modern Kenya), where Arabs, Swahili, and migrant Africans employed servile labor to produce grains for local and export markets. The evidence shows considerable differences in the socio-economic conditions of the servile populations in these places. In the clove plantation of Pembas and Zanzibar, they lived in huts "scattered around the plantations, dispersed among the clove trees." The main tasks of the servile workers were harvesting, planting, and tending the young clove trees. There were two harvests each year, a large one in November of December and a smaller one from July to September. Planting, watering the young plants, and weeding were year-round tasks. During the harvest season, these servile cultivators worked eight or nine hours a day, seven days a week; or other times they worked five or six days a week. They were allotted some plots where they produced some of their own food, mostly cassava.[52]

In Malindi the servile cultivators worked in the grain fields of their masters in groups of five to twenty, under a headman of servile status. The work week was between forty and fifty hours. The cultivators were allotted small plots of between two hundred by ten yards and two hundred by fifty yards, where they produced some of their own food. During the dry season, Thursdays and Fridays were set aside for them to work their own plots, while in the wet season (main agricultural season) they had only Fridays off. According to Cooper, "most informants claimed that masters provided slaves with a daily ration of food and that the produce of the slaves' own plot was a supplement to this. Masters were also expected to provide their slaves with clothes."[53]

In Mombasa, on the other hand, servile cultivators held by several masters lived in villages of their own, each village containing from fifty to three hundred people. Some of them worked on their own and paid their masters a monthly or annual sum called *ijara*. Others cultivated the nearby fields of their masters without supervision; a quantity of grain was paid as rent to their town-dwelling masters, who periodically went to the villages to collect it. The dwellers of these servile villages around Mombasa were left with much autonomy. Cooper reports, "in the Mombasa area, slaves often live in villages containing slaves owned by various masters. They were governed by a slave headman elected by their own elders. He was expected to arrest any suspected criminals and send them to Mombasa for trial." [54]

Taking the evidence together, we agree entirely with Cooper that the servile cultivators of the clove plantations and in mainland Malindi can accurately be referred to as slaves. Even though they had some small plots allotted to them, they did not have enough time to produce for themselves and maintain a reasonable level of socioeconomic independence. The small size of the plots, less in area than a soccer field, is itself indicative. Although his demographic evidence is scanty, it clearly indicates that the servile populations in the clove plantations did not reproduce themselves socially, in spite of the favorable gender balance. The observation of contemporary visitors that the rate of reproduction was low and the death rate high is consistent with the hard data showing that mainland-born people were two-thirds of the servile population in 1900-1901. Since large-scale slave imports from the mainland were concentrated in the first four decades of the nineteenth century, as the growth of clove exports suggests, a reasonable reproduction rate should have given rise to a much greater proportion of island-born people in the population by this time.[55] This demographic evidence points further to the low level of socioeconomic autonomy among the servile populations of the clove plantations.

The case of those in the mainland area of Mombasa is a different matter. There we are dealing with people whose socioeconomic autonomy was greater than that of even the villiens in medieval Europe, not to mention that of the *bovarii* of twelfth-century England and the serfs of nineteenth-century Russia. It is an inexcusable terminological looseness to lump together the dependent cultivators of the Mombasa area and the servile populations of Malindi, Zanzibar, and Pembas under the same dependent social category. The former certainly resembled serfs more than slaves.

Having examined the regions with high densities of servile populations in precolonial Africa, it is tempting to generalize that nothing very different existed in other regions. That may well be the case in places like Asante, Dahomey, and the Benin kingdom of south-western Nigeria. In such places, a significant population of dependent people whose socioeconomic conditions approximated slavery existed side by side with others, greater in number, whose conditions were closer to those of serfs. There are regions, however, in which the people described as slaves by scholars had so much freedom that it would not be appropriate even to call them serfs, as in the case of the Puna and Kuni societies of modern Congo, where the so-called slaves labored in the same way as their free counterparts, could hold any office in their society, and were usually married to free spouses from the lineages of their masters.[56] There is also the interesting case of the servile warriors of Mozambique in the period from 1825 to 1920, who more resemble the knights of medieval Europe: they lived in their own villages, scattered all over the land; they had their own leaders, appointed from among them by their masters; and they constituted the instruments with which the lordly class dominated the peasants, collecting tribute from the peasants and imposing discipline on the peasant communities. The most important service they rendered to their master, however, was military.[57]

Thus, it is factually correct to say that a significant number of people in late nineteenth-century Africa south of the Sahara labored under socioeconomic conditions approximating slavery. However, it is also factually correct to say that the numbers of such people have been grossly exaggerated by scholars. Most of the people usually described as slaves were in fact not slaves at all. By the yardstick employed by historians of precapitalist Europe to separate slaves from serfs, the bulk of these people were serfs; indeed, some were free people.

If we can agree that a significant number of slaves existed in part of sub-Saharan Africa in the late nineteenth century, was this also true of the pre-transatlantic slave trade period? To answer this question we must turn to the socially stratified societies with established centralized state systems in the Western Sudan and in West-Central Africa. The agrarian societies of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, which subsequently formed the nucleus of the Asante state, should also be examined, for it is known that Asante economic and political entrepreneurs purchased captives from other African regions at this time.

The accounts of the first Europeans to come into contact with West African societies in the Western Sudan (the Senegambia area) do contain references to dependent social categories that these Europeans classified as slavery. Studies based on Arabic sources indicate that those sources also contain references to slaves in the societies of the Western Sudan. The combined authority of the Arabic and early European sources gave rise to the generally accepted view that the impact of the trans-Saharan trade occasioned the widespread use of slaves to produce commodities and to provision the aristocracy and state functionaries in the Western Sudan long before the first Europeans arrived on the West African coast.[58] As more detailed descriptions of the material conditions of the populations referred to in these sources as slaves becomes available, it appears that historians have been too uncritical of the sources in question.

From what we know of the history of the Western Sudan from the beginning of the present millennium to the end of the sixteenth century, Songhay was the largest and most complex state system that ever existed in the region before the coming of the first Europeans. It was heavily involved in the trans-Saharan trade and exhibited a highly developed class system. If there was an extensive use of slaves in the region, the Songhay of the twelfth to the sixteenth century must be the place to find them in large numbers. S. M. Cissoko holds that indeed there were many slaves in Songhay. Based on the terminology employed in the Arabic sources, he says that private and state officials of Songhay employed large numbers of slaves to cultivate their estates in the rural areas, but his descriptive evidence tells a different story. This can be best observed in Cissoko's own words:

> Large estates belonging to the princes and *ulamas* of the great towns were worked by slaves, settled in farming villages. The Askiya himself was one of the great landowners. His fields, scattered throughout the valley, were cultivated by communities of slaves working under overseers called *fanfa*. A sort of rent in kind was levied on

> the harvests and sent to Gao. The same happened with private slaves.[59]

He adds further details:

> The *Ta'rikhs* give us a few glimpses of country life. There is virtually no mention of peasants' revolts. The rent demanded from the slaves by their masters was never crushing.... The peasants even sold part of their produce in the local markets, obtaining products like salt or cloth and thus becoming involved in trade. [60]

The descriptive evidence leaves no doubt that we are dealing with landowning servile cultivators, producing for themselves and paying rent to their town-dwelling lords. They were located in villages and physically separated from their lords. The fact that the rent demanded "was never crushing" must mean that the dependent peasants could maintain households with unproductive children and old members and therefore were able to reproduce themselves socially. D. T. Niane concludes that these dependent peasants were serfs and not slaves:

> Up to the present time [12th-16th century] in black Africa before the monetary economy developed, land was considered to be the indivisible property of the community. The kings and emperors and "human estates," that is, lands worked by subjugated communities; but closer examination shows that this was a system of serfdom rather than slavery.[61]

It is possible that some slaves did exist in the Western Sudan by the fifteenth century, but newly available evidence indicates that the literature on the subject stand in need of revision. The descriptive evidence in the sources should be carefully reexamined in order to separate true slaves, if any, from serfs and other dependent social categories.

If it is hard to find true slaves in the societies affected by the trans-Saharan trade before the coming of the Europeans, it is even harder to do so in the coastal societies of Western Africa and their hinterlands, which were not directly affected by that trade. Somehow, Asante occupied a borderland between the societies of the Western Sudan that were directly involved in the trade and those farther down the Atlantic coast, which only received indirect effects. In fact, Asante economic and political entrepreneurs, who accumulated wealth from the sale of gold to the merchants of the Western Sudan, bought captives in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries to clear virgin lands for agriculture. Some of the captives came from the Western Sudan; others were imported from the Benin kingdom by the Portuguese and sold to the Asante entrepreneurs. This situation prompted some historians to argue that Asante already had a slave class by the fifteenth century. However, Ivor Wilks has now shown that the purchase of people by the Asante in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries did not produce a slave class at that time. The wealthy Asante, who bought people to clear the forests, took pains to avoid the creation of a slave class. The matriclan institution was invented at this time for this particular purpose. Wilks expressed that:

> One of the major thrusts in Asante social "engineering" was towards prevention of the consolidation of a slave caste: those of unfree origins were assimilated as rapidly as possible into the class of free Asante commoners and their acquired status afforded full protection of the law...But the precise way in which such task forces were incorporated and assimilated into the open-textured matriclans must remain for the present a matter for speculation; all that is sure is that incorporation and assimilation occurred, and that in consequence no slave caste arose within Asante society.[62]

Therefore, to the extent that there were slaves in Asante in the nineteenth century, their origin must be associated with conditions created after the coming of the Europeans.

The other major region where recent research has produced helpful evidence on social structure before the transatlantic slave trade is West-Central Africa. This region is important, because it was not involved in the trans-Saharan trade, and it was one of the early major suppliers of slaves to the European traders. When Europeans arrived in the late fifteenth century, the Kingdom of Kongo, the main centralized state system in the region, was continuing its territorial expansion. Its political economy rested on the collection and redistribution of tribute products from different ecological regions of the state. As the kingdom expanded geographically, the range of tribute products increased and the income of the ruling elites came to depend on the tributes.[63]

This early tribute system apparently eliminated the need for production by slaves to support the rulers. There were political clients, servants, and prisoners of war, but no slave class; there was no trade in people of any type before the coming of the Portuguese. Hence, there was no word for slave or slavery among the pre-contact Kongo people. Anne Hilton states that as late as the seventeenth century "the only term which referred to purchase [that is, purchased people], *muntu a kusumbira*, was a compound construction suggesting that the phrase had been devised to express a new condition."[64]

Jan Vansina's elaborate linguistic study of West-Central Africa corroborates the conclusions derived primarily from archival sources. On the basis of linguistic evidence, Jan Vansina has stated that there was no trade in people in the region before the coming of the Europeans, and that the various words meaning "slave" in the region are "loanwords" that evolved as the European slave trade spread from the coast into the interior. In particular, Vansina studied in detail the etymology of the term, *pika*, which in Kongo meant "servant" before 1500, but later came to mean the traded "slave" in the major communities of Central Africa involved in the transatlantic slave trade.[65]

It is thus incorrect to say that the preexistence of widespread slavery in the coastal societies of Western Africa made possible the growth of the transatlantic slave trade. In a recent effort to revive this outdated explanation, John Thornton argues that African legal systems, which prevented private ownership of land, gave rise to the accumulation of slaves everywhere in Africa, and the transatlantic slave trade "was the outgrowth of this internal slavery." Based on a misunderstanding of medieval European history, Thornton argues that "by contrast, in European legal systems, land was the primary form of private, revenue-producing property, and slavery was relatively minor."[66] In fact, a careful examination of the evidence points to a considerable similarity between the land tenure system in the major states of medieval Europe and that in the major states of precolonial Africa. As Douglass North and Robert Thomas have pointed out, "Feudal law [in Europe] did not recognize the concept of land ownership,"[67] and Goody makes the same point:

> From the evidence concerning the inheritance of land at the village level [in medieval England] it would seem that here the idea that conquest put all rights in the hands of the Norman conquerors was something of a fiction. Whatever the legal position on this abstract level, the medieval system in practice appears to display some similarities with African land tenure, especially in states like Nupe.[68]

It was the same process which changes slaves and serfs to free peasants, as feudalism collapsed in Europe, that also gradually transformed the European feudal lord into a modern landlord.[69] It should be noted that when the market conditions in Africa were right in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, no "African legal systems" could hold back the development of modern private property rights in land.

The evidence clearly refutes the contention that the transatlantic slave trade sprang from previously accumulated slaves in Africa. There was no process in place that regularly generated people for sale in the coastal societies of Western

Africa before the coming of the Europeans. On the contrary, it was the power of European demand for captives to be exported as slaves that provoked large-scale gathering of captives for sale, which ultimately established a permanent process with supporting socioeconomic and political structures. One part of the socioeconomic structure was a large servile population, including slaves and serfs.

The best region to illustrate this argument is West-Central Africa, and the best case in the region is the Kingdom of Kongo. This kingdom had never been involved in a trade in people, but it had the capacity to generate captives from outside the polity, and these captives could be sold if conditions made that the best alternative, economically and politically, for the kingdom's economic and political entrepreneurs. To start, it should be noted that the main initial Kongo trade with the Portuguese shifted their emphasis from copper to slaves. Even by this time the King of Kongo had no immediately available "disposable people" to sell when the King of Portugal sent a trade mission to prepare the way for large-scale slave exports. As Hilton reports, while the Kongo ruler accepted the new trading arrangement and the gifts from the King of Portugal, he had no slaves to send even as return gifts:

> There were in fact very few slaves available for purchase and scarcely any had so far been exported from Kongo. In order to secure the return gift Afonso [the reigning King of Kongo] had to raid the neighboring Mbundu ... newly acquired captives being the only people who could, at this time, be legitimately sold. [70]

Thus, during the early years (up to the second decade of the sixteenth century), when the slave trade remained marginal and while copper and cloth were dominant, not even the King of Kongo "had a large retinue of slaves,"[71] let alone the title-holders and provincial governors under him. At that time the kingdom did not even have a standing army. In the course of the sixteenth century, however, the sociopolitical and military conditions associated with the transatlantic slave trade led to the accumulation of dependent populations in Kongo. We do not know enough about their conditions. The literature refers to all of them as slaves; we can only guess that many were approximately slaves and others serfs.

The state was eventually forced to establish a standing army made up predominantly of slaves. Alvaro III (1587 - 1614) had sixteen to twenty thousand Tio slave guards. Officeholders and merchants in the capital city and other trading centers employed many servile people in agriculture to meet their subsistence needs. In the course of the seventeenth century the holding of servile cultivators in the central region of the kingdom became so widespread that almost every aggrieved person demanded slaves as compensation.[72]

The Kongo evidence shows that transatlantic slave exports developed without any assistance from a preexisting slave class. It also shows that political clients, servants, and other dependent peoples in precontact Kongo could not be sold by law and tradition. What is more, there is no indication that the rulers had a pathological drive for the accumulation of people as an end in itself, as is often claimed. On the contrary, these rulers, like rulers in all precapitalist societies, saw people as potential producers and subjects. Their attitudes were influenced by political expediency and the relative value of production factors in the short run, as determined by market opportunities.

No one who knows the response of African political and economic entrepreneurs to European demand for agricultural and other products in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries will be surprised by this finding. Western Africans never produced or traded cocoa and rubber before the coming of the Europeans, but when the latter demanded those products and were willing to pay prices that made their production rewarding, they were produced in rapidly growing quantities, although there was no previous experience to fall back on. Given the circumstances of African states in the era of the transatlantic slave trade, it is not hard to imagine that the political and economic value of European trade missions, like the one sent by the Portuguese to Afonso I of Kongo in 1512, must have been easy to sell to the rulers of those states, since they could procure the captives from outside their polities at very little cost to themselves.

We owe a significant intellectual debt to the historians and anthropologists who have studied slavery in Africa for the past two decades or so. Their research has helped to call attention to social and economic issues in the study of African history after the initial emphasis on political questions. However, the sociology of knowledge that directed the research seems to have encouraged a lack of attention to terminological precision. As we know too well, slavery in Africa was a major theme constructed by the European slave traders to defend their business against the abolitionist onslaught in the eighteenth century. The same theme also became fashionable for the agents to European colonialism in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, as the abolition of slavery was presented to the moral conscience of Europeans as part of the European "civilizing mission" to Africa. The propaganda by the slave traders and by the agents of colonialism was so effective that it was given intellectual respectability in history text books. One part of the propaganda - the claim that the preexistence of widespread slavery in Africa gave rise to and helped to sustain the transatlantic slave trade - was challenged in the mid-1960s by Walter Rodney.[73] It is fair to say that the subsequent encounter between Rodney and Fage set the stage for the research of the 1970s and 1980s on servile institutions in precolonial Africa. Even Rodney, however, while questioning the existence of slavery in the coastal societies of Western African before the transatlantic slave trade, accepted uncritically the colonial propaganda that slavery was everywhere in late nineteenth-century Africa.

Given the sociology of knowledge that informed the study of slavery in Africa, it is understandable why very little attention has been paid to terminological precision, which characterizes the study of dependent social categories in the history of precapitalist Europe. I have attempted to redress this weakness in the literature by applying to the African evidence the formula employed by modern historians to separate slaves form serfs in precapitalist Europe. The result shows that, while there were slaves in late nineteenth-century Africa, the bulk of the people hitherto so described more closely resembled serfs. The phenomenon of what scholars refer to as inter-generational mobility among the slave populations in Africa[74] - the tendency for the children of slaves to be come free persons or nearly so - meant that the slave class in Africa could not reproduce itself, not only because its rate of reproduction was low, but largely because the children of slaves normally did not remain in slavery; they either became free or became serfs. Apart from the clove plantations of East Africa, most of what scholars have called "slave plantations" in Africa were, in fact, serf villages. To accept them as slave plantations, we must also accept the medieval manors in Europe and the serf villages of nineteenth-century Russia as slave plantations. In that case, Russia would have possessed the largest concentration of slaves in the nineteenth century, with over 22 million of them.

The evidence also shows that there were no slaves in the coastal societies of Western Africa in the fifteenth century to provide the springboard for the transatlantic slave trade. It is, therefore, misleading to speak of "transformations in slavery" in Africa from the fifteenth century.[75] What happened in the coastal societies of Western Africa and their hinterlands after the fifteenth century, following the socioeconomic and politico-military conditions associated with the transatlantic slave trade, was the transformation of free peasants, political clients, servants, and quasi-serfs into slaves and serfs. Following the worthy accomplishments of the research of the last two decades, what is needed now is terminological precision. We need to find ways of separating slaves from other dependent social categories in precolonial Africa and reinterpret the evidence.

NOTES

1. Paul E. Lovejoy, "Foreword," in Claude Meillassoux, *The Anthropology Of Slavery: The Womb Of Iron And Gold,* translated by Alide Dasnois (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991), p. 7. Lovejoy's view is totally contrary to Meillassoux's argument in the book, which unambiguously states that tropical Africa was the last region in the world to develop a trade in slaves and the institution of slavery, many centuries after similar developments in Europe and Asia and around the Mediterranean (pp. 20-21).

2. Paul E. Lovejoy and Jan S. Hogendorn, *Slow Death For Slavery: The Course Of Abolition In Northern Nigeria,* 1897 - 1936 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), pp. xiii, I.

3. Meillassoux, *The Anthropology Of Slavery*, p. 22.

4. Martin A. Klein, "The Study of Slavery in Africa," *Journal Of African History,* 19, no. 4 (1978): 599-609; Frederick Cooper, "The Problem of Slavery in African Studies," *Journal Of African History,* 20, no I (1970\9): 103-25; Paul E. Lovejoy, "The Characteristics of Plantations in the Nineteenth-Century Sokoto Caliphate (Islamic West Africa)," *American Historical Review,* 84, no. 5 (1979): 1267-92

5. Paul E. Lovejoy, "Plantations in the Economy of the Sokoto Caliphate," *Journal Of African History, 19, No. 3* (1978): 341-68; Lovejoy, "The Characteristics of Plantations."

6. Igor Kopytoff and Suzanne Miers, "African 'Slavery' as an Institution of Marginality," in *Slavery In Africa: Historical And Anthropological Perspectives,* edited by Suzanne Miers and Igor Kopytoff (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1977).

7. Cooper, "The Problem of Slavery," p. 105.

8. Claude Meillassoux, "Female Slavery," in *Women And Slavery In Africa,* edited by Claire C. Robertson and Martin A. Klein (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1983). Meillassoux states that "one approach to African slavery, which stresses it benevolent character by comparison to American or West Indian slavery, tends to play down the differences between slaves and other dependent or dominated social categories, such as pawns, serfs, or even married women" (p. 50).

9. Joseph E. Inikori, *The Chaining Of A Continent; Export Demand For Captives And The History Of Africa South Of The Sahara, 1450-1870* (Mona, Jamaica: Institute of Social and Economic Research, 1992). p. 37.

10. David Pelteret, "Slave Raiding and Slave Trading in Early England," in *Anglo-Saxon England,* vol. 9, edited by Peter Clemoes (Cambridge: Cambridge Univer-sity Press, 1981), pp. 99-114. Pelteret writes: "In contrast to the Roman world, slavery seems not to have been an integral element in he social structure of the Germanic peoples living outside the Empire at the time when Tacitus was writing about them" (p. 100). But the Anglo-Saxons were involved in taking captives and exporting them to places in the Roman empire before they moved into England. That practice of taking and selling captives continued for centuries after they settled in England.

11. Pelteret, "Slave Raiding," pp. 99, 102.

12. *Life Of St Wulstan, Bishop Of Worcester,* translated by J. H. F. Peile (Oxford, 1934), pp. 64-65, cited by Pelteret, "Slave Raiding," p. 113, n. 107.

13. *Eadmer's History Of Recent Events In England,* translated by G. Bosanquet (London: University of Wisconsin Press, 1964), p. 152, cited by Pelteret, "Slave Raiding," p. 113, n. III.

14. H. E. Hallam, "England before the Norman Conquest," in *The Agrarian History Of England And Wales: Volume Ii, 1042-1350,* edited by Hallam (Cambridge:Cresset Press, 1988, pp. 10-12. In *The Famulus: The Estate Labourer in the Xiith And Xiiith Centuries* (London: Cambridge University Press, 1954), M. M. Postan has suggested that the percentage of slaves in the total population may have been less than the Domesday figures imply" "Corrected by the coefficients which historians employ to translate the Domesday figures of households into numbers of heads, the proportions of slaves to the total Domesday population would probably turn out to be smaller than the gross figures in the Domesday might suggest. For we must assume that whereas a large proportion of the slaves were not in a position to establish families, all the other social groups were counted in family units" (pp.5-6).

15. Postan holds that by 1086 the conversion process had not gone far enough to engulf "that portion of the slave class whom lords were still employing in their *curia*" (Postan, T*he Famulus*, p. II).

16. Postan, *The Famulus,* pp. 12-13.

17. Ibid., p. 23.

18. Ibid., p. 36. Earlier in the work, Postan had stated: "How fundamental the change-over from slave to *Bovarius* was, is not a question to which a simple answer is possible. It may have signified nothing more than a modification of their status, and may not have been of very great economic importance. On the other hand it may have been one of habitation - the resident slave may have been transformed into a land-holding servant - in which case it was of great economic significance" (p. II).

19. Ibid., p. 9.

20. Ibid., p. 25. This way of looking at slavery and serfdom would seem to be consistent with Meillassoux's theoretical construct, which distinguishes slavery from serfdom on the basis of the dependent producer's capacity to retain a proportion of his surplus large enough to raise a family and maintain a household. Under Meillassoux's framework, if the dependent producer possessed enough land and had enough time to work it and keep a surplus large enough to raise children and maintain old members of the household, then he was a serf. On the other hand, if the lord's demand for surplus labor was so great that the dependent producer was unable to maintain a household, then he was a slave. Hence, the observation that in all slave systems the slave class is unable to reproduce itself socially, being born of the "womb of iron and gold" - capture by force of arms and purchase with money on the market. See Meillassoux, "*The Anthropology Of Slavery.*"

21. R. H. Hilton, *The Decline Of Serfdom In Medieval England* (London: Macmillan, 1969), pp. 9-11.

22. Peter Kolchin, *Unfree Labor: American Slavery And Russian Serfdom* (Cambridge, Mass.: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1987), pp. 2-4, 41. The discussion of the Russian serfs is based largely on Kolchin's work.

23. Ibid, pp. 2-3.

24. Ibid., pp. 37-38.

25. Ibid., p. 43. By the mid-eighteenth century there were two broad groups of peasants, state peasants and serfs. The latter, owned almost exclusively by noblemen, constituted over fifty percent of the peasant population. The state peasants were made up of those who escaped enserfment and those recently freed (Ibid., p. 39).

26. Ibid., p. 52. It is not clear whether male serfs refers to heads of household or to all males, including children. If reference is to heads of household, then the total serf population was much greater than what is stated here.

27. Historians have debated the issue of whether the nineteenth-century Russian serfs were actually slaves or serfs in the main, although their conditions came close to those of chattel slaves. This is an important distinction, contrary to the view of Kolchin, who thinks that the dispute is mere hairsplitting. The sale of the serfs certainly moved them very close to chattel slaves. But, as Kolchin himself acknowledged, most serfs continued to receive allotments of land of their own from their owners with which they supported themselves (Ibid., pp. 43-45). For this reason they were *Servi Casati*, and the demographic evidence indicates that they were able to maintain a household and reproduce themselves socially. Their sale was also regulated by state laws: Peter I decreed in 1721 that family members must not be separated by sale; and in the nineteenth century Nicholas I twice outlawed the selling of unmarried children away from their parents (Ibid., p. 117). It is fair to say that in the main these people were serfs, but over time their conditions came close to those of chattel slaves.

28. Jacques J. Maquet, "A Research Definition of African Feudality," *Journal Of African History*, 3, no. 2 (1962): 307.

29. Maquet thought that the Marxist conception would be difficult to apply to precolonial Africa, where the notion of land ownership embodied in Roman law was non-existent. See Maquet, "African Feudality," p. 309.

30. Jack Goody, "Feudalism in Africa?," *Journal Of African History*, 4, no. I 1963): 3.

31. Goody, "Feudalism in Africa?." p. 10. He refers to I. I. Potekhin's "On the Feudalism of the Ashanti," a paper read to the Twenty-fifth International Congress of Orientalists in Moscow (1960).

32. Basil Davidson, *Black Mother: The Years Of The African Slave Trade* (Boston: Atlantic Monthly Press, 1961), pp. 11-12.

33. Goody, "Feudalism in Africa?" pp. 10-13. Goody may as well have included words like slavery and plantations.

34. J. H. M. Beattie, "Bunyoro: An African Feudality?," *Journal Of African History 5,No. 1 (1964): 26, 35.*

35. See Mary F. Smith, ed., *Baba Of Karo: A Woman Of The Muslim Hausa* with introduction and notes by Michael G. Smith (London: Faber and Faber, 1954); Michael G. Smith, "S Study of Hausa Domestic Economy in Northern Zaria," AFRICA< 22, no. 4 (1952: 333-47; M. G. Smith, "Slavery and Emancipation in Two Societies," *Social And Economic Studies*, 3, no. 3-4 (Dec., 1954): 239-90; and M. G. Smith, *Government In Zazzau*, 1800-1950 (London: Oxford University Press, 1960).

36. Smith, Slavery and Emancipation," pp. 244-267; Smith, *Government In Zazzau*, pp. 86, 89- 90;Smith, introduction to BABA OF KARO, p. 22.

37. Polly Hill, "From Slavery to Freedom: The Case of Farm-Slavery in Nigerian Hausaland," *Comparative Studies In Society And History, 18, No. 3* (1976): 418.

38. Ibid., pp. 402-404.

39. Michael Mason, "Captive and Client Labour and the Economy of the Bida Emirate, 1857-1901," *Journal Of African History*, 14, no. 3 (1973): 459-60.

40. Mason, "Captive and Client Labour," pp. 465- 68.

41. Michael Mason, "Production, Penetration, and Political Formation: The Bida State, 1857- 1901," in *Modes Of Production In Africa: The Precolonial Era*, edited by Donald Crummey and C. C. Stewart (Beverly Hills; Sage Publications, 1981), pp. 214-15.

42. Jan Hogendorn, "The Economics of Slave Use on Two 'Plantations' in the Zaria Emirate of the Sokoto Caliphate," *International Journal Of African Historical Studies*, 10 (1977): 378.

    According to the more detailed work schedule presented by Hogendorn, the dependent cultivators in Zaria rose by 4:00 a.m. for the morning prayer, after which they went with their families to their own farms. At 9:00 a.m. they moved to their lords' fields and worked until midday, when they rested and had their meals. By 2:00 p.m. work on the lords' fields was over and they were free to return to their own farms. This schedule was followed during the farm season, which lasted (including the harvesting period) probably no more than six or seven months. During the dry season from November to April, they worked mostly for themselves and were paid when they worked for their lords. See Hogendorn, "The Economics of Slave Use," pp. 375-76; and Hill, " *From Slavery to Freedom*," p. 418.

43. Assuming that the morning prayers lasted an hour, the servile cultivators must have had at least six hours daily to devote to their own farms during the farming season (allowing for movement to and from the lords; fields), while spending at most about four hours on their lords' fields. Of course, there was a lot of time during the dry season to engage in non-agricultural activities for themselves: hunting, handicraft production, and so on.

44. Mason, "Captive and Client Labour," p. 453, n. 2.

45. Hill, "From Slavery to Freedom," pp. 397, 413.

46. Michael Watts, *Silent Violence: Food, Famine And Peasantry In Northern Nigeria* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983), pp. 77-78. Despite this telling criticism, Watts still talks of "several million slaves" in Sokoto Caliphate in the late nineteenth century (p. 191).

47. Klein, "The Study of Slavery," p. 607.

48. Martin A. Klein, "Slave Resistance and Slave Emancipation in Coastal Guinea," in *The End Of Slavery In Africa*, edited by Suzanne Miers and Richard Roberts (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1988). pp. 208-209.

49. Marion Johnson, "The Economic Foundation of an Islamic Theocracy - The Case of Masina," *Journal Of African History*, 17, no. 4 (1976); 488-89.

50. William Derman, *Serfs, Peasants, and Socialists: A Former Serf Village In The Republic Of Guinea* (Berkeley, California: University of California Press, 1973), p. 30.

51. Derman, Serfs,Peasants And Socialists, P. 34.

52. Frederick cooper, *Plantation Slavery On The East Coast Of Africa* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1977), pp. xi, 156-70.

53. Cooper, *Plantation Slavery*, p. 173.

54. Cooper, *Plantation Slavery*, p. 173-76, 228.

55. Cooper, *Plantation Slavery*, pp. 51, 52, 61, 131, 221-25.

56. Klein, "The Study of Slavery," p. 603.

57. Allen Isaacman and Anton Rosenthal, "Slaves, Soldiers, and Police: Power and Dependency

among the Chikunda of Mozambique, ca. 1825 - 1920," in *The End Of Slavery*, pp. 220-53.

58. Walter Rodney, "African Slavery and Other Forms of Social Oppression on the Upper Guinea Coast in the Context of the Atlantic Slave Trade," *Journal Of African History*, 7, no. 3 (1966): 431-43; John D. Fage, "Slaves and Society in Western Africa, c. 1445-1700," *Journal Of African History*, 21 (1980): 289-310; Claude Meillassoux, "The Role of Slavery in the Economic and Social History of Sahelo-Sudanic Africa," in *Forced Migration: The Impact Of The Export Slave Trade On African Societies*, edited by Joseph E. Inikori (London and New York: Hutchinson and Africana, 1982), pp. 74-99; J. Devisse and S. Labib, "Africa in Inter-Continental Relations,: in *Unesco General History Of Africa: Iv, Africa From The Twelfth To The Sixteen Century*, edited by D. T. Niane (Berkeley: Heinemann, University of California Press, UNESCO, 1984), p. 672.

59. S. M. Cissoko, "The Songhay from the 12th to the 16th Century," in *Unesco General History*, pp. 202-203.

60. Cissoko, "The Songhay," p. 205.

61. Niane, *Unesco General History*, p. 682.

62. Ivor Wilks, "Land, Labour, Capital and the Forest Kingdom of Asante: A Model of Early Change," in *The Evolution Of Social Systems*, edited by J. Friedman and M. J. Rowlands (London: Duckworth, 1977), pp. 523-24.

63. Anne Hilton, *The Kingdom Of Kongo* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1985), pp. 32-35.

64. Hilton, *The Kingdom of Kongo*, p. 233, n. 86.

65. Jan Vansina, *Paths In The Rainforests: Toward A History Of Political Tradition In Equatorial Africa* (London: James Currey, 1990), p. 278; Vansina, "Deep-Down Time: Political Tradition in Central Africa," *History In Africa*, 16 (1989): 352. The latter work shows the spread of the term from the slave trading coastal communities to the interior, along the main trade routes (p. 353, map 3).

66. John Thornton, *Africa And Africans In The Making Of The Atlantic World, 1400-1680* (Cambridge) Cambridge University Press, 1992), p. 74. This book focuses on a very important subject - the contribution of Africa and Africans to the history of the Atlantic basin; unfortunately, it is marred by conceptual weakness and factual inaccuracies. For example, the statement that "The average density in seventeenth-century Lower Guinea ... was probably well over thirty people per square kilometer, or well over the average European density of the time" (p. 75) has no empirical foundation, both on the European and on the African side. The population of Western Europe was 61 million in 1200, 73 million in 1300, and 78 million in 1550 (D.C. North and R. P. Thomas, *The Rise Of The Western World* [Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1971], p. 71). With a land area of 898,804 square miles, the average densities come to 68 persons per square mile in 1200, 81 in 1300, and 87 in 1550. Average densities in Western Africa did not reach these levels until the colonial period. It was these relatively high population densities of Western Europe, and the growth of trade and the commercialization of socio-economic life to which they gave rise, that provoked the development of private property rights in land in Western Europe. The economics and the empirical basis of Thornton's arguments are, therefore, dubious.

67. Douglass C. North and Robert P. Thomas, *The Rise of the Western World: A New Economic History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1973), p. 63.

68. Goody, "Feudalism in Africa?," p. 6.

69. North and Thomas, The Rise of the Western World, p. 88.

70. Hilton, *Kingdom of Kongo*, p. 57.

71. Hilton, *Kingdom of Kongo*, p. 78.

72. Hilton, *Kingdom Of Kongo*, pp. 58, 78, 85, 122-23; see also John K. Thornton, *The Kingdom Of Kongo; Civil War And Transition*, 1641-1718 (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1983), pp. 15-27, which describes the urban setting for slave employment but does not trace the historical development of slavery in Kongo. Research in other regions shows a similar pattern. See Robert W. Harms, *River Of Wealth, River Of Sorrow: The Central Zaire Basin In The Era Of The Slave And Ivory Trade, 1500-1891* (New Haven: Yale Press, 1981); Ralph Austen, "Slavery among Coastal Middlemen: The Duala of Cameroon," in Slavery In Africa; Joseph E. Inikori, *The Chaining Of A Continent: Export Demand For Captives And The History Of Africa South Of The Sahara, 1450-1870* (Mona, Jamaica: Institute of Social and Economic Research, 1992), pp.25-39; Patrick Manning, *Slavery And African Life: Occidental, Oriental, And African Slave Trades*

(Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990); and Meillassoux, the *Anthropology Of Slavery*, pp. 33, 40, 43, 70, 239-40.

73. Rodney, "African Slavery and Other Forms of Social Oppression," pp. 431-33.

74. Klein, "The Study of Slavery," p. 605.

75. Paul E. Lovejoy, *Transformations In Slavery: A History Of Slavery In Africa* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983).

PART THREE

AFRICANISMS IN AMERICA

Gullahs applied the African ontology, adapted Christianity and bondage to it, and created a religion that employed spirituality as a means of self-preservation and as a vital component of community life....In bondage, Gullahs achieved elevation on the level of personal culture and the molding of community values.

Margaret Washington Creel

GULLAH ATTITUDES TOWARD DEATH AND DYING

by

Margaret Creel

"En when I trabbles de deep woods, whey de moss wabe low en Mr. Cooter lib en Mr. Moccasin crawl en de firefly flicker - meh packet for load.

Yas'm. I'm ready fer em. Gunpowder en sulpher. Dey es say Plat Eye can't stan dem smell mix .... So I totes meh powder en sulpher en I carriers stick in meh han en puts meh truss in Gawd."*

Gullahs attached a tremendous significance to death, but there was little evidence of apprehension at the prospect of dying. Slaves lived in the presence of death so constantly that they seemed to consider the phenomenon as much a part of living as was their continuous labor. That they often reflected on the subject is evident in their spirituals. Yet these songs do not indicate that Gullahs thought of death with fear, foreboding, or morbidity. Perhaps it was partly this stoicism in the face of earthly demise that some observers viewed as resignation or the effects of demoralization. All African ethnic groups believed in life beyond physical death. Possibly Gullahs retained the West African bush-initiation experience in their attitude toward death. This idea of a symbolic journey to the world of the dead and a triumphant return might explain the Gullahs' ability to transcend feelings of dread about death and to disavow its ultimate power over them. But perhaps an equally strong influence was the BaKongo, since these societies had the most elaborate afterlife beliefs. The BaKongo four moments of the sun implies that earthly death is the setting of the sun, or the third moment. Death was not the end of life, nor the cemetery a final resting place, but a door (*Mwelo*) between two worlds. The fourth moment is midnight on earth when the sun is shining on the world of the dead. Here rebirth takes place. In any case, no matter what the unconscious motivation, what many considered to be a weakness among these bondspeople was actually a source of strength. They overcame a fear of death in light of the reality of its dominant presence among them, and through their realization that they, more so than most people, were often powerless to alter its course. Thus, while Gullah did not shirk from death, they were sensitive to the degree to which their lives were exploited, and aware that oppression often caused an untimely end to life. The depth of their understanding of their position was sometimes grippingly demonstrated. Teacher William Allen was struck by how much the children sang of pain and death. Little "Margaret" came to the well to draw her pail of water. Putting it on her head, she walked off singing "shall I die—shall I die." She was followed by Tom and Abraham "Galloping along on bamboo horses and shouting, 'my body rock 'long feber.'" Charlotte Forten was much affected by one of the hymns which she heard Gullah children singing:

> I wonder where my mudder gone;
> Sing, O graveyard!
> Graveyard ought to know me;
> Ring, Jerusalem!
>
> Grass grow in de graveyard;
> Sing, O graveyard!
> Graveyard ought to know me;
> Ring, Jerusalem!
>
> It is impossible to give any idea of the deep paths of the refrain, – "Sing, O Graveyard." [1]

The pathos is there certainly, but the sense of hope, so characteristic of the Gullahs, is also present in the words "Grass grow in de graveyard." This could indicate that, in the BaKongo tradition, although there was death, there was also life and rebirth. The refrain "Graveyard ought to know me" might refer to the slaves' previous journey to the world of the dead as "seekers." The phrase could also recognize the omnipresence of death among the slaves.

Another spiritual expressed a sense of optimism and a superior attitude toward death:

> O Massa Death,
> He's a very little man,
> He goes from door to door;
> He kills some souls,
> and he woundeth some.
> Good Lord remember me;
> Good Lord remember me;
> Remember me as the years roll round,
> Good Lord, remember me.[2]

In Christian belief the finality of death was often negated. One of the most appealing aspects of Christianity for Gullahs was the expectation of a better life after death. This afterlife was not visualized in the African sense, that an individual's status would not differ from one's mortal position. Instead, Gullahs strongly adopted the Christian concept of heaven, where all "true believers" would sit on "Christ's right side." For obvious reasons, this was one of the tenets of Christianity they most cherished. [3] While their African world view encouraged Gullahs to take a rich, positive attitude toward life, through Christian influence they expected a better life as payment for their suffering. As one person expressed it:

> De harder me cross to bear down here de better I go be prepare to tek me place in dat Happy Land where all is 'joicin, an' when I git dere, I want de Lord to say, "phelia . . .come an' rest wid de elect ob de Lord!"[4]

There was little in Gullah prayers or songs to indicate they feared the tribunal expected to reward the "faithful" and damn the "sinners." Thus they disregarded that portion of their religious instruction which strenuously emphasized a judgment day where "every theft or falsehood" would be brought to light and held against them. What was more important to the Gullahs was a change in their conditions. Just as Baptist slavemaster Daniel Pope queried Marcus, the Praise House elder, as to whether the Gullahs really believed Christ wanted "black nigger in heben," so were slaves convinced that the "Kingdom of God" would have almost no white subjects. Gullah Christianity was one of recompense. Slaves accepted the Christian doctrine of eternal life but modified it so that heaven was an exclusive place, primarily available to sufferers of the right hue as expressed by a former slave:

> It is impossible to reconcile the mind of the native slaves to the idea of living in a state of perfect equality, and boundless affection with white people. Heaven will be no heaven to him, if he is not to be avenged of his enemies. I know, from experience, that these are fundamental rules of his religious creed; because I learned them in the religious meetings of the slaves themselves. A favorite and kind master or mistress may now and then be admitted into heaven, but this rather as a matter of favor, due to the intercession of some slave, than as a matter of strict justice to the whites, who will, by no means be of an equal rank with those

> who shall be raised from the depths of misery, in this world. The idea of a revolution in the conditions of the whites and the blacks, is the cornerstone of the religion of the latter; and indeed it seems to me, at least, to be quite natural, if not in strict accordance with the precepts of the Bible.[5]

Although the Gullahs did not fear death, they recognized its power, and the passing of one of their number had a profound effect on the community. As has been noted, Methodist missionaries observed this and often tried to use the drama of death among the Gullahs to "bind them to the cross."[6] But while the Gullahs' perception of life after death was essentially of Christian origin, many practices associated with the dying and the dead were derived from African antecedents.

When death was expected, the plantation community felt compelled to enter into the spirit of the event and vicariously involve themselves in the death throes of the individual, lest when their time came they have to face the ordeal alone, or the deceased, dissatisfied with the send-off, would return and bring evil. The dying person was surrounded by the community, who offered comfort and support. "We got tuh help him cross de ribber," the Gullahs would say. Friends of the dying were expected to bring gifts even though the sufferer could not use them. Such offerings were usually edibles "tuh taste de mou't," but never flowers. Singing, praying, and pious conversation filled the cabin nightly. It was not a solemn time unless sad or obscure circumstances caused the death, but rather was somewhat cheerful, and the subject of death itself was not neglected. Everyone was expected to hold forth as part of the ritual of coaching the dying person to report a heavenly visit or some other evidence of "dying good." When the sufferer drew the last breath, everyone present gave a loud shriek as notification that another soul "done crossed ober." Many Northern teachers were repulsed at the Gullahs "death-watch":

> This practice of sitting up all night with the dying, H. W. [Harriet Ware] justly enough condemns as "heathenish." "The houses cannot hold them all, of course, and they sit round out-of-doors in the street, the younger one often falling asleep on the ground, and then they 'hab fever.'"
>
> But of course it was useless to expostulate with them; to their minds the omission of the watch would be a mark of great disrespect.[7]

Like their African forebears, Gullahs believed in the presence of evil almost as much as they believed in the forces of good, and their attempts to please both God and the "powers of darkness" explain much about their customs regarding death. Even though they professed to believe that God "called" his servants to heaven, death was still looked upon as an instrument of the powers of darkness. Thus night vigils, singing, praying, and preaching around the bedside of the dying was supposed to strengthen the person as they "passed death's door." The loud shrieks as the last breath was drawn were said to be a formal announcement of the death, but also "scares off the spirits of hell who are always lurking around to get possession of another soul."[8]

Gullahs believed that one could not always know whether demise had come through natural causes because "God called," a "good" death, or by witchcraft, considered a "bad" death. This was also true of many African peoples. Among those of the Windward Coast, death reportedly came to people because God or the ancestors wanted them or because of witchcraft. If witchcraft was suspected, a rather gruesome postmortem was performed. Among the Mende and other groups, a "probing man" would be given permission to search the deceased's abdomen for evidence of witchcraft. The spleen was removed and placed in a pot containing a solution of certain leaves and water. If the spleen sank to the bottom of the pot, the deceased was declared a witch. If the spleen floated, the deceased was free of witchcraft. Among the BaKongo, the concept of "a bad or a good death" was also important. Characteristics indicating a bad death were the sick person quarreling with those present, having severe pains, or a prolonged death agony. If a person could not speak properly when dying, or turned his or her head toward the wall, a bad death was also suspected. A bad death meant a person was "shot with nkisi-guns," and was considered a *ndoki* or witch. A good death was a calm ordeal, peaceful and easy, with the person lying on his or her back.[9] Gullah attitudes about "good" and "bad" deaths were infused with African customs, though the death watch was viewed in a Christian context.

An individual was said to "die good," that is, of natural causes with no sorcery involved, by praying out loud, reporting a heavenly vision or giving some evidence that peace had been made with God on the deathbed. A pious life counted for little if this was not observed. Nor did an evil life mean damnation, if the dying could satisfy spectators with an appropriate heavenly vision. What was probably more important to Gullahs was that the deceased be at peace with the world, hence assuring the community that he or she was not a witch, or bewitched, and would not return to "hannt" the living.[10]

Those spirits destined for hell did not actually go there until judgment day, according to Gullahs. Instead, these "on-easy speerits" roamed the earth, having no resting place, and tormented the living. Some Gullahs believed that good spirits went straight to heaven, but most seemed to think that even these spirits remained on earth, close to the place of their burial. Unlike those who "died bad," good spirits would normally not harm the living, nor would they roam. They appeared only in dreams, giving messages and warnings to the living. Thus Gullahs had a real concern for coaxing an individual to "die good," and a real superstition about those who "died bad." The slaves devised various mechanisms of defense against the latter spirits.[11]

Much of the Gullahs attitude toward death and belief in spirits was inherited from the African respect for and honor of the living dead, and from the African belief in the power of sorcery. Consider, for instance, a description of death among the Mende:

> When a dying man is panting for breath, the Menda say "Taa ha ha yiyei le ma" ("he is climbing the hill of death"). As soon as death is announced, the members of the family all begin to wail. The body of the deceased is then washed, and messages are sent to call the absent members of the family....Members of the family will bring money, cloth, wine and rice as their contribution toward the funeral expenses....On the fourth day for a man (the third day for a women), the "crossing-the-river" ceremony takes place....If these ceremonies are not properly performed, the evil will fall on those responsible.

Similarly, for Temne people, the underlying idea of funeral rites is to appease the spirit of the dead so they will not trouble the living. Mende also believe that separation of good and bad people takes place after their crossing the river. While there is no clear-cut idea as to who bad people are, they are chiefly thought of as those who dealt in "bad medicine or witchcraft." These evil ones in their spirit form will vent their feelings by sending disease and will manifest themselves by haunting the living and taking possession of them. Among the BaKongo, the curse of the dying is much dreaded, especially that of a relative, for the deceased will soon enter the spirit world. A dying person may admonish those around to take care of his or her affairs. "If you do not, I shall fetch you, and you will not become old here on earth." The dying one may also request the living to "wrap me well in the cloth that I leave," may insist that the living hold many lamentations after the death and care for the deceased's family. If not properly buried, the deceased might bring *kindoki* (evil).[12]

A curious example of the application of both African and Christian practices among the slaves is provided by a former South Carolina bondsman. According to the informant, a good-looking and very popular slave girl named Mary became ill and died after a lingering illness of four or six months' duration. The slaves on the surrounding plantations were sure that Mary had been conjured (poisoned) by a rival in a love triangle. The plantation proprietor, a Methodist minister, had Mary treated by his brother, a practicing physician. While the doctor was attending Mary, the slaves appealed to their own doctor, a plantation slave who also treated the young woman. But Mary died, and, according to the author, her funeral, which as was traditional took place at night, "was the largest ever held in all the region of the country":

> The coffin, a rough home-made affair, was placed upon a cart, which was drawn by an old Gray, and the multitudes formed in a line in the rear, marching two deep. The procession was something like a quarter of a mile long. Perhaps every fifteenth person down the line carried an uplifted torch. As the procession moved slowly toward "the lonesome graveyard" down by the side of the swamp, they sung the well-known hymn of Dr. Issac Watts:
>
> "When I can read my title clear
> To mansions in the skies,
> I bid farewell to every fear
> And wipe my weeping eyes."
>
> Mary's baby was taken to the graveyard by its grandmother, and before the corpse was deposited in the earth, the baby was passed from one person to another across the coffin. The slaves believed that if this was not done it would be impossible to raise the infant. The mother's spirit would come back for her baby and take it herself.
>
> After this performance the corpse was lowered into the grave and covered, each person throwing a handful of dirt into the grave as a last farewell act of kindness to the dead, and while this was being done the leader announced that other hymn by Dr. Watts:
>
> "Hark! from the tomb a doleful sound
> My ears, attend the cry;
> Ye living men, come view the ground
> Where you must shortly lie."
>
> ...A prayer was offered....This concluded the services at the grave. No burial or commital service was read....At a subsequent time, when all the relatives and friends could be brought together a big funeral sermon was preached by some of the antebellum negro preachers.

The presence of the a plantation slave "doctor" is reminiscent of the BaKongo Nganga, who employed life-affirming *nkisi* to heal and ward off bad medicine or *kindoki*. The charm did not work for the plantation slave, and the large funeral turn-out may represent the people's desire to protect themselves from whatever evil had caused Mary's death as well as to express their respect. Passing the woman's baby back and forth over her coffin was a well-known Gullah graveside custom. "Dead moder will hant de baby," Gullahs explained, and "worry him in his sleep." A similar custom among the BaKongo was women crossing back and forth over the graveside of a woman who died in childbirth, hoping that such a fate would not befall them. Singing at the grave was also part of the BaKongo send-off. The funeral, a lavish affair, would take place when all members of the clan could gather and when enough food could be collected.[13]

Thus another aspect of Gullah religion was a syncretic blend of belief in the efficacy of Christian salvation, the prevalence of the living dead, and the awesome powers of conjuration. It was sometimes difficult to determine where they believed the most power rested. At any rate, their expression, "Love God and fear the devil" indicates that, as a precautionary measure, they preferred to respect the authority and domain of both. For Gullahs saw no contradiction in being firm proponents of the Baptist faith and protecting themselves against forces of the supernatural as well. In spite of the Gullahs' strong profession of Christianity, Laura Towne noted that "They believe in the evil eye, and also in the power of a good eye for healing," and that "they are afraid of being alone at night, or of sleeping alone, for fear 'the hag will ride we.'" A slaveholding South Carolina minister remembered Elihu, a "devout, old creditable deacon" of the church and highly respected exhorter in the slave quarters. Upon passing the old man's cabin, the owner observed an inverted horseshoe over the door. Since Elihu's skill as a hostler was well known, the owner assumed that the horseshoe was a "professional sign." However, the insignia was instead a charm against supernatural agencies:

> "What is that over your door Elihu?"
> "Dat for witches, Massa."
> "For what?"
> "Witches, Massa. Nebber sleep, no how, widout horseshoe to keep out de witches.[14]

Thus, besides the Christian version of immortality, elements of African tradition also accounted for the Gullahs' attitude toward death, as indeed it did in their attitude about life. As previously stated, existence of spirits of the deceased was not only central to African ontology, but these beings constituted the largest group of religious intermediaries. Hence, Africans viewed death as perhaps the most important rite of passage rather than as the demise of life. Death was a momentous transition, requiring demonstrative evidence that the physical presence of the deceased would be missed. But it was just as necessary to celebrate this passage into the spirit world in a manner that indicated a continued existence. Africans believed that the spirit which survived the body was conscious of all earthly events and had the power to exercise influence over the destiny of the living. Consequently, the death of a clan member was observed with greatest respect and the death commemoration had to be expressed collectively.[15]

Ancestors were said to retain their normal human passions and appetites which had to be gratified in death as they had been in life. Ancestors felt hunger and thirst. They became angry or happy depending on the behavior of their living "children." If neglected, the living dead were vindictive, but propitious if respected. Just as filial loyalty prevents one from allowing a parent to go hungry, "so must food be offered to the ancestors." Among the BaKongo, food was put out immediately after the burial and palm wine poured over the grave. Survivors believed the deceased would eat the food, and bless those who placed it there.[16]

Among the Gullahs, even for one who "died good," the spirit could not rest if something had been left behind which it desired. It was observed that Gullahs and other African-Americans placed articles on newly formed graves. These objects were usually personal belongings, broken pottery and porcelain, playthings, lighting utensils, objects pertaining to medicine, food, and water. According to the antebellum memories of Telfair Hodgson, a number of her father's slaves came directly from Africa. The slaves' graves were "always decorated with the last articles used by the departed, and broken pitchers, and broken bits of colored glass were considered even more appropriate than the white shells form the beach nearby." Sometimes the slaves also carved "wooden figures like images of idols," or put a "patchwork quilt" on the grave. One twentieth-century investigator, Samuel Lawton, was told by a number of Sea Island ministers that it was also a common custom to bury articles along with the dead:

> You must not think that just because you do not find anything on those graves that the relatives did not put some things in there. It is most likely that they have a number of things buried with the body. I have often, at the burials I have conducted, seen the relatives pour hamper baskets full of things right down on top of the coffin before the dirt is shoveled into the grave.[17]

The custom of putting objects both in and on top of graves can be traced to African origins. The Ovimbundu place articles such as baskets, gourds, and instruments used in the burial on top of grave sites. Peoples in the Kongo were said to "mark the final resting-places of their friends by ornamenting their graves with crockery, empty bottles, old cooking pots, etc." Many ethnic groups of the Windward Coast believed that it was necessary to provide the dead with various gifts, domestic articles, and clothing that could be of use in the life beyond the grave. Such articles, along with food and water, would be left at the grave, so that the spirit of the deceased would come and claim them.[18]

Although the Gullah believed in two spirits, it was the "trabblin" spirit rather than the heaven-going spirit which caused the greatest concern. The reasons given for grave adornment clearly indicate the African precedent. One informant related:

> Yo' see, suh, everybody got two kinds of speerits. One is de hebben-goin' speerit. . . . Den dere is de trabblin' speerit... .De hebben-goin' speerit don't gib you no trouble, but de trabblin' speerit, 'e be de one dat gib you worriment. E come back to de t'ings 'e like. E try fur come right back in de same house.[19]

Some Africans regarded their essential being as divided into "little me in the big me." Apparently "little me" existed before life and would continue to exist after death in the spirit world. This relates to the Gullah informant's idea of two kinds of spirits. The heaven-going spirit, "little me," depending on how one died, would, after death, rest in the spirit world while the traveling spirit would torment the living. Hence, Gullahs asserted that the last used articles were buried with the deceased to "keep de speerit outen de house." This would go along with the Gullah practice of thoroughly cleaning the deceased's house to break earthly ties. Another explanation which the Gullahs offered was "to satisfy de speerit at de grave." It was said that the spirit desired to be near objects that it loved before death. "Yessuh," stated one informant, "dey puts t'ings on de grave so day be handy fur de speerit and he be satisfy."[20]

Like Africans, Gullah had a definite revulsion against the return of the deceased in the form of "tabblin' speerits" regardless of the kind of life the individual had lived. These spirits were considered evil, similar to *kindoki* among the BaKongo. Every effort was made to pacify these "speerits." This is further illustrated by the presence of whiskey bottles on the graves in churchyards. A Gullah minister provided the following explanation:

> When a man is living it take liquid whiskey in he stomach to make him drunk, but when a man is dead he don't hab a stomach to hol' de liquor, but it don't take nuttin' but de fumes from whiskey to make a speerit drunk. Dose dat bin used to gittin' drunk fo' dey dies, dey will keep on gittin' drunk after dey dies, so dey t'ink dat de speerit ob a drunkard will hover right in front ob de mout' ob a livin' person when he bin drinkin' so he can whiff de fumes ob de whiskey on he bre't an' dat will make de speerit drunk. But ain't no livin' man want no speerit hover right dere in front ob he mount', so dat is why dey puts whiskey bottles on de drunkard's grave. De whiskey bottles on de graves is empty 'cause de smell is enough to satisfy de speerit an' make 'en drunk.[21]

Gold Coast Africans believed that the spirits made use of all offerings left by friends and relatives after death. Mende carried to the graveside cooked chicken together with rice and red palm oil. This mixture was placed on a banana leaf and laid by the side of the grave. Sometimes soil was dug out and the red rice placed in a hole. Then a little water was placed on the grave and words were spoken: "Here is water, wash your hands, eat your rice, drink your water." The family then ate the remainder of the chicken and rice and offered a prayer, indicating that the family had done right by the deceased and expected the dead to remain there and to protect them:

> We are leaving you as we have finished your last ceremony. We want you, from now on, to look after your children (other members of the family may be mentioned). May no bad thing fall on them.[22]

Similarity of beliefs and motives regarding grave adornment is best illustrated by the types of articles found on graves in the Sea Islands. Such objects as partially filled medicine bottles, mirrors, broken pitchers, saucers and cups, mayonnaise jars, pickle jars, vaseline, cold cream, tobacco and black pepper were placed on graves. Seashells were also commonly placed on graves. Other personal items included shaving brushes, toothbrushes, mirrors, combs, and belt buckles. In addition, twelve Gullah ministers reported to Samuel Lawton that other articles of food such as grapes, oranges, apples, bananas, bread, and cake were often placed on graves and soon eaten by animals and birds. Further efforts to satisfy the spirits of the dead consisted of pouring water on the grave during a drought. This custom could have been for the purpose of quenching the thirst of the spirit so that the dead would not disturb the living by seeking water.[23]

Gullah decoration of graves indicates a firm belief in the return of ancestors from the world of the dead. Offerings on graves were statements of homage and in these graveyards, one finds the strongest expressions of African-inspired memories. Many objects are associated with or used to hold water. In BaKongo religion, deceased ancestors became white creatures called *bakulu's.* They lived in the village of the dead, referred to as the land of all things white. This village was located under river beds and lakes. *Bakulu's* white spiritual transparency allowed them to return to the world of the living undetected. Sea shells, used on Gullah graves, for instance, are an important theme in BaKongo metaphysics. One Bakongo prayer which addresses the shells states, "As strong as your house, you shall keep my life for me. When you leave for the sea, take me along, that I may live forever." The essence of this prayer is recaptured by the late Bessie Jones of St. Simons Island, Georgia. She related:

> The shells stand for the sea. The sea brought us, the sea shall take us back. So the shells upon your graves stand for water, the means of glory and the land of demise.[24]

Just as sea shells and pottery express immortal existence, and the significance of a water underworld, so the glittering, iridescent mirrors and porcelain on Gullah graves reflect the light which represents the spirit. These objects, like water when struck by sunlight, are intimations of the flash of the separated spirit in symbolized flight. Mirrors, lamps, porcelain, and glass are spirit-embodying once they are placed on the graves. Their presence keeps the spirit away from the living. The significance of spiritual proximity in brilliance gave rise to the BaKongo custom of lighting bonfires on graves to lead one' soul to another world. Similarly, Gullah torchlight burials may have had a deeper meaning than simply lighting the path. Certainly the presence of lamps on African-American graves indicates that perhaps this was a means of lighting the way to the world beyond, and keeping away the deceased's spirit. Furthermore, the decorations imply the deceased's entrance into the fourth moment's spiritual existence where all is light and brilliance. Breaking pottery and porcelain was perhaps not done to prevent theft, as some researchers believe, but may indicate the deceased's spiritual release and break with earthly life.[25]

Another interesting continuity between Gullah and African traditions in regard to burial is the position of the deceased. In Central West Africa, the coffin is placed so that the deceased faces eastward. Folklorist Elsie Parsons noted that Gullah graves were "invariably dug east to west, with the head to the west." Thomas Higginson wrote in his diary of a "very impressive" funeral for two black soldiers in his regiment. Just before the coffins were lowered, "an old man whispered to me that I must have their positions altered, – the heads must be towards the west." Higginson complied without asking why. Gullahs and Africans shared a concept of the cosmos. The world followed the sun from east to west.[26]

Sea Island slaves retained a belief in the power of agents of evil and easily included the Christian devil in their hierarchy. Ghosts, hags, plat-eyes, conjurers, and others were all instruments of Satan. At times their faith in God may not have surpassed their fear of the devil.[27] On other occasions God could, for the sake of "the faithful," take the role of a conjurer and bring evil instead of good. Although Gullahs believed that Satan and his cohorts were mainly responsible for evil, they also felt that God was sometimes willing to bring evil down upon an adversary of one of His own. In the following illustration, God reportedly used His power in this way. July Brown was a high officer in one of the churches on Edisto Island. When he was interviewed in the

1930s for the Federal Writers Project, he related the story of how he once prayed a man to death:

> I been on de Savannah train goin' to Charleston. My wallet been jam down deep in my hip pocket. Must ob had 'bout twenty dollars in um. Lo and behold when I git to de Union station, I feel in my pocket to git street cyar money, and my wallet done gone! I notice dat when I come out ob de train uh black, shaap face nigger been press close to me. I say: "Dats de bery man steal my money." I'quire roun de station and find out who he be. Dey say he uh man from John Island and dey call 'e name to me.
>
> No, I ain't make no 'temp to call de police. Dat man done spend de money anyhow. I jest say: "All right. I goin' to leave yuh wid God."
>
> When I git home, I shet my door and put de whole ting 'fore God. I tell um my trouble and what dat man don 'gainst me. In two week time dat man jest as still and cold as uh piece ob iron.[28]

This may be similar to the power of *nkisi*, essentially a positive force working for the good, to ward off *kindoki*, and thus doing an evil deed. Generally speaking, however, the deity represented forces of good. Gullahs believed in the power of God and saw that power as a form of protection. This may perhaps explain why interviews for the Federal Writers Project observed that nearly all the doors and windows of Gullah cabins were painted blue, the color of the heavens. One theory was that the custom of painting doors and windows blue was an unconscious holdover from the early days of slavery in the Sea Islands when Gullahs were given the residue from indigo vats to use on the doors and windows of their cabins. However this does not explain the fact the Gullah conjurers concocted pills for their "patients" the color of which was usually blue also. Perhaps then, the shade blue was effective in keeping out "speerits." Spirits were said to be afraid of blue because it reminded them of heaven, hence evil beings could not stand the sight of blue. But the Gullahs themselves would not verify either notion regarding their preference for blue. If asked why they painted their doors and windows blue, Gullahs would smile wryly and say some people "jest lak dat color."[29]

Thus, while Gullahs turned gratefully to the Christian God, whom they regarded as a warm, personal friend, this did not prevent them from retaining some of their ingrained customs and beliefs, as is observed in their attitudes toward life, death and the supernatural. And even in the Gullahs' approach toward death, a sense of community prevailed. The ritual was observed with respect and responsibility. There was a feeling of satisfaction that, while the individual had to cross the river alone, the right impetus had been given before the deceased left the earth, and thus the living had done their part by fulfilling their collective obligation for the last time.

A direct relationship appears to exist between the African and Gullah theory of being. In both, God (Jesus for the Gullahs) was the apex, representing honor, constancy, harmony, and perfection, while humanity occupied the center, ever striving to be godlike through a sense of love, community, kinship, and cooperation. In addition, the good and bad of the spirit world existed in both traditions although it was far more complex for Africans than for Gullahs. These beings included superhumans, animals, and objects without biological life.[30] Gullahs applied the African ontology, adapted Christianity and bondage to it, and created a religion that employed spirituality as a means of self-preservation and as a vital component of community life. It is, then, to the Gullahs' credit that though circumstances prevented them from rising up against slavery, they did not succumb to white cultural domination. Instead, they successfully rose above many of the negative ingredients of Christianity while assimilating certain other attributes which were synthesized with African culture. In bondage, Gullahs achieved elevation on the level of personal culture and the molding of community values. The edifying qualities of Gullah religious belief must be seen as having contributed much to that achievement, just as an element of truth must be recognized in the assertion that insofar as people develop their own culture they are not slaves.[31]

NOTES

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25. Thompson, *Flash of the Spirit,* 139-42, and *Four Moments of the Sun,* 183; Vlach, *Afro-American Decorative Arts,* 141. Laman writes that "the porcelain articles may comprise mugs (with holes knocked in bottom), to prevent their being stolen," *Kongo, II:* 95.

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PART FOUR

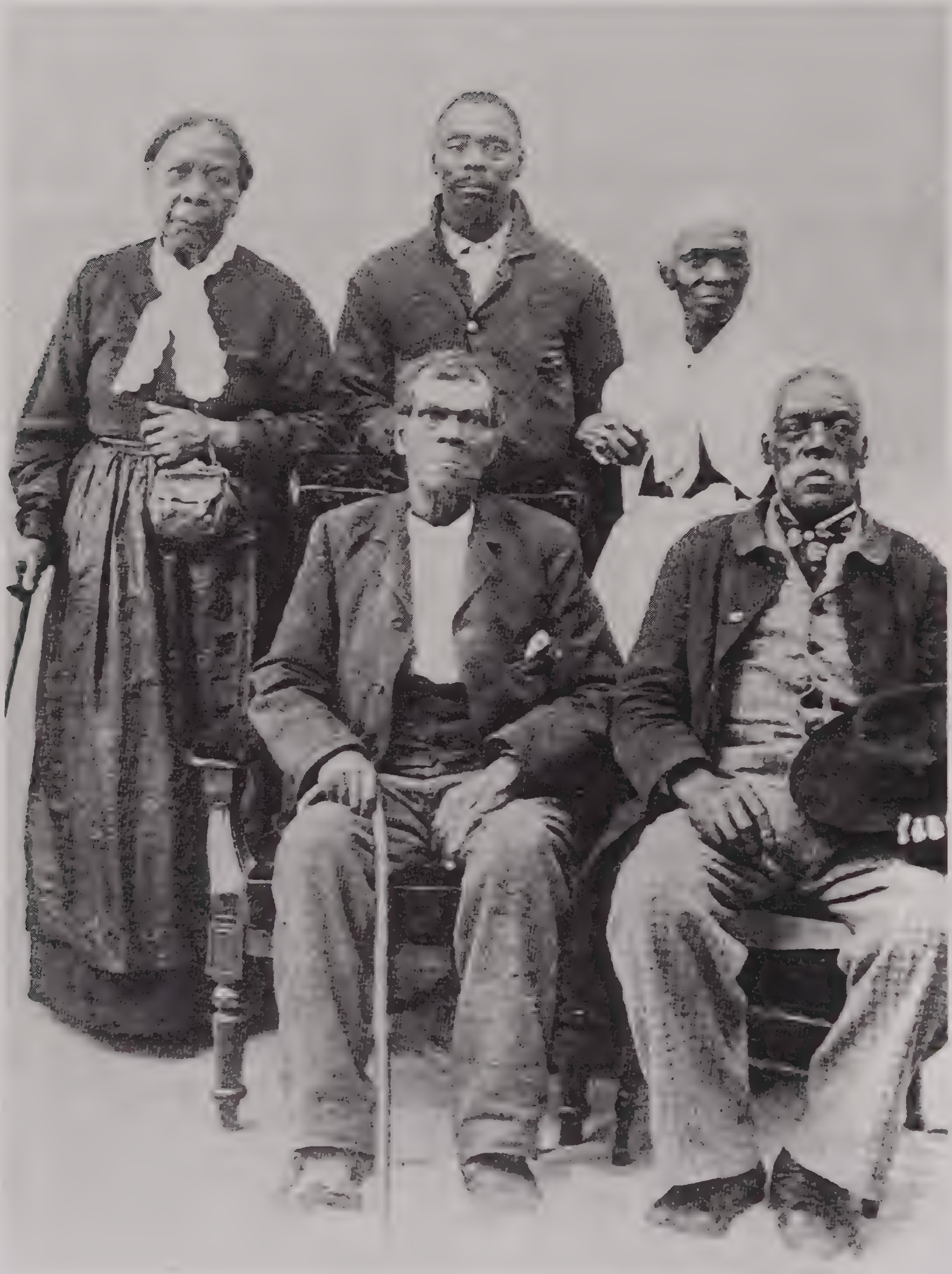
NINETEENTH CENTURY EMIGRATION MOVEMENTS

In song, Negroes closely followed what the American Colonization Society was saying and doing. When they knew that Liberia had been established, the slaves burst forth in a spiritual about this African home.

Miles Mark Fisher

But if you have every reason to wish for our removal, how much greater are our inducements to remove! Though we are not slaves, we are not free. We do not, and never shall participate in the enviable privileges which we continue to witness.

Baltimore's Free People of Color (1827)



© Immigrants All...Americans All/Statewide Sponsor

A group of refugees from slavery in the United States settled in Windsor, Canada, in the mid-1800s. They are (standing) Anne Mary Jane Hunt, Mansfield Smith, Lucinda Seymour, (seated) Henry Stevenson and Bush Johnson

Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture

"DEEP RIVER"

by

Miles Mark Fisher

Largely because he left no written records, little is known about the black man's thoughts while he was a slave. Oral evidences, however, especially oral traditions and folk tales, tend to reveal that the black slave participated a strong sub-culture which he brought in the main from Africa.

In the following selection the black theologian, Miles Mark Fisher, examines the slave songs, now increasingly recognized as oral historical documents, and shows how Africa was central to the slave's longing for his freedom.

"DEEP RIVER"
Deep River, my home is over Jordan, Deep River,
Lord, I want to cross over into camp ground;
Lord, I want to cross over into camp ground;
Lord, I want to cross over into camp ground;
Lord, I want to cross over into camp ground.[1]

Quakers in North Carolina bought numerous slaves and, through their Manumission Society, which was established on July 19, 1816, sent them to other countries. The North Carolina Yearly Meeting, co-operating in this work, reported on June 9, 1825, that their agents endeavored "collectively to confer with the people of color under Friends' care respecting their willingness to go to other governments."[2] Africa was one of the places to which American Negroes desired to go.[3] In a song called "Deep River," that originated in Guilford County, North Carolina (where it was the name both of a body of water and of a meetinghouse of Quakers), a conservative slave told his Quaker benefactor that he wanted to "cross over" to Africa, the home of camp meetings. He said this more than the usual three times because the Quakers, as they said, had difficulty in placing confidence in the ambiguous speech of Negroes.[4]

Negroes loved Africa. Sometimes captives on slave ships jumped overboard and tried to swim back home.[5] Even the kind attentions of London royalty, including Her Majesty, Queen Caroline, did not prevent Job ben Solomon, a Maryland slave whom Oglethorpe had thought might be of service to the newly founded British Museum, from wanting to go home to Africa, where he was sent in 1734. Interest in Africa missions was aroused during the Great Awakening when it was proposed in 1755 to send three or four Africans in North America to the College of New Jersey (Princeton) to be educated for service in Africa. Nearly twelve hundred former slaves, sympathizers with the British cause during the American Revolution, left cold Canada for Sierra Leone, West Africa, in January, 1792.[6] Most of their places were shortly filled by Twelawny maroons from Jamaica, who had vexed the white population there for centuries by making disturbances at their secret meetings. To many of these maroons Canada was so unpleasant that hundreds of them went to Sierra Leone in 1800, arriving in October.[7] Haitian Negroes also sang that they wanted to be at home in Africa.[8] African colonization became part of an international plan of race relations for the benefit of Negroes, and among the latter it was a tenet held with the religious zeal of revivalism.[9]

Samuel Hopkins and Thomas Jefferson were among those who advocated colonization elsewhere of the Negroes of the United States. The latter's view of emancipating all Negro slaves and then expatriating them was criticized on the ground that Negroes were making contributions to the American nation, but by December, 1816, a Society for Colonizing Free People of Colour of the United States, with their consent, was organized by Robert Finley, a Presbyterian minister.[10] Bushrod Washington, one of the judges of the Supreme Court, was elected president. At least some humanitarian and Christian people were convinced that Negroes loved Africa.[11]

The American Colonization Society continued to call attention to the need for a gradual emancipation of Negroes and an ultimate removal of slavery. The practicality of such a program was assured by Paul Cuffee, a Negro Quaker sea captain of New Bedford, Massachusetts, who made two trips to Africa, taking out thirty-eight Negro colonists in 1815.[12] To make certain that other Negroes would not lose hope in their eventual return to Africa, three letters from Cuffee's emigrants at Sierra Leone, West Africa, dated May 18, 1818, were published in the *Report of the American Colonization Society* and reprinted in denominational periodicals. In one letter, Samuel Wilson asked Richard Allen and other free Negro opposers of the Society: "Do you not know that the land where you are is not your own? Your fathers were carried into that to increase strangers' treasure, but God has turned it all to good, that you may bring the gospel into your country." He added that Negro ministers were not doing the will of God by remaining in the United States. Another emigrant, Perry Locke, wrote, "Your mother country...is like the land of Canaan." His closing words were these: "Dear Friends, let this be printed, if you please." An open letter from these colonists and nine others went to the "Dear Friends and Brethren of America," commending Samuel J. Mills and Ebenezer Burgess, the two "missionaries" sent to find an eligible colonial site on the West Coast of Africa, as witnesses that expatriated Negroes were in the "Land of Canaan." It was asserted that Cuffee's colonists were on their way to make fortunes in Africa.[13] These letters were undoubtedly edited by colonizationists, but it is nevertheless clear that their authors were in favor of the experiment.

Such letters as these influenced the recruiting of colonists for Africa and kindled hopes for emancipation in the breasts of slaves. The first shipload of eighty Negro colonists, under three white colonial agents of the American Colonization Society, sailed from New York in the winter of 1820.[14] The sudden death from fever of the agents and of fully a fourth of the emigrants checked colonizationists at first. They were, however, determined to succeed, and they sent replacements of agents and colonists in February, 1821. Cape Montserado was bought from the natives that environs of Sierra Leone to their home, called Liberia, in 1822.[15] Colonizationists made a considerable stir about their achievements, naming the Liberian settlement Monrovia, in honor of the President of the United States. In 1823 fully 156 American Negroes were sent to Africa in three ships.

In song, Negroes followed closely what the American Colonization Society was saying and doing. When they knew that Liberia had been established, the slaves burst forth in a spiritual about this African home. The last words of the song, "at last," indicate that it was a late contemporary of "Sinner, Please," which also ended with the words "at last." On the Port Royal Islands, South Carolina, during the Civil War Negroes sang a simply conceived song about their African home which their forefathers knew about in 1823.

I am huntin' (see) for a city, (home) to
    stay awhile,
I am huntin' (see) for a city, (home) to
    stay awhile,
I am huntin' (see) for a city, (home) to
    stay awhile
O Believer (Po' sinner) got a home at
    las(t.') [16]

So many months passed before the third colonization ship sailed in June, 1822, taking out only twenty-five emigrants from Maryland and twelve from Pennsylvania, that Negroes in regions farther south felt that they might never get a chance to go. It was not, indeed, until 1827 that a few Negroes as far south as Georgia went to Africa. Yet, with great faith, Negroes of Florida said ambiguously, in song, that they were patiently waiting for their masters to manumit them for emigration, or that they were waiting for Jesus or his representative to "land them on Canaan's shore."

O brothers, don't get weary,
O brothers, don't get weary,
O brothers, don't get weary,
(Us) *We're* waiting for the Lord.
(Us) *We'll* land on Canaan's shore,
(Us) *We'll* land on Canaan's shore,
When we (us) land on Canaan's
shore,
(Us) We'll meet *forever more.*[17]

Negroes in the United States were not easily discouraged; they intended to follow earlier colonists and traditionally expressed their intentions in words like "efn I live and nothing happens."[18] About 1824 a song which Negroes sang on the Port Royal Islands echoed the colonization propaganda that emigrants were doing their Father's will by expatriating themselves to Liberia. This spiritual was made almost endless by repeating the same verse for each person present, like "Titty Mary" and "Brudder William."

Titty Mary, you know I gwine follow,
(Titty Mary, you know) I gwine follow,
(Titty Mary , you know I) gwine follow,
Brudder William, you know I gwine to
follow,
For to do my Fader will.

'Tis well and good I'm a-comin' here
tonight,
I'm a-comin' here to-night, I'm a comin'
here to-night,
'Tis well and good, I'm a-comin' here
tonight,
For to do my Fader will.[19]

Notwithstanding these evidences of intention, so few Negroes sailed to Africa that even the warmest sympathizers with African Colonization came to view the plan as impractical. Negroes, however, attributed their delays in being manumitted for African colonization to their inherited belief in the devil,[20] who was known in the Americas as Satan. African devil worship was taught in secret meetings and was associated with serpent symbolism.[21] On April 21, 1864, several Negro slave children were heard seriously "shouting" their ancient beliefs about the devil.[22] A song which suits the 1824 period told of the hindering work of Satan.

What make ole Satan da follow me so?
Satan hain't nottin' at all (tall) for to do wid
(or Long o') me. (Run seeker.)
Hold your light, (Sister Mary,) (or All de
member, Turn seeker).
Hold your light, (Seeker turn back?)
Hold your light on Canaan shore. [23]

Yet a Negro in Augusta, Georgia, sang his great faith that his mother, who had been trying to get over the hill to Africa for a long time, would succeed. She had the requirement for manumission. She was a religious person and, according to Negro ideology, was one of the chosen people.

O yonder's my ole mother,
Been a-waggin' at de hill *so* long;
I really do believe she's a child of God,
She'll git home to heav'n bime-bye.[24]

A contemporary singer from the same Georgia city knew of additional work of Satan. He also sang, about 1824, of his belief that he was religiously fit for African colonization, and he repeated colonization, and he repeated colonization talk that the friendly Jesus had brought African Negroes to the American shores in order that they might return home with gospel light.

Jesus had been prevented from doing this perfect work by a "busy ole" Satan who rolled stones in the way:

1. Ole Satan *is* a busy ole man,
He roll stones in my way;
Mass' Jesus *is* my bosom friend,

He roll 'em out o' my way.

(Chorus:)
O come-e go wid me,
O come-e go wid me,
O come-e go wid me,
A-walkin' in de heaven I *roam* (go).

2. I did not come here myself, my Lord,
It was my Lord *who brought* (bring) me here;
And I really do believe *I'm* a child of God
A-walkin' in de heaven I roam (go).[25]

Since 1822 two brigs and a schooner had sailed to Liberia— in March and June, 1823 and in January, 1824. This encouragement excited slaves, who were propagandized to believe that they should be attracted to their African "home" to do God's will, to carry the gospel, and to follow Jesus.

About 1824 Caesar, a Negro singer of the Port Royal Islands, South Carolina, was more realistic. He wanted to go to Africa because he had been jilted in love by his "Rosy." His "poor heart" had been broken, and his life was now in hell, recalling the identical words of a fugitive slave. Caesar knew that he was a good religious fellow such as the American Colonization Society had a reputation for selecting for emigration. Yet his master had not seen fit to manumit him for colonization. Neighboring slaves knew of the love affair between Rosy and Caesar. They might have been both amused and sorrowful that Caesar could not live as he once had. He "had left children in Africa when stolen away." This aged Negro was undoubtedly one hundred years old when he was seen at Port Royal in 1863.[26]

1. Poor Rosy, poor gal (or Poor Caesar, poor boy);
Poor Rosy, poor gal;
Rosy break my poor heart,
Heav'n *shall-a* be my home.
(Chorus:)
I cannot stay in hell one day,
Heav'n shall-a be my home;
I'll sing and pray my soul away,
Heav'n shall-a be my home

2. Got hard trial in my way, (ter)
Heav'n shall-a be my home.
O when I talk (or Walk), I talk (or Walk) wid God, (bis)
Heav'n shall-a be my home.

3. I dunno what de people (or Massa) want of me, (ter)
Heav'n shall-a be my home.[27]

There was a lingering tradition with Negro soldiers of Col. Thomas Wentworth Higginson's regiment in the Civil War that when a Negro called by them "Moses" got an opportunity to go to Africa, he readily accepted. Negro thinking about Moses reached its height between 1824 and 1827. Up to that time only two boys by that name had sailed to Africa; one, four years old, from Maryland, and the other, fifteen years old, from Virginia. The soldiers were simply elated that "Brudder Moses," whom they did not like, had gone to Africa:

Brudder Moses gone to de promised land,
Hallelu, hallelujah.[28]

It was inspiring to other Negroes that slaves whom they familiarly knew as Stephen and George knew in advance that they were going to Africa. They sang:

Brudder George is a-gwine to glory,
Take care' de *sinsick* (o' he) soul
Brudder George is a-gwine to glory,
Take car' *de sinsick* (o' he) soul

Brudder *Stephen's* (George) gwine to glory,
Take car' *de sinsick* (o' he) soul.
(Brudder Stephen's gwine to glory, etc.)[29]

No matter how roseate slave life had become under a very few beneficent masters, slaves in Virginia at the same time of the "hallelu, hallelujah" rejoicing of the song about "Brudder Moses" knew that they wanted to go to Africa because they were forced to work in the rain and in the burning sun for long hours at a time. Families were broken up by the slave system, and Negroes seeking preferment tattled on one another. Slaves imagined that in Liberia "every day *shall* be Sunday," the day they were legally forbidden to work.[30]

1. No more rain *fall* for wet you,
   Hallelu, hallelu,
   No more rain *fall* for wet you,
   Hallelujah
2. No more sun shine for burn you.
3. No more parting in de kingdom (heav'n
4. No more backbiting in de kingdom (heav'n
5. Every day shall be Sunday.[30]

Colonization interpretation is also possible for a song about poor Rebecca Lawton, who knew in advance that she would never enjoy the benefits of African colonization. A song leader poked fun at ther for counting upon African colonization so strongly. Other Negroes joined in the fun, as if to say, that "Becca Lawton" now ought to be convinced that relief from slavery would have to come by some other means. She was obliged to remain a slave on the Port Royal Islands and to let the "rain fall and wet" her continually, even though Jesus was over in Liberia, saying, "Come unto me, all ye that labour and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest." This was the verse of the spiritual which read: "Do, Becca Lawton, come to me yonder, etc." The "yonder" of this song places it with the other "yonder" spirituals of the first quarter of the nineteenth century. The chorus and verses were repeated to suit the whim of the singer.

(Chorus:)
Rain *fall and* wet Becca Lawton (or All de member, etc.),Oh![31]
Rain *fall and* wet Becca Lawton, Oh!
Brudder (or We (Us) all, Believer, etc.) cry holy

1. Been (or Beat, Bent, Rack) back holy,
2. Beat back holy, and rock salvation.
   I *must* come slowly
   Oh! Brudder cry holy!
3. *Do*, Becca Lawton, come to me yonder.
4. Say, brudder Tony, what shall I do now?

Later the song lost its primary significance. Its rhythm was used by rowers, and its chorus had such words as

Sun come and dry all de member. [32]

After 1823 most of the Liberian colonists sailed from southern ports.[33] The departures of colonization ships, bearing mostly southern Negroes, were very dramatic. Some of the farewell songs of the emigrants have been preserved in Negro churches as parting spirituals. One song from the southeastern slave states was as follows:

O fare you well, my brudder,
(F) are you well by de grace of God,
For *I'se* gwinen home;
I'se gwinen home, my Lord,
I'se gwinen home.

Massa Jesus gib me a little broom,
For to sweep my heart clean;
Sweep 'em clean by de grace of God,
An' glory in my soul. [34]

The parting songs of Negroes who sailed to Africa conditioned the remaining slaves for colonization. These people compared the difficulty of securing manumissions for expatriation to the deliverance of Daniel from the den of lions. This early concept about Daniel was heard in a Negro song in Florida during Civil War days:

You call yourself church-member,
You hold your head so high,
You praise God with your glitt'ring tongue,

But you leave all your heart behind.
O my Lord *delivered* (saved) Daniel,
O (my Lord saved) Daniel, *O Daniel,*
O my Lord *delivered* (saved) Daniel,
O *why not* (Lord) *deliver* (save) me too.[35]

During the Civil War Negroes on the Port Royal Islands were understood to sing that Daniel locked the lion's jaw, though the thought was not clearly expressed. Their song, however, was saying that Negroes could afford to wait until opportunity came for them to go home.

1. Wai', poor Daniel,
He *lean* on de Lord's side;
(Say) Daniel lock de lion joy,
Lean on de Lord's side.

In this song of "poor Daniel," which is contemporary with spirituals about "poor sinner,' "poor Rosy," and "poor Becca Lawton," Daniel was given the place which belonged to Samson. The freedom version of this, "Who Is on the Lord's Side?" was sung two verses at a time.

2. (Say) De golden chain (or Band) to ease him down.
3. De silver spade to dig his grave;
He lean, etc.[36]

By late 1824 the interest of Negroes was waning in African colonization. A transport ship had sailed for Africa in January, 1824; the next one did not arrive there until more than twelve months later. Some slaves imagined that they were to blame for not being transported home. They used their farewell songs for parting hymns at their religious gatherings. One of the Negroes of Charleston, South Carolina, asked the Lord, meaning, perhaps, both God and his earthly master, to make him willing to wait like "poor Daniel."

Lord, make me more patient (or holy, loving, peaceful, etc.)
(wait),
Lord, make me *more patient* (wait),
Lord, make me more patient (wait),

Until *we* (us) meet again;
Patient, patient, patient,
Until we meet again. [37]

Such a spiritual may have been the genesis of the familiar hymn, "God Be with You 'Til We Meet Again."[38]

In such an emergency Negroes began about 1824 to implore Moses to come over from Africa to the North American shores and to work another one of his miracles by delivering Negroes from slavery. Now, "don't get lost," Moses, they sang over and over again. To this primary thought more than one Negro added that he, too, was a child of God who knew that Negro emancipation was just. God was pleading that cause for Negroes by sitting down in Africa, answering black people's prayers. So "come across," Moses, and "Stretch out your rod." This evolution of ideas which had come with the years eventually lost its significance, and Judy, Aaron, or the name of any other Negro who was present was substituted for "Moses" in the song. Its singing was so popular that minstrels circulated a copy, entitled "Git Along, John."[39]

(Chorus:)
Come along, Moses (or Judy, Aaron), don't get lost,
(Come along, Moses,) don't get lost, *don't get lost,*
Come along, Moses, don't get lost,
We are (Us be) the people (or Children) of God.

1. We have a just God to plead-a our cause,
to plead-a our cause,
to plead-a our cause.
We have a just God to plead-a our cause,
We are the people of God.

2. He sits in the Heaven and he answers prayer.
3. Stretch out your rod and come across.[40]

For the immediate present slaves were spared speculation as to why bitter slavery had been fastened upon them. Instead they gossiped about what they overheard was happening in Liberia. Although the American Colonization Society had attempted to select only deeply religious (and thus pacific) Negro emigrants, a colonizing missionary preacher in Liberia, Lott Cary, led his fellows in mutiny in 1823 and 1824 because the colonists were denied their expected home rule, for which they had often petitioned the Society's slaveholding Board of Managers.[41] The Board got the government of the United States to send the warship *Porpoise* to Liberia. Happily, Ralph Randolph Gurley, secretary of the Society, was on board. Disembarking in August, 1824, he soon comprehended the situation. When he left after eight days, the Liberian colonists had their first constitution, which provided for elective officers, the highest being vice-agent. Everybody was happy; no guns were fired.[42]

In the latter months of 1824 or early in 1825 when slaves in the south-eastern states heard distant rumbling of what had happened in Liberia, many of them wished that they had been there. It was necessary for their safety that the songs of that "wish" should be veiled. Years afterward, during the Civil War, Negroes were still singing the "too pretty" spiritual, wishing they had been there:

O my sister light de lamp and de lamp light de road;
I wish I been dere for to hearde Jordan roll.[43]

It was not long before this song, "The White Marble Stone," recorded verses about every person who was present:

1. Sister Dolly (or Believer, Patty, etc.)
   Light the lamp, and the lamp light the road,
   And I wish I been there for to yedde Jordan roll
2. O the city light the lamp, the white man he will sold,
   And I wish I been there, etc.
3. O the white marble stone, and the white marble stone.[44]

When the primary concept of the "wish" had lost its historic meaning entirely, a Negro around Port Royal lay sick with fever and headache. These maladies were enough to make him "wish" that he was in the heavenly kingdom instead of in Africa, sitting by the side of his Lord.

O my body's racked wid de feveer,
My head rack'd wid de pain I hab,
I wish I was in de kingdom,
A-settin' on de side ob de Lord.[45]

At first slaves wished that they had been in Liberia during the mutiny because they would gladly have laid down their lives in what they believed a righteous war. Fighting to make that country right for its people would have been progress, that is, climbing Jacob's ladder, and, being in this holy war, they would gladly have merited "de starry Crown." This is expressed in the song which follows:

(1.) My mudder, you follow Jesus,
My sister (mudder), you follow Jesus,
My brudder (mudder), you follow Jesus,
To fight until I die.

(Chorus)
I wish I been dere (yonder),
To climb Jacob's ladder,
I wish I been dere (yonder),
To wear de starry crown.

(2.) My sister, you follow
(3.) Jesus, etc.)

(4.) My brudder, you follow Jesus, etc.)[46]

These "wish" songs heard on the Port Royal Islands, South Carolina, must have provoked a number of broad smiles. Some were on the faces of the singers who were saying something which their masters or overseers did not understand.

Others were those of white persons who saw slaves dancing around to something seemingly unintelligent. It was funny, as one traveler said, because "there is nothing more futile, more completely stupid, than a negro's ideas. He will talk for two hours about a mosquito, about the buttons on his coat, or the length of his nails."[47]

So about 1824 and 1825 the Jacob's ladder theme was heard in Negro spirituals. After 1865 Jacob's ladder was combined with the antebellum door-to-door theme, with exact Biblical information about the mote and the beam, to make a medley. Collectors said that the tune appeared to be borrowed from "And Are Ye Sure the News Is True?" but they retained the song because the tune was "so much changed," and the words were "so characteristic":

1. I saw de beam in my sister's (or
 Titty Peggy, Brudder Mosey,
 etc.) eye,
 Can't saw de beam in mine;
 You'd better lef' your sister door,
 Go keep your own door clean.

2. And I had a mighty battle like-a Jacob
 and de angel,
 Jacob, time of old;
 I didn't 'tend to lef' 'em go
 Till Jesus bless my soul

3 · And blessed me, and blessed my,
 And blessed all my soul;
 I didn't tend to lef' 'em go
 Till Jesus bless my soul.[48]

For two years, beginning in 1823, not a word was heard directly from the Liberan colonists. Then, in 1825, the censorship on African news was removed.[49] The recipients of mail from Africa called the Negroes together, probably to decipher the letters. Negroes on the Port Royal Islands were still singing in freedom that they had heard directly "from heaven" in 1825:

(Chorus:)
Hurry (or Travel) on, my weary soul,
And I yearde from heaven to-day,
Hurry on, my weary (or My brudder,
Brudder Jacob, Sister Mary) soul,
And I yearde from heaven to-day,

1. My sin is forgiven and my soul set free,
 And I yearde from heaven to-day,
 My sin is forgiven, and my soul set free,
 And I yearde from heaven to-day.

2. A baby born in Bethlehem
 And I yearde, etc.

3. De trumpet sound in de order bright
 land (or World).
4. My name is called and I must go.
5. De bell *is a-ringin'* (rings) in de oder
 bright *world* (land).[50]

This song is extremely important even though each verse except the last is a late addition. The first verse preserved the conversion formula of Negro secret meetings[51], but its conclusion about the "free" soul suggests emancipation. Likewise, the exact Biblical information that Jesus was born at Bethlehem bespeaks Civil War missionary teachings.[52] The trumpet idea and African colonization reached their climaxes about 1831 in the aftermath of Nat Turner's rebellion. The "oder bright land" is characteristic Negro expression of the first quarter of the nineteenth century.

That actual letters had at last been received from Liberia was too much for some slaves to believe. They had doubted that any message would ever come directly from Africa. A spiritual dealing with this situation came from Negroes on the Port Royal Islands in 1867. In it an original singer argued with the faithless that he had heard from heaven and concluded that only the devil would dispute his testimony. He sang that in Liberia all a Negro had to do was to sit down. He knew a Negro who was doing just that. A religious revival broke out in Liberia after the new constitution was ratified,[53] but the song may have referred to a later revival which was contemporary with the Civil War. The verse mentioning the home of a Mr. Hawley in Paradise undoubtedly complimented the kind James R. Hawley, colonel of the Seventh Connecticut Volunteers, who was stationed at St. Augustine, Florida, during the Civil War.[54]

(Chorus:)

Good news, member, good news, member,
Don't you mind what Satan say;
Good news, member, good news,
And I hearde from heav'n to-day.

1. My brudder have a seat and I so glad,
Good news, member, good news;
My brudder have a seat and I so glad,
And I hearde from heav'n to-day.

2. Mr. Hawley have a home in Paradise.
3. Archangel bring baptizing down.[55]

Numerous individuals including state legislators endorsed the Society, along with local and national bodies of Presbyterians, Episcopalians, Congregationalists, Baptists, Dutch Reformed members, and Methodists. More than ever before thanks were extended to "the Rev. Clergy throughout the United States for their active benevolence in advancing the views of the Society,"[56] No one could misunderstand its expressed view, namely, "to the people of the North it has endeavored to exhibit itself as most humane and disinterested and to those of the South as utterly opposed to any measure which might infringe upon the rights of property or disturb the peace."[57]

Slaves knew that the Society was not removing a large number of Negroes to Africa. From 1823 to 1827 only one ship a year took colonists to Liberia, except in 1826 when two ships sailed, one of these vessels going from Boston with Rhode Island Negroes. Southern Negroes felt a severe spiritual strain. They had begged Moses to "come across" and perform another one of his miracles, but it had been all to no avail. In sheer desperation they added Jesus to their already full pantheon of worthies. Him they pathetically entreated to "come *along* (across)" and lead Negroes back to Africa. As in the "Hurry (or Travel) on" spiritual, also of 1825, they imagined that they heard the church bell ringing in Liberia as it rang for convocation in the United States. They later likened themselves to those who knew which road to take to get "home." A singer from the Port Royal Islands said that in spite of their Christian worship Jesus just sat "on de water*side*" and paid them no attention:

Heaven bell a-ring, *I know de road,*
Heaven bell a-ring, *I know de road,*
Heaven bell a-ring, *I know de road,*
Jesus sittin' on de water*side.*
Do come along (across), *do let us go,*
Do come along (across), *do let us go,*
Do come along (across), *do let us go,*
Jesus sittin' on de water*side.*[58]

A singer from the neighboring state of North Carolina resented this slander upon his deity. He sang out that the angels were defeating African colonization. Hence the term "bright" as applied to "angels" is omitted, although the adjective was a descriptive colonization word. Other terms in the spirituals about the first quarter of the nineteenth century are "poor sinner" and "Mary." The singer desired Mary to accompany him to Africa, where they both would join "the social band," which meeting was peaceful. Perhaps "Aunty" was a pseudo kinsperson. Nineteenth century Africans frequently spoke of one another as blood relatives.

Bright (De) angels on the water,
Hoovering (Sittin') by the light;
Poor sinner stand in the darkness,
And (Him) can(') not see the light.
I want Aunty Mary (or Brother David)
for to go with me,
I want Aunty Mary for to go with me,
I want Aunty Mary for to go with me,
To join the social band.[59]

So another Negro from the Port Royal Islands included the name "Jehovah" in his song.

Maybe the trouble was that deity had not been called by the right name. Genesis 22:8 said "God will provide." Including words in contemporary use such as "hallelujah," "dunno," and "weary," he rang out:

Jehoviah, Hallelujah,
De Lord *is* perwide,
Jehoviah, Hallelujah,
De Lord *is* perwide.

De foxes have-a hole, An' de birdies have-a nest,
De Son of Man he dunno (or hanno)
Where to lay de weary head.[60]

In an early "Ship of Zion" spiritual, a slave singer from North Carolina wondered whether he should
ever be freed to go sailing over to Africa:

1. *Don't you* see that ship a-sailin'
(See that ship) a-sailin', *a-sailin'*,
Don't you see that ship a-sailin'
Gwine over to the Promised Land

(Chorus:)
I asked my Lord, *shall* I ever be *the one,*
(I asked my Lord) *shall* I ever be *the one*,
I asked my Lord I be,)
To go sailin', sailin', sailin', sailin'
Gwine over to the Promised Land?(.)

2. She sails like she is heavey loaded.
3. King Jesus is the Captain,
4. The Holy Ghost is the Pilot.[61]

Such an elaborate song presupposes a simple original, which is probably this spiritual of the nineteenth-century "yonder" days:

Sail, O believer, sail,
Sail over yonder;
Sail, O my brudder, sail,
Sail over yonder.[62]

Colonizationists were everywhere alert to the problems of slavery. William Cullen Bryant and other editors of leading North American periodicals helped to make a case for African colonization[63] American authors likewise defended it, as for example, in the "The Negro's Dream," apparently the work of a white:[64]

'Twas then, from around and above,
Rich harmony fell on my ear,
And a vocie sung of Freedom and Love:
It was happiness only to hear.

And it sung of an African shore,
Where black men can also be free—
When I heard that, I listened the more,
For I thought that the voice was to me.[65]

In Brazil the Portuguese canonized "the miraculous San Bento, "Protector of Angola," for promoting an effectual scheme for "keeping slaves in subjection,"[66] and in the United States literary persons wrote in defense of African colonization.

Proslavery people in North America tried their hands at making "spirituals." Even in dialect their songs were inferior to Negro creations. A typical one, preserved by Fisk University, was:

My ship is on the ocean,
My ship is on the ocean,
My ship is on the ocean,
Poor sinner, fare you well.

1. I'm going away to see the good, old Daniel.
I'm going away to see my Lord.
2. I'm going away to see the weeping Mary;
I'm going away to see my Lord.
3. Oh! don't you wnt to live in that bright glory?
Oh! don't you want to go to see my Lord?[67]

Strangely enough, this song called the Atlantic an "ocean." Previously, that body of water had been likened to the Red Sea, which

Moses divided and which Negroes wanted to cross to Africa, to the Jordan River, or to just a hill which an old lady could climb, but was never an "ocean."

This song pretended to know what those in a ship on an ocean were saying. For the first time colonizationists defined a "poor sinner"; a free Negro who did not care to go to Africa. To the colonizationists it did not matter that Daniel had died centuries before, if, indeed, he had ever lived, and that weeping Mary was likewise symbolic of a people. Daniel was now in Africa, "good" and "old," too. Weeping Mary was also in the land of "that bright glory," where it was implied that she did not have to weep any more. Both of these characters actually were walking around in Africa. In addition, the Lord Himself walked the streets—in Africa. The song referred to the Lord three times. Free Negroes, "Oh! don't you want to go?"

Thus pseudo spiritual was, nevertheless, significant because at the height of African colonization ships upon the Atlantic, "poor sinner," "Fare you well," "good," "old," and "bright glory," but not all in one song. It must have evoked smiles from the colonzationists to have heard slaves, after being thus primed, sing with uncritical faith that their worthies were in Africa. Through the years Negroes added the question why African colonization worked in their behalf so slowly. Devotional freedom medleys combined this thought and parts of other antebellum spirituals with Scripture to say that persons of Holy Writ were in Africa. These songs differed environmentally. From the northern seaboard slave states came one example:

(Chorus:)
John sawr-O, John sawr-O,
John saw de holy number (member)
settin' on de golden altar!

1. It's a little while longer yere below,
yere below, yere below,
It's a little while longer yere below,
Below de Lamb of God!
2. And home to Jesus we will go, we will
go, etc.:
We are de people of de Lord.
John sawr-O, etc.
3. Dere's a golden slipper in de heavens
for you, etc.,
Before de lamb of God.
4. I wish I'd been dere when prayer
begun, etc.
5. To see my Jesus about my sins, etc.
6. Then home to glory we will go, etc.[68]

In North Carolina Negroes sang:

Oh John, John, de holy member,
Sittin' on de golden ban'.
O worldly, worldly, let him be,
Let him be, let him be;
Worldly, worldly, let him be,
Sittin' on de golden ban'.[69]

A South Carolina version around the Port Royal Island was:

John, John, wid de holy order (or John,
John, de holy Baptist),
Sittin' on de golden order;
John, John, wid de holy order,
Sittin' on de golden order;
To view de promised land.

O Lord, I weep, I mourn,
Why don't you move so slow?
I'm a huntin' for some guardian angel
Gone along before.

Mary and Marta, fed my lamb (or Paul and
Silas bound in jail),
Feed my lamb, feed my lamb;
Simon Peter, feed my lamb,
A-sittin' on de golden order.[70]

The words of the variant heard at Hilton Head Island were:

I went down sing polka, and I ax him for my
Saviour;

I wonder de angel told me Jesus gone along
before.
I mourn, I pray, although you move so slow;
I wonder, etc.[71]

The task of the colonizationist was yet incomplete. They had to supply Negroes with actual ships on the ocean, and they did so. Nine transport ships went to Liberia under the auspices of the American Colonization Society between 1827 and 1830.[72]

Thus the Society took the necessary steps to demonstrate its claim to humanitarianism. Its first development had been along the lines of benevolence revived during the Great Awakening of religion. Economic, political, and social motives soon colored this conservative movement of race relations. Notwithstanding, its evolution was in conformity with what Negroes wanted, and its permanent organization to send Negroes outside the United States provided that it be "with their consent." Richard Allen and William Lloyd Garrison should not be considered interpreters of the aspirations of Negroes to the neglect of colonizationists like Lott Cary and Jehudi Ashmun. Nineteenth-century North Americans were persuaded that free Negroes could not become better than they were in the United States. Free Negroes as well as slaves were misrepresented. Yet only a few slaves were emancipated for colonizations. All of the first emigrants to Liberia were denied expected home rule. Religion finally reasserted itself even though in the process colonizationists attempted to make Negro spirituals.

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[4] "Minutes of the Manumission Society of North Carolina," passim, MS, Guilford College.

[5] Elizabeth Donnan, *Documents Illustrative of the History of the Slave Trade to America*, II-IV (Washington, 1930-1935), II, 232 n. 3; III, 321; also, J.S. Buckingham, America, Historical, Statistic, and Descriptive (London, (1841), I, 434, 435 f.; (Nancy Prince), A Narrative of the Life and Travels of Mrs. Nancy Prince (2nd ed., Boston, 1853) p. 7.

[6] Sierra Leone Company, *Substance of the Report Delivered by the Court of Directors of the Sierra Leone Company, to the General Court of Proprietors, on Thursday, March 27th, 1794* (Philadelphia, 1795), p. 7; J.J. Crooks, *A History of the Colony of Sierra Leone, West Africa* (Dublin, 1903), *passim.* Sierra Leone had been established as an asylum for Negro British subjects in 1787 (Andrew Hull Foote, *Africa and the American Flag* (New York, 1854), p. 77)

[7] Bryan Edwards, *The History, Civil and Commercial of the British Colonies in the West Indies* (3rd ed., London, 1793-1801), I, 522-576; II, 106-113; R.C. Dallas, *The History of the Maroons, from Their Origin to the Establishment of Their Chief Tribes at Sierra Leone* (London, 1803), II, 284.

[8] Laura Bowman and Le Roy Antonin, *The Voice of Haiti: An Unusual Collection of Original Native Ceremonial Songs, Invocations, Voodoo Chants, Drum Beats and Rhythms, Stories of Traditions, etc. of the Haitian People* (New York, (n.d.)), p.3.

[9] See (Isaac Candler), *A Summary View of America* (London, 1824), p. 304; William Warren Sweet, *Revivalism in America, Its Origin, Growth and Decline* (New York, 1945), p. 159.

[10] (Robert Finley), *Thoughts on the Colonizing of Free Blacks* (Washington, 1816), *passim.*

[11] John Bristed, *America and Her Resources* (London, 1818), p. 149; John M. Duncan, *Travels through Part of the United States and Canada in 1818 and 1819* (New York, 1823), II, 261; *Report of the American Colonization Society* (1825), VIII, 26; James L. Sibley and D. Westermann, *Liberia -- Old and New* (New York, 1928), p.5.

[12] *Report of the American Colonization Society*, I (1818), 5, 7: II (1819), 151; H. N. Sherwood, "Paul Cuffee," *Journal of Negro History*, VIII (April, 1923), 184 ff., 193-202.

[13] *Latter Day Luminary*, I, 297-300; *Report of the American Colonization Society*, II (1819), 150-155.

[14] "Emigrant Register, 1820-1835," pp. 1 f., MS, Library of Congress: *African Repository*, I (1825), 3.

[15] *Report of the American Colonization Society*, VI (1823), 17: *African Repository*, II (1826), 114-119; *Report of the American Colonization Society*, VII (1824), 9-14.

[16] Allen, et al., *Slave Songs of the United States* (New York, 1867), pp. 18; xxxix. "Huntin'" for this residence to dwell in was deleted from the song because Negroes were forbidden to hunt in antebellum days, for example in the Carolinas (Walter Clark, *The State Records of North Carolina* (Goldsboro, 1895-1907), XXIII, 918; John Spencer Bassett, Slavery *and Servitude in the Colony of North Carolina* (Baltimore, 1899), p. 15) and in the West Indies (Edwards, op.cit., II, 202,224).

[17] *Slave Songs*, p. 95; Allen (comp.), op.cit., p. xli.

[18] Roark Bradford, "Swing Low, Sweet Chariot," *Colliers*, XCVI (September 21, 1935) 16.

[19] *Slave Songs*, p. 18; Allen (comp.), op. cit., p. xxxix.

[20] Richard Hakluyt, *The Principal Navigations, Voyages, Traffiques, & Discoveries of the English Nation, X* (Glasgow, 1904), 20: "Letter from Mrs. Sarah Williamson Shields Coleman," ex-missionary to Liberia, New Orleans, Louisiana, February 13, 1940, in agreement with George W. Ellis, *Negro Culture in West Africa* (New York, 1914), pp.49 f.; Sibley and Westermann, op.cit., p. 176.

[21] See Wilfred D. Hambly, *Serpent Worship in Africa* (Chicago, 1933), pp. 55, 73.

[22] Mary Potter (Thacker) Higginson, *Thomas Wentworth Higginson* (Boston, 1914), p. 219.

[23] *Slave Songs*, p. ; Allen (comp.), op. Cit., p. xxxix.

[24] Slave Songs, p. 72. A variant song is mentioned as "My Lord Called Daniel." It was heard in Nashville, Tennessee, but its text was not quoted.

In Caroline County, Virginia, Negroes sang a variant song which had gathered ideas through the years. The original concepts of a mother who had waited long for something to change her status plus the faith of a singer were there. Verses about the thunder and the lightning of "Steal Away" and concepts from other spirituals had been incorporated to make it a freedom medley.

"1. Bendin' knees a-achin', Body raked wid pain,
I wish I was a child of God, I'd git home bime-by

(Chorus:)

"Keep prayin', I do believe
We're a long time waggin' o' de crossin': "Keep prayin',
I do believe We'll git home to heaven bime-by.

"2. O yonder's my ole mudder,
Been a waggin' at de hill so long;

It's about time she cross over, Git home bime-by.
"Keep prayin', I do believe, etc.

"3. O hear dat lumberin' thunder, A-roll from do' to do'.
A-callin' de people home to God; Dey'll git home bime-by.
"Little chil'n, I do believe, etc.

"4. O see dat forked lightnin' A-jump from cloud to cloud,
A-pickin up God's chil'n; Dey'll git home bime-by.
"Pray mourner, I do believe, etc.

[25] *Slave Songs*, pp. 57 f.

[26] Edward L. Pierce, "The Freedmen at Port Royal," *Atlantic Monthly*, XXI (September, 1863), 301.

[27] *Slave Songs*, p. 7.

[28] *Ibid.*, p. 49.

[29] *Ibid.*

[30] *Slave Songs*, p. 46.

[31] This "Oh" is held for two measures of 2/4 time, as many beats as are allotted to the preceding line. These notes seen like poking fun.

[32] *Slave Songs*, p. 21.

[33] *Report of the American Colonization Society*, IX (1826), 2f.; X (1827), 33;XI (1828), 34; Archibald Alexander, A History of Colonization on the Western Coast of Africa (Philadelphia, 1846), pp. 224, 227.

[34] *Slave Songs*, pp. 47 f.

[35] *Ibid.*,p. 94; Allen (comp.), op. Cit., p. xli

[36] *Slave Songs*, p. 100; Allen (comp.), op.cit., p.xlii.

[37] *Slave Songs*, p. 52; Allen (comp.), op.cit., p.xl.

[38] According to *The Methodist Hymnal* (New York, 1905), p. 553, Jeremiah Eaves Rankin (1828-1904) wrote the words of this hymn. Yet he was not born when the genesis of the above spiritual was sung by Negroes. George Pullen Jackson, *Spiritual Folk Songs of Early America* (New York, (1937), p. 207 credited a song, entitled "O Brother Be Faithful," appearing in the *Wesleyan Psalmist* (1842) but quoted from the *Revivalist* (1868, 1872), with being the inspiration of this hymn both in "tune and words." In 1842 Rankin was only fourteen years of age. Yet he was sixty-one years old when "God Be with You 'Til We Meet Again" was published among his *Hymns Pro Patria and Other Hymns, Christian and Humanitarian* (New

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York, 1889), pp. 131 ff. In that very year that distinguised Congregational minister became president of Howard Univeristy, the federal school in Washington, D.C., which trained Negroes (Dwight O. W. Holmes, "Fifty Years of Howard University," *Journal of Negro History*, III (October, 1918), 374 ff.).

[39] *The New Negro Forget-Me-Not Songster...as Sung by Sable Harmonists* (Cincinnati, (n.d.)), pp. 67 f.

[40] *Slave Songs*, p. 104; Allen (comp.), op.cit., p. xliii.

[41] Miles Mark Fisher, "Lott Cary, the Colonizing Missionary," *Journal of Negro History*, VII (October, 1922), 397-401; "Proceedings of the Board of Managers, America Colonization Society," I, 173 f., 176, 179 f., 180 ff., MS, Library of Congress; *African Repository*, I (1825), 24 f.; III (1827), 78.

[42] *Constitution, Government and Digest of the Laws of Liberia, As Confirmed and Established by the Board of Managers of the American Colonization Society*, May 23, 1825 (Washington, 1825); Ralph Randolph Gurley, *Life of Jehudi Ashmun, Late Colonial Agent in Liberia* (Washington, 1835), p. 215; *Report of the American Colonization Society*, VIII (1825), II, 12, 13: *American Missionary Register*, VI (1825), 142, 199.

[43] *Slave Songs*, p. 42.

[44] *Ibid.*, p. 42.

[45] *Ibid.*, p. 33.

[46] *Ibid.*, p. 29; Allen (comp.), op. cit., p. xl. The stanza which the collectors printed with "mudder", "sister," and "brudder" was three separate stanzas according to the way in which the song was sung later.

[47] M. de Grandfort, *The New World*, trans. Edward C. Wharton (New Orleans, 1855), p. 56.

[48] *Slave Songs*, pp. 17 f.; Allen (comp.), op. cit., p. xxxix.

[49] *Latter Day Luminary*, VI, 115 f., 312.

[50] *Slave Songs*, p. 2; Allen (comp.), op. cit., p. xxxix.

[51] I. W. Brinckerhoff, *The Freedman's Book of Christian Doctrine* (Philadelphia, 1864), p. 13.

[52] Ibid.

[53] Gurley, *op.cit.*, p. 53.

[54] Brinckerhoff, *op.cit.*, pp. 80, 85.

[55] *Slave Songs*, pp. 97 f.; Allen (comp.), op.cit., p. xli.

[56] *African Repository*, I (1825), 5-7; cf. *Christian Spectator*, VII (August 1, 1825), 405-408; *Report of the American Colonization Society*, V (1822), 8; X (1827), 4.

[57] *African Repository*, I (1825), 225; *Report of the American Colonization Society*, IX (1826), 126 f.

[58] *Slave Songs*, pp. 28 f.; Allen (comp.), *op.cit.*, p. xl.

[59] *Slave Songs*, p. 105; Allen (comp.), *op.cit.*, p. xliii.

[60] *Slave Songs*, p. 2; Allen (comp.), *op.cit.*, p. xxxix.

[61] *Slave Songs*, pp. 102 f.; Allen (comp.), *op.cit.*, p. xliii.

[62] *Slave Songs*, p. 24.

[63] *African Repository*, I (1825), 6; II (1826), 320 ff.

[64] "The African's Dream" was written by a Miss W. Clark and was sung to the tune of "Emigrants' Lament" (George W. Clark, *The Harp of Freedom* (New York, 1856), p. 238.

[65] *African Repository*, I, 96.

[66] Thomas Ewbank, *Life in Brazil* (New York, 1856), pp. 289, 292, 352.

[67] Theodore F. Seward, *Jubilee Songs: Complete with an Introduction by E. M. Gravath* (New York, 1872), p. 50; G.D. Pike, *The Jubilee Singers, and Their Campaign for Twenty Thousand Dollars* (Boston, 1873), p. 205; Marsh, op.cit., p. 165; Theodore F. Seward and George V. White, *Jubilee Songs: As Sung by the Jubilee Singers* (New York, 1884), p. 50.

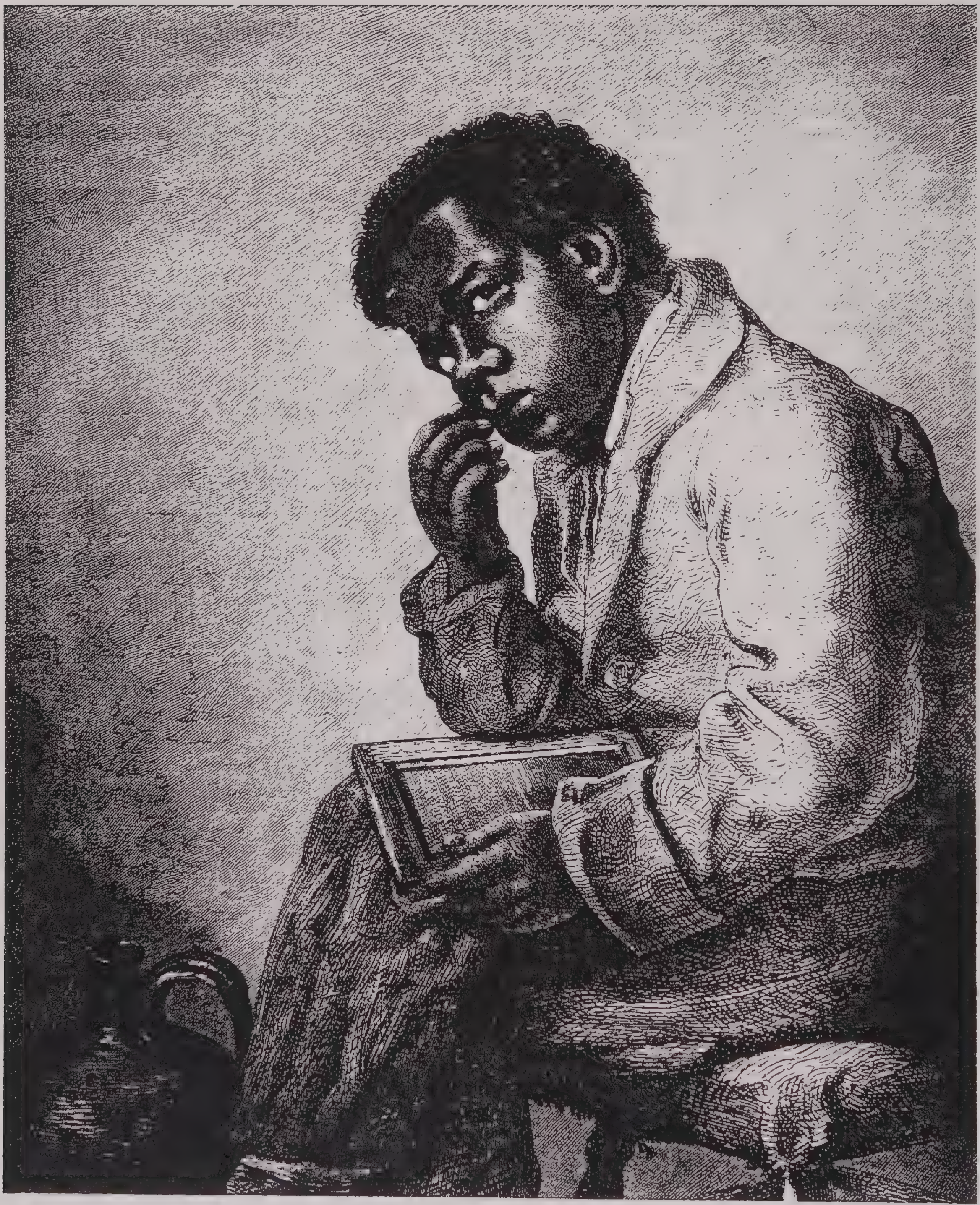
[68] *Slave Songs*, p. 77.

[69] *Ibid.*, p. 17.

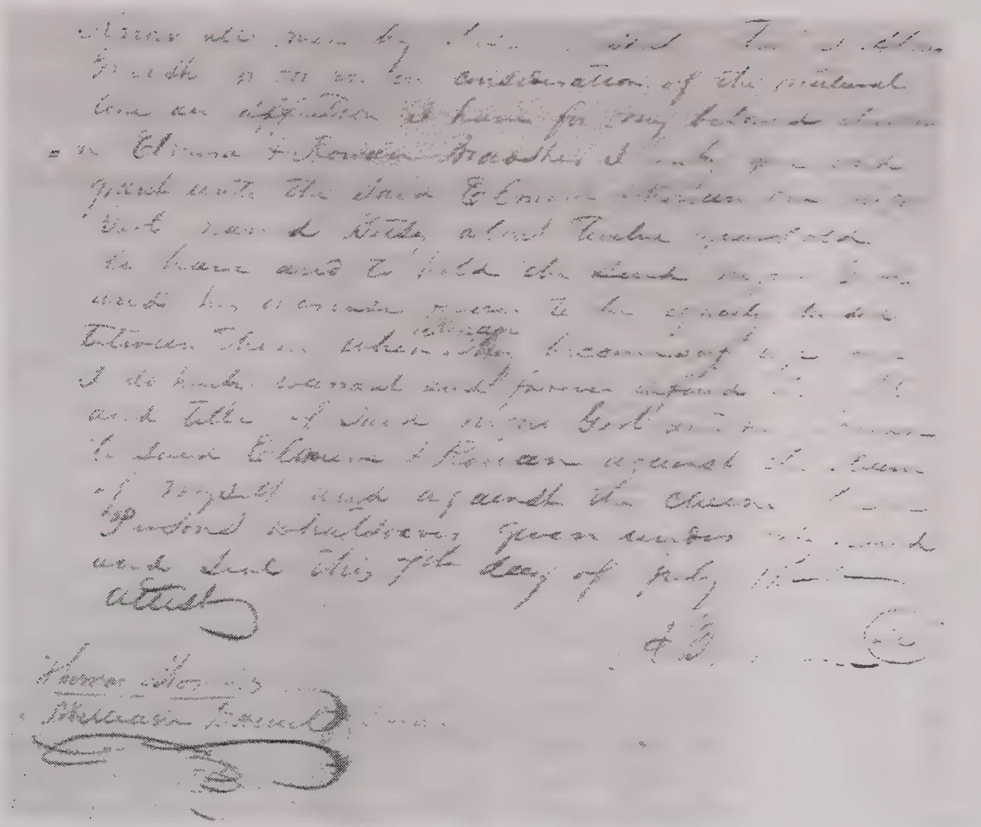
[70] *Ibid.*, pp. 16 f.

[71] *Ibid.*, p. 17.

[72] "Register of Emigrants, 1835-1853," inside cover, MS, Library of Congress.



“A Hard Problem” from Harper’s Magazine, 1839
The Emory J. Tolbert Collection



Know all men by these presents that I, Abner Bradsher Jr., for and in consideration of the natural love and affection I have for my beloved children Elmira and Rowan Bradsher, I hereby give and grant unto the said Elmira and Rowan one negro girl named Betsy about twelve years old to have and to hold the said negro girl and her increase forever, to be equally divided between them when (Rowan) they become of age, and I do hereby warrant and forever defend the right and title of said negro girl and her increase to said Elmira and Rowan against the claims of all persons whatsoever, given under my hand and seal this 7th day of July, 1841.

A. Bradsher

From the Emory J. Tolbert Collection

A MEMORIAL FROM THE FREE PEOPLE OF COLOR TO THE CITIZENS OF BALTIMORE (1827)

("LET'S GO HOME TO AFRICA")

We have hitherto beheld, in silence, but with the intensest interest, the efforts of the wise and philanthropic in our behalf. If it became us to be silent, it became us also to feel the liveliest anxiety and gratitude. The time has now arrived, as we believe, in which your work and our happiness may be promoted by the expression of our opinions. We have therefore assembled for that purpose, from every quarter of the City and every denomination, to offer you this respectful address, with all the weight and influence which our number, character and cause can lend it.

We reside among you, and yet are strangers; natives, and yet not citizens; surrounded by the freest people and most republican institutions in the world, and yet enjoying none of the immunities of freedom. This singularity in our condition has not failed to strike us as well as you: but we know it is irremediable here. Our difference of colour, the servitude of many and most of our brethren, and the prejudices which those circumstances have naturally occasioned, will not allow us to hope, even if you could desire, to mingle with you one day, in the benefits of citizenship. As long as we remain among you, we must (and shall) be content to be a distinct caste, exposed to the indignities and dangers, physical and moral, to which our situation makes us liable. All that we may expect, is to merit by our peaceable and orderly behaviour, your consideration and the protection of your laws.

It is not to be imputed to you that we are here. Your ancestors remonstrated against the introduction of the first of our race, who were brought amongst you; and it was the mother country that insisted on their admission, that her colonies and she might profit, as she thought, by their compulsory labour. But the gift was a curse to them, without being an advantage to herself. The colonies, grown to womanhood, burst from her dominion; and if they have an angry recollection of their union and rupture, it must be at the sight of the baneful institution which she has entailed upon them.

How much you regret is existence among you, is shewn by the severe laws you have enacted against the slave-trade, and by your employment of a naval force for its suppression. You have gone still further. Not content with checking the increase of the already too growing evil, you have deliberated how you might best exterminate the evil itself. This delicate and important subject has produced a great variety of opinions; but we find, even in that diversity, a consolatory proof of the interest with which you regard the subject, and of your readiness to adopt that scheme which may appear to be the best.

Leaving out all considerations of generosity, humanity and benevolence, you have the strongest reason to favour and facilitate the withdrawal from among you of such as wish to remove. It ill consists, in the first place, with your republican principles and with the health and moral sense of the body politic, that there should be in the midst of you an extraneous mass of men, united to you only by soil and climate, and irrevocably excluded from your institutions. Nor is it less for your advantage in another point of view. Our places might, in your opinion, be better occupied by men of your own colour, who would increase the strength of your country. In the pursuit of livelihood and the exercise of industrious habits, we necessarily exclude from employment many of the whites - your fellow-citizens, who would find it easier in proportion as we depart, to provide for themselves and their families.

But if *you* have every reason to wish for our removal, how much greater are *our* inducements to remove! Though we are not slaves, we are not free. We do not, and never shall participate in the enviable privileges which we continually witness. Beyond a mere subsistence, and the impulse of religion, there is nothing to arouse us to the exercise of our faculties, or excite us to the attainment of eminence. Though under the shield of your laws we are partially protected, not totally oppressed; nevertheless, out situations will and must inevitably have the effect of crushing, not developing the capacities that God has given us. We are, besides, of opinion, that our absence will accelerate the liberation of such of our brethren as are in bondage, by the permission of Providence. When such of us as wish, and may be able, shall have gone before to open and lead the way, a channel will be left, through which may be poured such as hereafter receive their freedom from the kindness of interest of their masters, or by public opinion and legislative enactment, and who are willing to join those who have preceded them. As a white population comes into fill our void, the situation of our brethren will be nearer to liberty; for their value must decrease and disappear before the superior advantages of free labour, with which their's can hold no competition.

Of the many schemes that have been proposed, we most approve of that of *African Colonization*. If we were able and at liberty to go whithersoever we would, the greater number, willing to leave this community, would prefer LIBERIA, on the coast of Africa. Others no doubt would turn them towards some other region: the world is wide. Already, established there in the settlement of the American Colonization Society, are many of our brethren, the pioneers of African Restoration, who encourage us to join them. Several were formerly residents of this City, and highly considered by the people of their own class and colour. They have been planted at Cape Montserado, the most eligible and one of the most elevated sites on the western coast of Africa, selected in 1821; and their number has augmented to five hundred. Able, as we are informed, to provide for their own defence and support, and capable of self-increase, they are now enjoying all the necessaries and comforts and many of the luxuries of larger and older communities. In Africa we shall be freemen indeed, and republicans, after the model of this republic. We shall carry your language, your customs, your opinions and christianity to that now desolate shore, and thence they will gradually spread, with our growth, far into the continent. The slave-trade, both external and internal, can be abolished only by settlements on the coast. Africa, if destined to be ever civilized and converted, can be civilized and converted by that means only.

We foresee that difficulties and dangers await those who emigrate, such as every infant establishment must encounter and endure; such as your fathers suffered when first they landed on this now happy shore. They will have to contend, we know, with the want of many things which they enjoyed here; and they leave a populour and polished society for a land where they must long continue to experience the solitude and ruffedness of an early settlement. But "Ethiopia shall lift her hands unto God". Africa is the only country to which they can go and enjoy those privileges for which they leave their firesides among you. The work has begun, and it is continuing. A foothold has been obtained, and the principal obstacles are overcome. The foundations of a nation have been laid, of which they are to be the fathers.

The portion of comforts which they may lose, they will cheerfully abandon. Human happiness does not consist in meat and drink, nor in costly raiment, not in stately habitations: to contribute to it even, they must be joined with equal rights and respectability; and it often exists in a high degree with them. If the sufferings and privations to which the emigrants would be exposed were even greater than we imagine, still they would not hesitate to sacrifice their own personal and temporary ease, for the permanent advantage of their race, and the future prosperity and dignified existence of their children.

That you may facilitate the withdrawal from among you of such as wish to remove, is what we now solicit. It can best be done, we think, by augmenting the means at the command of the American Colonization Society, that the Colony of Liberia may be strengthened and improved for their gradual reception. The greater the number of persons sent thither, from any part of this nation whatsoever, so much the more capable it becomes of receiving a still greater. Every encouragement to it therefore, though it may not seem to have any particular portion of emigrants directly in view, will produce a favourable effect upon all. The emigrants may readily be enabled to remove, in considerable numbers every fall, by a concerted system of individual contributions, and still more efficiently by the enactment of laws to promote their emigration, under the patronage of the State. The expense would not be nearly so great as it might appear at first sight; for when once the current shall have set towards Liberia, and intercourse grown frequent, the cost will of course diminish rapidly, and many will be able to defray it for themselves. Thousands and tens of thousands poorer than we, annually emigrate from Europe to your country, and soon have it in their power to hasten the arrival of those they left behind. Every intelligent and industrious coloured man would continually look forward to the day, when he or his children might go to their veritable home, and would accumulate all his little earnings for that purpose.

We have ventured these remarks, because we know that you take a kind concern in the subject to which they relate, and because we think they may assist you in the prosecution of your designs. If we were doubtful of your good will and benevolent intentions, we would remind you of the time when you were in a situation similar to ours, and when your forefathers were driven, by religious persecution, to a distant and inhospitable shore. We are not so persecuted, but we, too, leave our homes, and seek a distant and inhospitable shore: an empire may be the result of our emigration, as of theirs. The protection, kindness and assistance which you would have desired for yourselves under such circumstances, now extend to us: so may you be rewarded by the riddance of the stain of slavery, the extension of civilization and the Gospel, and the blessing of our common Creator!

William Cornish,
Chairman of the meeting in Bethel Church.

Robert Cowley,
Secretary of the meeting in Bethel Church.

James Deaver,
Chairman of the meeting in the African Church, Sharp Street.

Remus Harvey,
Secretary of the meeting in the African Church, Sharp Street.

From *African Repository and Colonial Journal*, published by order of The Managers of the American Colonization Society, Washington, D.C., 1827, Volume II, pp. 295-299.

ALEXANDER CRUMMELL

THE RELATIONS AND DUTIES OF FREE COLORED MEN IN AMERICA TO AFRICA

> It is in Africa that this evil must be rooted out by African hands and African exertions chiefly that it can be destroyed.
>
> McQueen, *View of Northern Central Africa*

> We may live to behold the nations of Africa engaged in the calm occupations of industry, and in the pursuit of a just and legitimate commerce; we may behold the beams of science and philosophy breaking in upon their land, which at some happier period, in still later times, may blaze with full lustre, and joining their influence to that of PURE RELIGION, may illuminate and invigorate the most distant extremities of that immense continent.
>
> Wm. Pitt

letter

It is now many months since I received a letter from you, just as you were about sailing from our shores for your home. In that note you requested me to address you a letter setting forth my views concerning Liberia, suggesting, at the same time, that such a letter might prove interesting to many of our old friends and school- mates in New York. I have not forgotten your request, although I have not heretofore complied with it. Though convinced of the need and possible usefulness of such a letter as you asked from me, I have shrunk from a compliance with your request. Not to mention other grounds of reluctance, let me say here that I have felt it a venturesome thing to address four hundred thousand men; albeit it be indirectly through you. Neither my name, position, nor any personal qualities give me authority thus to do. The only excuse I have is the depth and solemnity of all questions connected with Africa. I see that no one else of our race has done it; perhaps I may be pardoned for assuming so great a task. I may add here that I address the "Free Colored Men of America," because I am identified with them; and not because I feel that they, especially, and above all the other sons of Africa, in distant lands, are called upon for zeal and interest in her behalf. It is the exaggeration of the relation of *American* black men to Africa, which has turned the hearts of many of her own children from her. Your duties, in this respect, are no greater than those of our West Indian, Haytian, and eventually our Brazilian brethren. Whatever in this letter applies to our brethren in the United States, applies in an equal degree to them. But I am not the man to address them. I fear *I presume* even in writing this letter to American black men, and have only just now concluded to do so by the encouragement I have received in two pleasant interviews with Mr. Campbell and Dr. Delany.

And even now it is with doubt and diffidence that I conclude to send you this communication. My reluctancy has arisen chiefly from a consideration of the claim put forth by leading colored men in the United States, to the effect "that it is unjust to disturb their residence in the land of their birth by a continual call to go to Africa." This claim is, in my opinion, a most just one. Three centuries' residence in a country seems clearly to give any people a right to their nationality therein with- out disturbance. Our brethren in America have other claims besides this; they have made large contributions to the clearing of their country; they have contributed by sweat and toil to the wealth thereof; and by their prowess and their blood they have participated in the achievement of its liberties. But their master right lies in the fact that they are Christians; and one will have to find some new page and appendage to the Bible, to get the warrant for Christians to repel and expatriate Christians, on account of blood, or race, or color. In fact, it seems to me a most serious thing to wantonly trench upon rights thus solemnly and providentially guaranteed a people, that is, by a constant, ceaseless, fretting iteration of a repelling sentiment.

Of course I do not intend any thing akin to this in my letter. I would not insult the intellect and conscience of any colored man who thinks it his duty to labor for his race on American soil, by telling him that it is his duty to come to Africa. If he is educated up to the ideas of responsibility and obligation, he knows his duty better than I do. And, indeed, generally, it is best to leave individuals to themselves as to the *details* of obligation and responsibility.

"The primal duties shine aloft like stars"; —and it is only when men will not see them, that we are bound to repeat and re-utter them, until the souls of men are aroused, and they are moved to moral resolution and to noble actions. But as to the *mode, form, and manner* of meeting their duties, let the common sense of every man decide it for himself.

My object in writing this letter is not to vex any of our brethren by the iteration of the falsehood that America is not their home, nor by the misty theory 11 that they will all yet have to come to Liberia." I do not even intend to invite any one to Liberia, glad as I would be to see around me many of the wise and sterling men I know in the United States, who would be real acquisitions to this nation, and as much as I covet their society. I am not putting in a plea for colonization. My object is quite different, in fact it is not a strict compliance with the terms of your letter, for I shall have but little to say about Liberia. But believing that all men hold some relation to the land of their fathers, I wish to call the attention of the sons of Africa in America to their "RELATIONS AND DUTY TO THE- LAND OF THEIR FATHERS."

And even on such a theme I know I must prepare myself for the rebuff from -"Why talk to *us* of fatherland? What have *we* to do with Africa? We are Africans; we are Americans. You ask no peculiar interest on the part of Germans, the Scotch, the Irish, the Dutch, in the land of their fathers, why then you ask it of us?" Alas for us, as a race! so deeply harmed have we been by oppression that we lost the force of strong, native principles, and prime natural affections. Because exaggerated contempt has been poured upon us, we too become apt pupils in the school of scorn and contumely. Because repudiation of the black man has been for the wont of civilized nations, black men themselves get shame at their origin shrink from the terms which indicate it. Sad as this is, it is not to be wondered at. "Oppression" not only "makes a man mad," it robs him also of his self-respect. And this is our loss, but having from slavery, it is our duty to cast off its grave-clothes and resist its deadly

Our ancestors were unfortunate, miserable, and benighted, but nothing more. history was a history, not of ignominy and disgrace, but of heathenism and benightedness. And even in that state they exhibited a nobleness of native charity, they cherished such virtues, and manifested so much manliness and bravery, the civilized world is now magnanimous enough to recognize such traits; and its men are free to render their warm eulogies.'

When then colored men question the duty of interest in Africa, because they are not Africans, I beg to remind them of the kindred duty of self-respect. And my reply to such queries as I have mentioned above is this: 1. That there is no need of. interest of Englishmen, Germans, Dutch-men and others in the land of their fathers, because they have this interest, and are always proud to cherish it. And 2d. that the abject state of Africa is a most real and touching appeal to *any* for sympathy and aid. It is an appeal, however, which comes with a double force to every civilized man who has Negro blood flowing in his veins.

Africa ties low and is wretched. She is the maimed and crippled arm of Her great powers are wasted. Dislocation and anguish have reached every Her condition in every point calls for succor—moral, social, domestic, political; and intellectual. Whence shall flow aid, mercy, advantage to her? Here the call of duty and obligation to colored men. Other people may, if they forget the homes of their sires; for almost every European nation is now the fruits of a thousand years' civilization. Every one of them can spare thousands and even millions of their sons to build up civilization in Australia,

Canada, Zealand, South Africa, or Victoria. But Africa is the victim of her heterogeneous
Africa is wasting away beneath the accretions of civil and moral miseries. covers the land, and gross darkness the people. Great social evils universally Confidence and security are destroyed, Licentiousness abounds everywhere. Moloch rules and reigns throughout the whole continent, and by the ordeal of Sassy-wood, Fetiches, human sacrifices, and devil-worship, is devouring men, women, and little children. They have not the Gospel. They are living without God. The Cross has never met their gaze, and its consolations have never entered their hearts, not its everlasting truths cheered their deaths.

And all this only epitomizes the miseries of Africa, for it would take a volume to detail and enumerate them. But this is sufficient to convince any son of Africa that the land of our fathers is in great spiritual need, and that those of her sons who haply have ability to aid in her restoration will show mercy to her, and perform an act of filial love and tenderness which is but their "reasonable service."

I have two objects in view in addressing you this letter: one relates to the temporal, material interests of adventurous, enterprising colored men; and the *other* pertains to the best and most abiding interests of the million masses of heathen on this continent-I mean their evangelization.

First, I am to speak with reference to the temporal and material interests of adventurous, enterprising and aspiring men in the United States of America. I wish to bring before such persons reasons why they should feel interest in Africa. These reasons are not, I am free to confess, directly and distinctively philanthropic; although I do, indeed, aim at human well-being through their force and influence. But I appeal now more especially to the hopes, desires, ambition, and aspirations of such men. I am referring to that sentiment of self-regard which prompts to noble exertions for support and superiority. I am aiming at that principle of SELF-LOVE which spurs men on to self-advantage and self-aggrandizement—a principle which, in its normal state and in its due degree, to use the words of BUTLER, "is as just and morally good as any affection whatever." In fine, I address myself to all that class of sentiments in the human heart which creates a thirst for wealth, position, honor, and power. I desire the auxiliary aid of this class of persons, and this class of motives, for it is such influences and agencies which are calculated to advance the material growth of Africa. She needs skill, enterprise, energy, *worldly* talent, to raise her; and these applied here to her needs and circumstances, will prove the handmaid of religion, and will serve the great purposes of civilization and enlightenment through all her borders.

There seems to me to be a natural call upon the children of Africa in foreign lands to come and participate in the opening treasures of the land of their fathers. Though these treasures are the manifest gift of God to the Negro race, yet that race reaps but the most partial measure of their good and advantage. It has always been thus in the past, and now as the resources of Africa are being more and more developed, the extent of our interest therein is becoming more and more diminutive. The slave-trade is interdicted throughout Christendom; the chief powers of earth have put a lien upon the system of slavery; interest and research in Africa have reached a state of intensity; mystery has been banished from some of her most secret quarters; sunlight, after ages of darkness, has burst in upon the charmed regions of her wealth and value; and yet the Negro on his native soil, is but "a hewer of wood and drawer of water"; and the sons of Africa in foreign lands, inane and blinded, suffer the adventurous foreigner, with greed and glut, to jostle them aside, and to seize with skill and effect upon their own rightful inheritance.

For three centuries and upwards, the civilized nations of the earth have been engaged in African commerce. Traffic on the coast of Africa anticipated the discoveries of Columbus. From Africa the purest gold got its characteristic three hundred years ago. From Africa dyes of the greatest value have been carried to the great manufacturing marts of the world. From Africa palm oil is exported by thousands of tons; and now, as the observant eye of commerce is becoming more and more fastened upon this continent, grain, gums, oils of divers kinds, valuable woods, copper and other ore, are being borne from the soil to meet the clamorous demands of distant marts.

The chief item of commerce in this continent has been the "slave-trade." The coast of Africa has been more noted for this than for any thing else. Ever since 1600, the civilized nations of the earth have been transporting in deadly holds, in poisonous and pestilential cabins, a "perfidious barks," millions of our race to foreign lands. This trade is now almost universally regarded as criminal; but in the light of commercial prudence and pecuniary advantage, the slave-trade was as great a piece of folly as it was a crime; for almost beneath their eyes, yea, doubtless; often immediately in their sight, were lying treasures, rivalling far the market value of the flesh and blood they had been so eager to crowd beneath their hatches.

Africa is as rich in resources as India is; not as yet as valuable in products, because she is more unenlightened and has a less skilful population. But so far as it respects mineral and vegetable capacity, there seems to me but little, if any, doubt that Africa more than rivals the most productive lands on the globe. . . .

I am not blind to difficulties. I know some of the trials of emigration. I have been called to some of the difficulties, not to say severities, of missionary life. And therefore I shall be free, I trust, from the charge of flippancy. So likewise I am aware of the peculiar obstacles in the way of our brethren in the States. I, too am an American black man. I, too, have an acquaintance with obstructive idiosyncrasies in them. If you speak of hindrances and difficulties specialty theirs, I know all about them.

But I say it deliberately, that the difficulties in the way of our brethren doing a goodly work for Africa, are more subjective than objective. *One of these hindrances is a want of missionary zeal.* This is a marked characteristic of *American* black Christians. I say *American*, for from all I hear, it does not characterize our West Indian brethren; and the infant church of Sierra Leone is already, in sixty years from its birth, a mother of missions. *This* is our radical defect. Our religion is not diffusive, but rather introversive. It does not flow out, but rather inward. As a people we like religion-we like religious services. Our people like to go to church, to prayer- meetings, to revivals. But we go to get enjoyment. We like to be made happy by sermons, singing, and pious talk. All this is indeed correct so far as it goes; but it is only one side of religion. It shows only that phase of piety which may be termed the *"piety of self-satisfaction."* But if we are true disciples, we should not only seek a comforting piety, but we should also exhibit an effective and expansive one. We should let our godliness exhale like the odor of flowers. We should live for the good of our kind, and strive for the salvation of the world.

Another of these hindrances is what the phrenologists term *"inhabitativeness,"*—the stolid inhabitativeness of our race, As a people, we cling with an almost deadly fixity to locality. I see this on both sides of the Atlantic. Messrs. Douglass and Watkins assail Messrs. Horace Greeley and Gerrit Smith for pointing out this peculiarity of character in our people. But without doubt they tell the truth of us. We are not "given to change." The death of a master, the break-up of a family, may cast a few black men from the farm to the city, but they go no further. We lack speculation. Man has been called a creature,

> Looking before and after-

> But not so we. We look where

we stand, and but few beyond.

So here, on this side of the water. The colonization ship brings a few hundred freed men to this west coast of Africa. They gather together in the city of Monrovia, or the town of Greenville, and there they sit, yea, and would sit forever, if it were not for some strong *external* influence which now and then scatters a few, and a precious few, here and there along the coast.

Here then you see, in this same people, on both sides of the waters, an exaggeration of the "home feeling," which is so exceedingly opposite to Anglo-Saxon influences that I wonder that we, who have been trained for centuries under them, have not ere this outgrown it. Sixteen years from the settlement of Plymouth, sixty families started from Boston and cut their way to Windsor, on the Connecticut. We in Liberia have never yet had a *spontaneous* movement of old settlers in a body and with a purpose to a new location. The colored people of Rochester, N. Y., in 1853, I hear, were mostly fugitive slaves. The "Fugitive Slave Law" prompted them to emigrate to Canada; but proximity determined their choice of a home rather than any large principle. We read in the Acts of the Apostles, that when those who at Stephen's death were persecuted, were scattered abroad, "they went everywhere, preaching the word." So when our brethren felt constrained to leave the United States, it was meet, it seems to me, that *some* of them should have thought of Africa and her needs. On the other hand, if Liberians had been duly awake to the welfare of our race, we should have shown our brotherly feeling by inviting the wanderers to our shores.

These *two* hindrances, that is, a lack of missionary zeal and a tenacious hold on locality, will doubtless prevent active efforts for the regeneration of Africa. So, too, they will serve to check commercial enterprise. But as a people, we shall have to rise above these things. The colored churches of America will find, by and by, they can retain no spiritual vitality unless they rise above the range of selfish observation, to broad, general, humane ideas and endeavors. Self-preservation, self-sustentation, are only single items in the large and comprehensive category of human duties and obligations.

> Unless above himself, he can erect himself,
> How poor a thing is man.

And this is equally true with regard to Liberian black Christians. Do not think that I pretend to say that we in Africa stand on such a high vantage-ground that we can point invidiously at our brethren in America. I have no hesitation in saying, as my own opinion, that in both the respects referred to above, we are more blameworthy than you.

A third hindrance may be mentioned here. There will be reluctance on the part of even some good and zealous Christians to engage in the propagation of the Gospel in Africa on the ground "that its ultimate tendency must be to subserve the objectionable scheme of African colonization." But surely any one can see that such an objection is wicked. The Gospel *must* be reached in all the world. The Master commands it. The history of the Church shows that it does not necessarily, if generally, carry colonization with it. But even if in this particular case it does so, no Christian has a right to shrink from his duty. And that man must be demented who cannot see God's beneficent providence in colonization,—that man blind who does not recognize good and mercy in its work, civil and religious, on the coast of Africa! The duties of our present state are not to be determined by imaginary results or prospective issues. They always grow out of the positive commands of the Bible, or manifest human relations; and both fasten the duty upon us to care for the heathen in general, and for our heathen kin in particular.

I have no doubt, however, that every effort that is henceforth made to spread the Gospel in Africa, will bring many, from the impulse of emigration, to Africa. Up to a certain future, but I hope not distant, point in American sentiment, there will be, I feel quite certain, a large exodus of the better, more cultivated, and hence more sensitive minds, partly to Africa, Hayti, Brazil, and the British colonies. Those who "having done all," still STAND, must bear with those who leave. Hayti *needs* a PROTESTANT, Anglo-African element of the stamp Mr. Holly will give her. Jamaica is blessed by the advent in her midst of such a strong-minded, open-eyed, energetic spirit, as my old school-mate and friend SAMUEL R. WARD. And Liberia's wants in this respect are stronger than either of the above. You should learn willingly to give, even of your best, to save, and regenerate, and build up the RACE in distant quarters.' You should study to rise above the niggard spirit which grudgingly and pettishly yields its grasp upon a fellow laborer. You should claim in regard to this continent that "THIS IS OUR AFRICA," in all her gifts, and in her budding grace and glory. And you should remember, too, with regard to emigrants, the words of that great man, EDMUND BURKE,—"the poorest being that crawls on earth, contending to save itself from injustice and oppression, is an object respectable in the eyes of God and man.

But it is time that I should draw to a close, for I have fallen into a too common fault: I have made too long a "palaver." My letter has run out to a greater length than I intended. And now I shall weary you no longer.

For nigh three centuries the Negro race, in exile and servitude, has been grovelling in lowly places, in deep degradation. Circumstance and position alike have divorced us from the pursuits which give nobleness and grandeur to life. In our time of trials we have shown, it is true, a matchless patience, and a quenchless hope: the one prophetic of victory, and the other the germ of a high Christian character, now developing. These better qualities, however, have been disproportioned, and the life of the race, in general, has been alien from ennobling and aspiring effort.

But the days of passivity should now come to an end. The active, creative, and saving powers of the race should begin to show themselves. The power of the Negro, if he has such power, to tell upon human interests, and to help shape human destinies, should, at an early day, make full demonstration of itself. We owe it to ourselves, to our race, and to our generous defenders and benefactors, both in Europe and America, to show that we are capable "of receiving the seed of present history into a kindly yet a vigorous soil, and [that we can] reproduce it, the same, and yet new, for a future period" in all the homes of this traduced yet vital and progressive race.

Surely the work herein suggested is fitted to just such ends, and is fully worthy the noblest faculties and the highest ambition. If I were aiming but to startle the fancy, to kindle the imagination, and thereby to incite to brave and gallant deeds, I know no theme equal to this in interest and commanding influence. And just this *is* the influence it is now exerting upon passionate and romantic minds, in England and the United States, in France and Germany, in Austria and Sardinia. These civilized States are sending out their adventurous travellers to question, on the spot, the mysterious spell which seems to shut out Africa from the world and its civilization. These enterprising spirits are entering every possible avenue to the heart of Africa, anxious to assure the inner tribes of the continent that the enlightened populations of Europe would fain salute them as brethren, and share with them the culture and enlightenment which, during the ages, have raised *then?* from rudeness and degradation; if they can only induce them to throw aside the exclusiveness of paganism and the repulsiveness of barbarism.

But the enlightened sons of Africa, in distant lands, are called to a far higher work than even this; a work which as much transcends mere civilization as the abiding interests of eternity outvie the transient concerns of time. To wrest a continent from ruin; to bless and animate millions of torpid and benighted souls; to destroy the power of the devil in his strongholds, and to usher therein light, knowledge, blessedness, inspiring hope, holy faith, and abiding glory, is, without doubt, a work which not only commands the powers of the noblest men, but is worthy the presence and the zeal of angels. It is just this work which now claims and calls for the interest and the activity of the sons of Africa. Its plainest statement and its simplest aspect are sufficient, it seems to me, to move these men in every quarter of the world to profound sensibility, to deep resolve, to burning ardor. Such a grand and awful necessity, covering a vast continent, touching the best hopes and the endless destiny of millions of men, ought, I think, to stir the soul of many a self-sacrificing spirit, and quicken it to lofty purposes and noble deeds. And when one considers that never before in human history has such a grand and noble work been laid out in the Divine Providence, before the Negro race, and that it rises up before them in its full magnitude now, at the very time when they are best fitted for its needs and requirements, it seems difficult to doubt that many a generous and godly soul will hasten to find its proper place in this great work of God and man, whether it be by the personal and painful endeavors of a laborer in the field of duty, or by the generous benefactions and the cheering incitements which serve to sustain and stimulate distant and tried workers in their toils and trials. "A benefaction of this kind seems to enlarge the very being of a man, extending it to distant places and to future times, inasmuch as unseen countries and after ages may feet the effects of his bounty, while he himself reaps the reward in the blessed society of all those who 'having turned many to righteousness, shine as the stars forever and ever.'

September 1, 1860

MARTIN R. DELANY

A PROJECT FOR AN EXPEDITION OF ADVENTURE TO THE EASTERN COAST OF AFRICA

Every people should be the originators of their own designs, the projector of their own schemes, and creators of the events that lead to their destiny—the consummation of their desires.

Situated as we are, in the United States, many, and almost insurmountable obstacles present themselves. We are four-and-a-half millions in numbers, free and bond; six hundred thousand free, and three-and-a-half millions bond.

We have native hearts and virtues, just as other nations; which in their pristine purity are noble, potent, and worthy of example. We are a nation within a nation—as the Poles in Russia, the Hungarians in Austria, the Welsh, Irish, and Scotch in the British dominions.

But we have been, by our oppressors, despoiled of our purity, and corrupted in our native characteristics, so that we have inherited their vices, and but few of their virtues, leaving as in character, really a broken people.

Being distinguished by complexion, we are still singled out-although having merged in the habits and customs of our *oppressors--as* a distinct nation of people; as the Poles, Hungarians, Irish, and others, who still retain their native peculiarities of language, habits, and various other traits. The claims of no people, according to established policy and usage, are respected by any nation, until they are presented in a national capacity.

To accomplish so great and desirable an end, there should be held, a great representative gathering of the colored people of the United States; not what is termed a National Convention, represented en masse, such as have been, for the last few years, held at various times and places; but a true representation of the intelligence and wisdom of the colored freemen; because it will be futile and an utter failure, to attempt such a project without the highest grade of intelligence. No great project was ever devised without the consultation of the most mature intelligence, and discreet discernment and precaution.

To effect this, and prevent intrusion and improper representation, there should be a CONFIDENTIAL COUNCIL held; and circulars issued, only to such persons as shall be *known* to the projectors to be equal to the desired object.

The authority from whence the call should originate, to be in this wise: –The originator of the scheme, to impart the contemplated Confidential Council, to a limited number of known, worthy gentlemen, who agreeing with the project, endorse at once the scheme, when becoming joint proprietors in interest, issue a *Confidential Circular*, leaving blanks for *date, time, and place of holding* the Council; sending them to trusty, worthy, and suitable colored freemen, in all parts of the United States, and the Canadas, inviting them to attend, who when met in Council, have the right to project any scheme they may think proper for the general good of the whole people—provided, that the project is laid before them after its maturity.

By this Council to be appointed, a Board of Commissioners, to consist of three, five, or such reasonable number as may be decided upon, one of whom shall be chosen as Principal or Conductor of the Board, whose duty and business shall be, to go on an expedition to the EASTERN COAST OF

AFRICA, to make researches for a suitable location on that section of the coast, for the settlement of colored adventurers from the United States, and elsewhere. Their mission should be to all such places as might meet the approbation of the people; as South America, Mexico, the West Indies, &c.

The Commissioners all to be men of decided qualifications; to embody among them, the qualifications of physician, botanist, chemist, geologist, geographer, and surveyor,—having a sufficient knowledge of these sciences, for practical purposes.

Their business shall be, to make a topographical, geographical, geological, and botanical examination, into such part or parts as they may select, with all other useful information that may be obtained; to be recorded in a journal kept for that purpose.

The Council shall appoint a permanent Board of Directors, to manage and supervise the doings of the Commissioners, and to whom they shall be amenable for their doings, who shall hold their office until successors shall be appointed.

A National Confidential Council, to be held once in three years; and sooner, if necessity or emergency should demand it; the Board of Directors giving at least three months' notice, by circulars and newspapers. And should they fail to perform their duty, twenty-five of the representatives from any six States, of the former Council, may issue a call, authentically bearing their names, as sufficient authority for such a call. But when the Council is held for the reception of the report of the Commissioners, a general mass convention should then take place, by popular representation.

Manner of raising funds

The National Council shall appoint one or two Special Commissioners, to England and France, to solicit, in the name of the Representatives of a Broken Nation, of four-and-a-half millions, the necessary outfit and support, for any period not exceeding three years, of such an expedition. Certainly, what England and France would do, for a little nation-mere nominal nation, of five thousand civilized Liberians, they would be willing and ready to do, for five millions; if they be but authentically represented, in a national capacity. What was due to Greece, enveloped by Turkey, should be due to us, enveloped by the United States; and we believe would be respected, if properly presented. To England and France, we should look for sustenance, and the people of those two nations—as they would have every thing to gain from such an adventure and eventual settlement on the EASTERN COAST OF AFRICA—the opening of an immense trade being the consequence. The whole Continent is rich in minerals, and the most precious metals, as but a superficial notice of the topographical and geological reports from that country, plainly show to any mind versed in the least, in the science of the earth.

The Eastern Coast of Africa has long been neglected, and never but little known, even to the ancients; but has ever been our choice part of the Continent. Bounded by the Red Sea, Arabian Sea, and Indian Ocean, it presents the greatest facilities for an immense trade, with China, Japan, Siam, Hindoostan, in short, all the East Indies—of any other country in the world. With a settlement of enlightened freemen, who with the immense facilities, must soon grow into a powerful nation. In the Province of Berbera, south of the Strait of Babelmandel, or the great pass, from the Arabian to the Red Sea, the whole commerce of the East must touch this point.

Also, a great rail road could be constructed from here, running with the Mountains of the Moon, clearing them entirely, except making one mountain pass, at the western extremity of the Mountains of the Moon, and the southeastern terminus of the Kong Mountains; entering the Province of Dahomey, and terminating on the Atlantic Ocean West; which would make the GREAT THOROUGHFARE for all the trade with the East Indies and Eastern Coast of Africa, and the Continent of America. All the world would pass through Africa upon this rail road, which would yield a revenue infinitely greater than any other investment in the world.

The means for prosecuting such a project—as stupendous as it may appear—will be fully realised in the prosecution of the work. Every mile of the road, will thrice pay for itself, in the development of the rich treasures that now lie hidden in the bowels of the earth. There is no doubt, that in some one section of twenty-five miles, the developments of gold would more than pay the expenses of any one thousand miles of the work. This calculation may, to those who have never given this subject a thought, appear extravagant, and visionary; but to one who has had his attention in this direction for years, it is clear enough. But a few years will witness a development of gold, precious metals, and minerals in Eastern Africa, the Moon and Kong Mountains, ten-fold greater than all the rich productions of California.

There is one great physiological fact in regard to the colored race which, while it may not apply to all colored persons, is true of those having black skins that they can bear *more different* climates than the white race. They bear all the temperates and extremes, while the other can only bear the temperates and one of the extremes. The black race is endowed with natural properties, that adapt and fit them for temperate, cold, and hot climates; while the white race is only endowed with properties that adapt them to temperate and cold climates; being unable to stand the warmer climates; in them, the white race cannot work, but become perfectly indolent, requiring somebody to work for them-and these, are always people of the black race.

The black race may be found, inhabiting in healthful improvement, every part of the globe where the white race reside; while there are parts of the globe where the black race reside, that the white race cannot live in health.

What part of mankind is the "denizen of every soil, and the lord of terrestrial creation," if it be not the black race? The Creator has indisputably adapted us for the "denizens of *every soil,"* all that is left for us to do, is to *make* ourselves the *"lords* of terrestrial creation." The land is ours—there it lies with inexhaustible resources; let us go and possess it, In Eastern Africa must rise up a nation, to whom all the world must pay commercial tribute.

We Must MAKE an ISSUE, CREATE an EVENT, and ESTABLISH a NATIONAL POSITION for OURSELVES; and never may expect to be respected as men and women, until we have undertaken, some fearless, bold, and adventurous deeds of daring—contending against every odds—regardless of every consequence.

OFFICIAL REPORT OF THE NIGER VALLEY EXPLORING PARTY

What Africa now requires

From the foregoing, it is very evident that missionary duty has reached its *ultimatum.* By this, I mean that the native has received all that the missionary was sent to teach, and is now really ready for more than he can or may receive. He sees and knows that the white man, who first carried him the Gospel, which he has learned to a great extent to believe a reality, is of an entirely different race to himself; and has learned to look upon everything which he has, knows and does, which has not yet been imparted to him (especially when he is told by the missionaries, which frequently must be the case, to relieve themselves of the endless teasing enquiries which persons in their position are subject to concerning all and every temporal and secular matter, law, government, commerce, military, and other matters foreign to the teachings of the gospel; that these things he is not sent to teach, but simply the gospel) as peculiarly adapted and belonging to the white man. Of course, there are exceptions to this. Hence, having reached what he conceives to be the *maximum* of the black man's or African's attainments, there must be a reaction in some direction, and if not progressive it will be retrogressive.

The missionary has informed him that the white man's country is great. He builds and resides in great houses; lives in great towns and cities, with great churches and palaver-houses (public and legislative halls); rides in great carriages; manufactures great and beautiful things; has great ships, which go to sea, to all parts of the world, instead of little canoes such as he has paddling up and down the rivers and on the coast; that the wisdom, power, strength, courage, and wealth of the white man and his country are as much greater than him and his, as the big ships are larger and stronger than the little frail canoes; all of which he is made sensible of, either by the exhibition of pictures or the reality.

He at once comes to a stand. "Of what use is the white man's religion and 'book knowledge' to me, since it does not give me the knowledge and wisdom nor the wealth and power of the white man, as all these things belong only to him? Our young men and women learn their book, and talk on paper (write), and talk to God like white man (worship), but God no hear 'em like He hear white man! Dis religion no use to black man." And so the African *reasonably* reasons when he sees that despite his having yielded up old-established customs, the laws of his fathers, and almost his entire social authority, and the rule of his household to the care and guardianship of the missionary, for the sake of acquiring his knowledge and power—when, after having learned all that his children can, he is doomed to see them sink right back into their old habits, the country continue in the same condition, without the beautiful improvements of the white man—and if a change take place at all, he is doomed to witness what he never expected to see and dies regretting-himself and people entangled in the meshes of the government of a people foreign in kith, kin, and sympathy, when he and his are entirely shoved aside and compelled to take sub-ordinate and inferior positions, if not, indeed, reduced to menialism and bondage. I am justified in asserting that this state of things has brought missionary efforts to their *maximum* and native progress to a pause.

Religion has done its work, and now requires temporal and secular aid to give it another impulse. The improved arts of civilized life must now be brought to bear, and go hand in hand in aid of the missionary efforts which are purely religious in character and teaching. I would not have the standard of religion lowered a single stratum of the common breeze of heaven. No, let it rather be raised, if, indeed, higher it can be. Christianity certainly is the most advanced civilization that man ever attained to, and wherever propagated in its purity, to be effective, law and government must be brought in harmony with it—otherwise it becomes corrupted, and a corresponding degeneracy ensues, placing its votaries even in a worse condition than the primitive. This was exemplified by the Author of our faith, who, so soon as he began to teach, commenced by admonishing the people to a modification of their laws—or rather himself to condemn them. But it is very evident that the social must keep pace with the religious, and the political with the social relations of society, to carry out the great measures of the higher civilization.

Of what avail, then, is advanced intelligence to the African without improved social relations—acquirements and refinement without an opportunity of a practical application of them—society in which they are appreciated? It requires not the most astute reformer and political philosopher to see.

The native sees at once that all the higher social relations are the legitimate result and requirements of a higher intelligence, and naturally enough expects, that when he has attained it, to enjoy the same privileges and blessings. But how sadly mistaken—what dire disappointment!

The habits, manners, and customs of his people, and the social relations all around him are the same; improvements of towns, cities, roads, and methods of travel are the same; implements of husbandry and industry are the same-, the methods of conveyance and price of produce (with comparative trifling variation) are the same. All seem dark and gloomy for the future, and he has his doubts and fears as to whether or not he has committed a fatal error in leaving his native social relations for those of foreigners whom he cannot hope to emulate, and who, he thinks, will not assimilate themselves to him.

It is clear, then, that essential to the success of civilization, is the establishment of all those social relations and organizations, without which enlightened communities cannot exist. To be successful, these must be carried out by proper agencies, and these agencies must be a *new element* introduced into their midst, possessing all the attainments, socially and politically, morally and religiously, adequate to so important an end. This element must be *homogenous* in all the *natural* characteristics, claims, sentiments, and sympathies—the *descendants of Africa* being the only element that can effect it. To this end, then, a part of the most enlightened of that race in America design to carry out these most desirable measures by the establishment of social and industrial settlements among them, in order at once to introduce, in an effective manner, all the well-regulated pursuits of civilized life.

That no misstep be taken and fatal error committed at the commencement, we have determined that the persons to compose this new element to be introduced into Africa, shall be well and most carefully selected in regard to moral integrity, intelligence, acquired attainments, fitness, adaptation, and, as far as practicable, religious sentiments and professions. We are serious in this; and, so far as we are concerned as an individual, it shall be restricted to the letter, and we will most strenuously oppose and set our face against any attempt from any quarter to infringe upon this arrangement and design. Africa is our fatherland and we its legitimate descendants, and we will never agree nor consent to see this—the first voluntary step that has ever been taken for her regeneration by her own descendants—blasted by a disinterested or renegade set, whose only object might be in the one case to get rid of a portion of the colored population, and in the other, make money, though it be done upon the destruction of every hope entertained and measure introduced for the accomplishment of this great and prospectively glorious undertaking. We cannot and will not permit or agree that the result of years of labor and anxiety shall be blasted at one reckless blow, by those who have never spent a day in the cause of our race, or know nothing about our wants and requirements. The descendants of Africa in North America will doubtless, by the census of 1860, reach five millions; those of Africa may number two hundred millions. I have outgrown, long since, the boundaries of North America, and with them have also outgrown the boundaries of their claims. I, therefore, cannot consent to sacrifice the prospects of two hundred millions, that a fraction of five millions may be benefitted, especially since the measures adopted for the many must necessarily benefit the few.

Africa, to become regenerated, must have a national character, and her position among the existing nations of the earth will depend mainly upon the high standard she may gain compared with them in all her relations, morally, religiously, socially, politically, and commercially.

I have determined to leave to my children the inheritance of a country, the possession of territorial domain, the blessings of a national education, and the indisputable right of self-government; that they may not succeed to the servility and degradation bequeathed to us by our fathers. If we have not been born to fortunes, we should impart the seeds which shall germinate and give birth to fortunes for them.

WILL IT BE POSSIBLE FOR THE NEGRO TO ATTAIN, IN THIS COUNTRY, UNTO THE AMERICAN TYPE OF CIVILIZATION?

by

Bishop Henry M. Turner

This interrogatory appears to presuppose that the seventeen or more millions of colored people in North and South America are not a part of the American population, and do not constitute a part of its civilization. But the term "this country" evidently refers to the United States of America, for this being the largest and most powerful government on the American continent, not infrequently, is made to represent the entire continent. So the Negro is regarded as a foreign and segregated race. The American people, therefore, who grade the type of American civilization are made up of white people, for the Indian, Chinaman, and the few Mexicans are not taken in account any more than the Negro is, by reason of their diminutive numbers, and are not because they are regarded wanting in intellectual capacity, as the Negro is.

The above is an interrogatory that can be easily answered if the term "American" is to include the United States and the powers that enact its laws and proclaim its judicial decisions, as we have no civilization in the aggregate. Civilization contemplates that fraternity, civil and political equality between man and man, that makes his rights, privileges and immunities inviolable and sacred in the eyes and hearts of his fellows, whatever may be his nationality, language, color, hair, texture, or anything else that may make an external variation.

Civility comprehends harmony, system, method, complacency, urbanity, refinement, politeness, courtesy, justice, culture, general enlightenment and protection of life and person to any man, regardless of his color or nationality. It is enough for a civilized community to know that you are a human being, to pledge surety of physical and political safety to you, and this has been the sequence in all ages among civilized people. But such is not the condition of things as they apply to this country, I mean the United States. True, we have a National Congress, State Legislature, Subordinate and Supreme Courts, and almost every form of government, necessary to regulate the affairs of a civilized country. But above these, and above law and order, which these legislative and official bodies have been organized to observe, and execute justice in the land, we are often confronted through the public press with reports of the most barbarous and cruel outrages, that can be perpetrated upon human beings, known in the history of he world. No savage nation can exceed the atrocities which are often heralded through the country and accepted by many as an incidental consequence. Men are hung, shot and burnt by bands of murderers who are almost invariably represented as the most influential and respectable members of the community, while the evidences of guilt of what is charged against the victims, who are so inhumanly outraged, are never established by proof in any court, all we can learn about the guilt and horrible deeds charged upon the murdered victims comes from the mouth of the bloody handed wretches who perpetrate the murders, yet they are not known according to published accounts. But enough is known to get from their mouths some horrible statements as to why this or that brutal murder was done, and invariably, it is told with such oily tongues, and the whole narrative is polished over and glossed with such skillfully constructed lies, that the ruling millions lift up their hands in holy horror and exclaim "they done him right."

Why, the very judges surrounded with court officers are powerless before these bloody mobs.

Prisoners are cruelly, fiendishly and inhumanly dragged from their custody. Sheriffs are as helpless as newborn babes. I do not pretend to say that in no instance have the victims been guilty as a whole or in part of some blood-curdling crime, for men perpetuate lawless acts, revolting deeds, disgraceful and brutal crimes, regardless of nationality, language or color, at times. But civilization presurmises legal adjudication and the intervention of that judicial authority which civilized legislation produces. And when properly administered the accused is innocent till he gets a fair trial; no verdict of guilt from a drunken lawless mob should be accepted by a civilized country; and when they do accept it they become a barbarous people. And a barbarous people make a barbarous nation. Civilization knows no marauders, mobs, lynchers and any one adjudged guilty by a drunken band of freebooters is not guilty in the eyes of civilized people. For the ruthless and violent perpetrators of lawless deeds, especially when they are incarnate, are murderers to all intents and purposes, and popular approval does not diminish the magnitude of the crime. Millions may say, "Well done", but God, reason and civilization stamp them as culprits.

I confess that the United States has the highest form of civilized institutions that any nation has had. Let us take a cursory glance at the institutions of this country. It has common schools by the tens of thousands; colleges and universities of every grade by the hundred; millions of daily newspapers are flying from the press, and weekly papers and monthly magazines on all imaginary subjects; it has a Congress and President, Governors and State Legislatures without end, judges, various courts and law officers in countless numbers. Hundreds of thousands of school teachers, professors, and college presidents, Doctors of Divinity, thousands of lecturers and public declaimers on all subjects, railroads, telegraphs and telephones in such vast numbers as to stagger imagination itself, churches and pulpits that are filled by at least a hundred and twenty-five thousand ministers of the gospel, and Bibles enough to build a pyramid that would almost reach heaven; a land of books upon every subject scattered among people by the billions, and in short, we have all the forms and paraphernalia of civilization. But no one can say, who has any respect for truth, that the United states is a civilized nation, especially if we take the daily papers and inspect them for a few moments, and we see the deeds of horror that the ruling powers say "well done" to.

I know that thousands, yea millions and tens of millions would not plead guilty of having a part in the violent and gory outrages which are often perpetrated in this country upon human beings, chiefly because they are of African descent, and are not numerically strong enough to contend with the powers in governmental control. But that is no virtue that calls for admiration. As long as they keep silent and fail to lift up voices in protestation and declaim against it, their very silence is a world-wide acquiescence. It is practically saying, well done. There are millions of people in the country who could not stand to kill a brute, such is their nervous sensitiveness, and I have heard of persons who would not kill a snake or a bug. But they are guilty of everything the drunken mobs do, as long as they hold their silence. Men may be ever so free from the perpetration of bloody deeds, personally, but their failure to object to any outrageous crime makes them *particeps crimines.*

I forgot to say in cataloguing the crimes committed in the United States that persons for the simple color of their skins are thrust into what are called Jim Crow cars on the public highways and charged as much as those who are riding in rolling palaces with every comfort that is possible for man to enjoy. This is simple robbery on the public highways and the nine United States judges have approved this robbery and said, "well done", by their verdict.

Such being the barbarous condition of the United States, and the low order of civilization which controls its institutions where right and justice should sit enthroned, I see nothing for the Negro to attain unto this country. I have already admitted that this country has books and schools, and the younger members of the Negro race, like the younger members of the white race, should attend them and profit by them. But for the Negro as a whole, I see nothing here for him to aspire after. He can return to Africa, especially Liberia where a Negro government is already in existence, and learn the elements of civilization in fact; for human life is there sacred, and no man is deprived of it or any other thing that involves his manhood, without due process of law. So my decision is that there is nothing in the United States for the Negro to learn or try to attain to.

PART FIVE

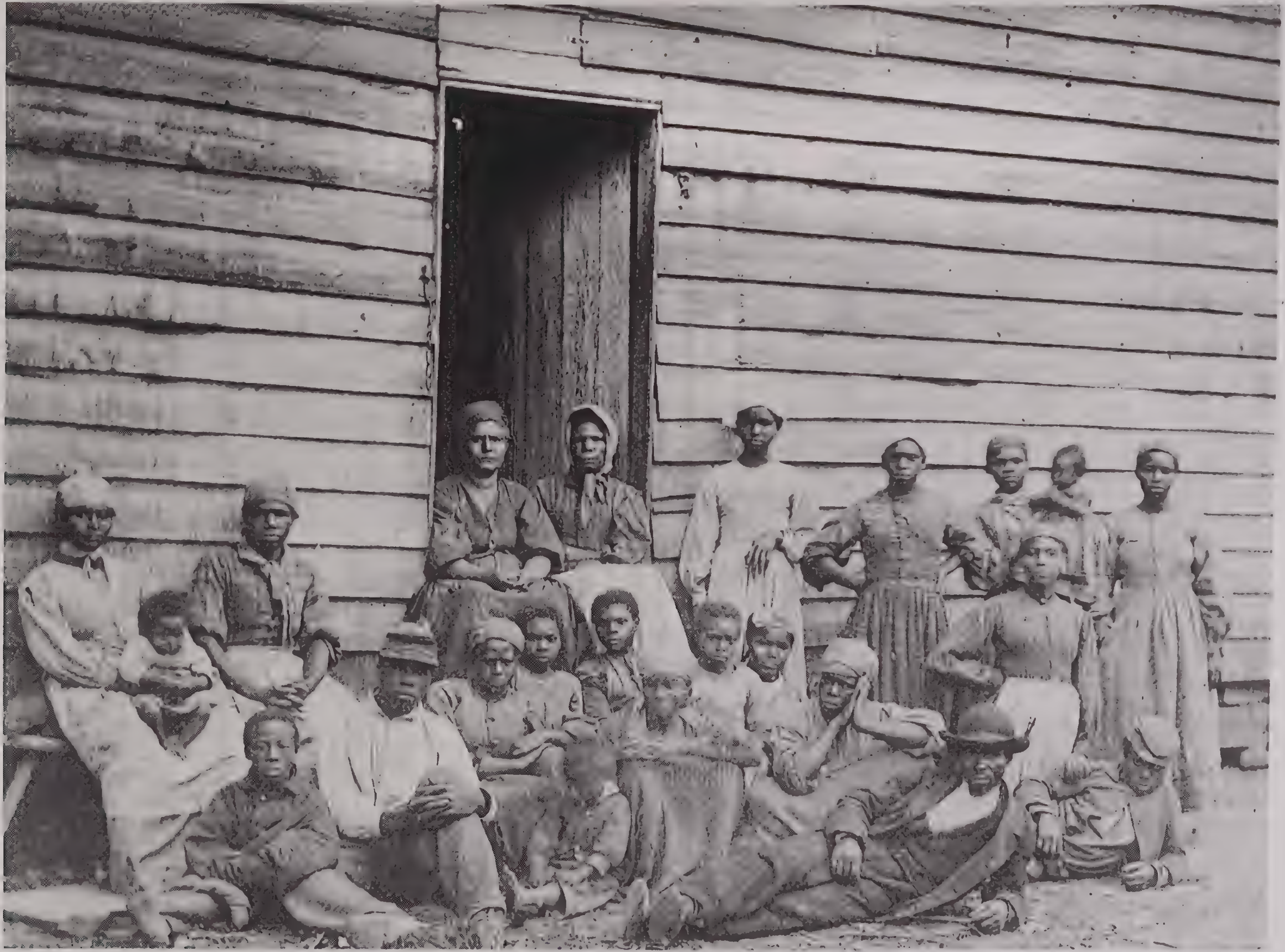
SLAVERY AND EMANCIPATION IN THE UNITED STATES

What was most striking about the economic activity of these free people is the extent to which they combined occupations. Farm labourers and farmers (renters and landowners alike) supplemented income most frequently by fishing or cutting wood. Blacksmiths and carpenters, although they considered their craft to be the primary source of their livelihood, used the money earned from these occupations to buy land which they farmed as well. For the most part, free blacks remained poor people, but the nature of the economy allowed many to live in comfortable circumstances and gave them greater control over their labour.

Edna Greene Medford

Emancipation freed the slaves but did not uproot the belief system that had allowed slavery to exist. Soon after they were liberated, blacks learned that their freedom did not guarantee racial equality, civil rights, or equal opportunity.

Regina T. Akers



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A group of ex-slaves photographed at Cumberland Landing, Virginia on May 14, 1862
Library of Congress, Washington, D. C.

"I WAS ALWAYS A UNION MAN": THE DILEMMA OF FREE BLACKS IN CONFEDERATE VIRGINIA

by

Edna Greene Medford

Free people of colour were an anomaly in the antebellum South. Their very presence ran counter to the white idea of the proper role of the African American in society. Both planters and nonslaveholders feared them for their potential to incite revolt among those in bondage, and hence, white Southerners attempted to regulate nearly every facet of their lives. The exploitation of free black labour and the denial of full enjoyment of basic liberties reflected the attempt on the part of whites to reduce them as much as possible to the level of the slaves.

Perhaps at no time was the complexity of the position of free people of colour more evident than during the Civil War. The wartime needs of the Confederacy expanded free black economic opportunities. By taking advantage of the labour shortage created by the loss of white men off at war and slave labourers who made their escape from the plantations, free people managed to improve their economic circumstances in a way that had been denied to them previously. Contemporaneously, however, certain Confederate policies placed free people in danger, and threatened their liberty and property. Free blacks were keenly aware that any support they gave the Confederacy would give tacit consent to the continuation of their own oppression (perhaps even intensifying it) and that of the millions of African Americans in bondage. Conversely, support for the Union could result in serious if not fatal immediate consequences for individuals, as well as jeopardize the continued freedom of all free people of colour if the North lost the war. Ultimately, a combination of self interest and a shared racial heritage with those in bondage led most free blacks to embrace the Union cause.[1]

The role of free blacks as soldiers and as noncombatants within Union lines has been well documented.[2] Less is known about the attitudes, actions, and circumstances of free men and women of colour who lent support to the Northern effort from inside the Confederacy. To the degree that historians have concerned themselves with this matter, they have focused their attention on the elite free people of New Orleans, Mobile, and Charleston. Nothing of substance has been written of the free blacks in the tidewater Virginia counties of Charles City and New Kent, where the wartime experiences of free blacks were shaped by their close proximity to Richmond and the consequent advances and retreats of both the Union and Confederate armies. Hence, this essay addresses those people. Like other Unionists, these free blacks were subject to the same consequences suffered by anyone whose disloyalty to the Confederacy was uncovered. Their race, however, made them even more vulnerable to disclosure and punishment. Moreover, their Unionism was generally motivated by a deep concern for their personal freedom and future liberty rather than by ideological or philosophical factors, as was evident among white Southern loyalists.[3] In essence, black Unionists had more to lose from Northern defeat Their actions during the war reveal their recognition of this reality.[4]

TABLE I

POPULATION OF CHARLES CITY AND NEW KENT, 1860

County	Free Black	Slave	White	Total
Charles City	856	2 947	1,806	5,609
New Kent	364	3 374	2,145	5,884

Source: US Bureau of the Census, Eighth Census, 1860.

In 1860, the free African American community was well established in Charles City and New Kent, two wholly rural counties that occupied the northern end of the Virginia Peninsula.[5] Slightly more than 1,200 free people of colour lived and laboured in this part of Virginia's 'Black Belt'. Free people constituted over 10 per cent of the overall population and nearly one fifth of the African American (see Table1). Within this free population were people who had descended from venerable families whose histories dated back as far as the late seventeenth century.[6] Despite residence whose longevity rivaled that of some of the first white families of Virginia, free people endured the same denial of basic rights as African Americans elsewhere in the state. Virginia law denied them access to an education, restricted their movement, prevented them from bearing arms or congregating beyond the watchful eyes of whites, and otherwise limited their rights as a free peopled At the same time, they were required to contribute to the community and the state by paying taxes and rendering any other service deemed necessary and appropriate. Failure to do so invited arrest and the possibility of temporarily being subjected' to forced servitude. Their children suffered the indignities visited upon the parents as well. A parent's indigence subjected the child to forced apprenticeship to local planters, farmers, and craftsmen, thereby reducing them to the status of quasi slaves.[8]

Although oppressed by laws that circumscribed their liberty, free people of colour in Charles City and New Kent benefited from an economy that enabled most to gain a modest subsistence and allowed some to enjoy a certain measure of economic independence. The mixed farming economy provided ample opportunities for employment. The vast majority of free blacks became farm labourers, tending the fields of middling white planters and farmers. The few who worked their own land had modest holdings. A handful, however, were distinguished for the large size of their farms. In New Kent, four free men Robert Burgoine, Carter Lewis, Thomas Pearman, and George Fox owned over 100 acres each. They were joined in Charles City by Samuel Hampton, William Turner and Samuel Brown. Hampton was clearly the wealthiest free man of colour in either county with 360 acres of lands. [9]

Free people in the two counties engaged in non agricultural labour as well. They worked at sawmills and chopped wood independently, fished extensively in the James and the Pamunkey rivers, and pursued other unskilled specialized labour like well digging and teamstering. A small percentage made their living principally as craftsmen: blacksmiths, wheelwrights, and carpenters. A handful of women owned and farmed their land; some laboured beside men as farm labourers, while others contributed to the family economy as carders, spinners, and weavers.[10]

What is most striking about the economic activity of these free people is the extent to which they combined occupations. Farm labourers and farmers (renters and landowners alike) supplemented income most frequently by fishing or cutting wood. Blacksmiths and carpenters, although they considered their craft to be the primary source of their livelihood, used the money earned from those occupations to buy land which they farmed as well." For the most part, free blacks remained poor people, but the nature of the economy allowed many to live in comfortable circumstances and gave them greater control over their labour.

Free blacks in Charles City and New Kent also managed to develop a sense of community by establishing a religious institution which became central to their community life. In 1810, Charles City free people built their own church. Elam Baptist became the spiritual and social centre for African Americans in the county, free and slave until Nat Turner's rebellion escalated white fears and attracted congregants from neighbouring New Kent as well. [11] After the Turner rebellion, Virginia law required them to accept nominal supervision by a white pastor, but free people continued to find a relative independence that was denied to them in the white churches.[12]

Hence, on the eve of the war, the free black population of Charles City and New Kent consisted of people who, although accustomed to hardship and oppression, had managed to gain some degree of control over their lives; some had even known prosperity. The war threatened that. As the conflict escalated, free blacks struggled to maintain this relative independence and economic security. Believing that their future stability depended on Northern victory, a few eagerly joined the Union army after the federal government approved the enlistment of black men; others who fled the Confederacy served the Northern forces in some noncombatant capacity. They left behind people who were equally committed to the Union cause, but who did not see flight or soldiering as a viable option for themselves. As one free man put it, 'I was willing at all times to do all in my power to help the Union, but I didn't want to leave my home. I had a wife and family dependent on me'.[13] One suspects that these free men who stayed were equally motivated by a desire to protect property for which they had struggled so long. By clandestinely supporting the Union at home, these free blacks could safeguard their possessions while undermining the society that limited their freedom. Their actions during the war reflected their commitment to that end.

War came to Virginia's lower peninsula in May 1861, when Union troops reinforced the federal contingent already in possession of Fortress Monroe in Hampton Roads. Confederate forces assisted in the evacuation of white residents from their homes and bore them to secured territory north of the Hampton Newport News area. Some were forced to leave their slaves behind as bondsmen and women resisted attempts to remove them from the area by fleeing to the forth During the first year of the war, Union forces expanded outward from Fortress Monroe and eventually claimed and occupied much of the territory at the southern end of the Peninsula. There, the wartime experiences of free blacks and slaves were shaped by Northern troops who despised and exploited them, and by the federal government's attempt to grapple with the monumental problems associated with managing and caring for the large number of displaced and fugitive peoples.[15]

By the spring of 1862 the Union launched its Peninsula campaign a northwestward advance of forces over 100,000 strong in an ambitious attempt to capture Richmond. Led by General George McClellan, Union forces marched up the Peninsula and crossed through both Charles City and New Kent counties. Whites fled the Union advance, and their slaves seized upon the opportunity provided by the Northern presence to liberate themselves.[16] On the great estates that stretched out along the James River, bondsmen and women took advantage of their access to the waterway and fled in large numbers. Escapes increased dramatically as Union forces cut a path of retreat through Charles City. Over two thirds of the 63 people enslaved on the Westover Estate sought freedom when the Northern army camped near the plantation in the summer of 1862. John Selden, the owner of Westover, would have lost even more of his property had he not removed 17 of his slaves beyond the reach of the Union lines. Despite this precaution, however, three of the 17 managed to escape.[17] Slaves fled the other plantations in the area as well: 85 ran away from Shirley, the estate of the Carters; the Sherwood Forest Plantation of former US president John Tyler lost 15 labourers; and 50 escaped the Wilcox estate. An observer of the times noted that 'nearly, if not fully one half of the negro men' in Charles City County fled to the Union during the wards Many of them were transported to the southern tip of the Peninsula where they swelled the ranks of those already settled in the overcrowded contraband camps in York and

Elizabeth City counties.

Shifting lines of defence bewildered Charles City and New Kent residents who could not always be sure of who was in control of their area. In fact, both the Confederacy and the Union claimed the two counties throughout the war. This complicated the lives of free blacks even more, as they could not feel secure in their property or personal freedom with such fluidity in the lines.

While the slaves made their escape to freedom, free people of colour contemplated their options: leave home and perhaps join the Union forces or remain in the Confederacy where they might be able to protect family and property and still support the Union. Both options entailed some risks, and those who chose to stay at home soon realized the difficulty of conducting daily activities and supporting Union victory while being compelled to respond to the demands of the Confederacy. As the war deepened, free people found themselves involuntarily drawn into the struggle both directly and indirectly. As residents of the state, they were expected to surrender a proportion of crops requisitioned by the Confederacy. Rebel forces also seized the property of free blacks illegally, taking poultry, livestock, and farm implements and tools. Years later a free man complained that the Confederates 'took little things from us... and threatened us in all sorts of ways..."[19]

The greatest threat to free people of colour, however, was the exploitation of their labour. At first Confederate authorities encouraged free blacks to volunteer their services to the cause. When volunteerism failed to meet adequately the demands for labour, however, African Americans slave and free suffered impressment at the hands of rebel commanders.'[20] In February 1862, the Virginia legislature took steps that made it easier to compel free blacks to labour for the confederacy, requiring all free black men between 18 and 50 years of age to register with the local courts. When Confederate commanders needed labourers, they simply submitted a requisition to the court, which then selected the specified number of labourers. Such involuntary service could extend for up to 180 days. Labourers thus impressed were entitled to monetary compensation, medical care, food, and quarters.[21]

Free blacks from Charles City and New Kent were impressed in the first year of the war to assist in the building of entrenchments at Yorktown and Mulberry Island near Jamestown.[22] In December 1861, at least 600 African Americans, 'many of them free negroes', laboured to construct batteries and earthworks around Yorktown. The rate of compensation for their labour amounted to $10 per month.[23] Again, in January 1862, General John Bankhead Magruder, commanding Confederate forces on the Peninsula, sought to replace troop labour with black slave and free because 'the sickly season came and the army could no longer work'.[24] The extent to which free blacks were impressed is evident in a 19 March 1863 requisition for labour that drew 100 free blacks from Charles City County and 20 from New Kent's much smaller population.[25] Given the size of the requisition, however, it must have been devastating to the free African American community. The use of free black labourers to build defences and perform other military labour for the Confederacy only intensified as the war dragged on.

Black labourers found the erection of breastworks and other defences to be arduous. Trees had to be felled to obstruct rivers, tons of earth dug up and hauled into place, and revetments constructed. Labourers worked in all manner of inclement weather and made to stand waist deep in water and mud. Despite assurances of adequate food and medical care, many suffered lasting physical disabilities from their experiences in erecting Virginia's defences.[26]

The Confederacy employed slave labour extensively as well at first on a voluntary basis; but as illness and death from overwork, poor care, and abuse turned the cooperation of planters into alarm over the well being and survival of their bondsmen, coercion was necessary. Resistance from slaveholders forced the state legislature to compel them to surrender their slaves between the ages of 18 and 45 upon the demand of Confederate authorities. The law allowed the Confederacy to employ these bondsmen for up to 60 days.[27] Planters reluctantly sent their labourers to the front; others defied the requisition orders altogether, and wrote letters of protest to any official whom they felt had the authority to redress their grievances.[28]

Failing to obtain exemption for their bondsmen who had been conscripted for service on Confederate fortifications, planters attempted to hire free black substitutes. John Selden, for instance, hired free black men for that purpose in July, August, and again in December 1861. He contracted to pay the men 75 cents per day. Apparently Selden experienced some difficulty in procuring the labour of free black men from his county, since he had to send to Petersburg to find substitutes for his slaves.[29]

While planters moved to protect their property in slaves, free blacks were left to devise their own methods of circumventing the Confederacy's demand for labour. Some went to extraordinary lengths. Most commonly, they fled, dodging the impressment of officials who sought to carry them away, or making their escape upon reaching the work site. The case of Riley Jones was fairly typical. Jones, a 40 year old Charles City County farmer, was impressed in the first year of the war to work on fortifications at Mulberry Island. After working there for two months, Jones left without authorization and returned home. Fearing that the Confederate forces would arrest him and compel him once again to labour for them, he hid out in the woods on several occasions, once for a period of three weeks.[30] Other free black men from the county took similar action. After working for eight days on breastworks at Mulberry Island, Edmund Jones also returned home without being released by the rebel authorities. Doubtless, to his amazement and delight, impressment forces did not pursue him or attempt to conscript him again.31 His good fortune eluded County resident Albert Brown, however. After Brown escaped from that same island, Confederate officials impressed him a second time and compelled him to assist in constructing defences around Richmond. Eventually, he made his escape from there as well. From that point on, Brown and several other free black men in the county began to lie out in the roads at night to avoid the 'conscript guards who would come for us to do some kind of work for the Confederates, which we were determined if possible not to do.'[32]

Free men of colour used whatever tactics were at their disposal to escape impressment. When running away failed to solve their problem, they appealed to white patrons to intercede for them. Warren Cumber, a prominent farmer whose family had lived in New Kent County as free people for generations (perhaps as early as the late seventeenth century), appealed to an old lawyer friend of his when the Confederates sent him to work on fortifications at Yorktown in June 1862. The lawyer managed to get Cumber released and sent him on his way. That favour, however, did not extend to his 19-year old son who was forced by the rebels to serve as a wagoner.[33]

Legitimate and feigned illness spared some free black men from the impressment ranks or cut short their terms at labour. After serving ten days on fortifications at Williamsburg, Joseph Brown of New Kent received a furlough because he had sickened. On several subsequent occasions, Confederate officials attempted to impress him for work in Richmond, but each time Brown managed to avoid service by acquiring a certificate from the Quartermaster Department attesting to his unfitness for labour.[34] His 'condition', however, did not appear to hamper his cultivation of the farm he owned during the war.

Beyond the threat of impressment, black men found themselves subjected to the suspicions and fears of local whites and Confederate officials.. From the perspective of whites, Southern victory required the complete loyalty of every member of the society and participation that aided the rebel cause. Despite tolerance and even acceptance of the free black presence before the war, whites recognized the contradiction of black freedom within a slave society. Few believed that black men could be fully trusted. Thus, an ill advised comment in the presence of the wrong persons could bring an involuntary visit to the rebel camp, if not more serious consequences. Warren Cumber must have considered himself fortunate to have escaped serious repercussions for voicing the opinion that 'the northern army would win the day'.[35] As a consequence of his comment Confederate soldiers arrested him and carried him before General Fitzhugh Lee, whose forces were camped not far from Cumber's home. Lee apparently saw nothing to be gained in making an example of the free man, but soldiers under his command took the matter more seriously and, ignoring Lee's order that Cumber be released, took him to another commander instead. Fortunately for Cumber, he encountered a Confederate officer who knew him and had him released.[36]

At least one free man of colour in Charles City attracted unwelcome attention to himself as well. County authorities arrested Edmund Collier Brown early in the war and charged him with being in possession of a New York paper that encouraged African Americans to rebel. [37] Brown was eventually acquitted, but the experience doubtless convinced him and other free people of the necessity for increased circumspection during the course of the war. Confederate officials had good reason to suspect and fear disloyalty from free people of colour. All over the Peninsula African Americans slave and free lent support to the Union cause by serving as guides, spies, messengers, and agents for those attempting to escape to federal lines. The Union consistently relied on information supplied or corroborated by 'intelligent negroes' and 'mulatto informants'.[38] Free blacks reported troop movement and the strength of units and the degree of fortifications the Confederate Army had erected. For instance, when Union Lieutenant Franklin Ellis was sent out across Charles City County in June 1862 to ascertain the feasibility of establishing signal communications between headquarters and gunboats, he encountered a free black man who informed him of his imminent capture by the Charles City Troop, a homebased group of Confederates. Undoubtedly because of this help, and perhaps owing to the assistance of other like ed blacks, Ellis and his unit were able to 'pass through more than 30 miles of the enemy's country, none of which had ever been traversed by a Federal soldier before...'[39] Ellis' reconnaissance convinced him that although it was 'impracticable to signal across this country by the usual method... many free negroes can be found who could be fully trusted with the transmission of messages in cipher'. [40]

Support for the Union did not preclude free blacks from advancing their economic interests during the war. The close proximity to Richmond of Charles City and New Kent made the city accessible to trade. Hence, free black farmers and fishermen travelled the 25 miles to Richmond weekly by mule cart. While there they sold agricultural products and marketed shad and other fish caught from the James and Pamunkey rivers. Given the food shortages that plagued Richmond during the war, free blacks doubtless found a ready market for most of their goods. Generally, they travelled unmolested by the Confederates. There is no indication, however, that they established a direct commercial relationship with Confederate soldiers, as occurred in some areas of Virginia, but their weekly trips to Richmond unmistakably aided the Confederate caused. [41]

If free blacks were troubled by this indirect aid to the Confederacy, they could assuage their consciences by reflecting on the noneconomic by products of those weekly trips to Richmond. The business activities of black farmers and fishermen allowed them to acquire passes from the clerk of the market, and hence enabled them to move freely in and out of Richmond. This access to the Confederate capital enabled them to provide an invaluable service to the Union. On the return trip home from market they carried out messages and letters and transmitted military information to the federal forces. In a more dangerous action, they smuggled out Northern sympathizers and Union soldiers who had been imprisoned by the Confederacy.

William Henry Brisby was perhaps the most notable of these smugglers of human cargo. Early in the war, apparently fearing impressment (and doubtless wishing to remain close to his substantial property), Brisby had yielded to pressure to render blacksmithing services to a Confederate cavalry unit camped near his home. For several months, he shod their horses and, when the Confederates finally released him, Brisby began his crusade for the Union cause. He was credited with orchestrating and executing the escape of several Unionists from Richmond and transporting them to federal lines. His escapees included Union soldiers (three of whom had escaped from Libby Prison), white women whose husbands had already left Richmond, and African Americans (presumably slaves) who wished to leave the Confederacy. Brisby sometimes hid these fugitives on his property and transported them to within reach of the Union lines after dark.[42] The Confederates twice imprisoned him in Castle Thunder on suspicion of spying for the Union, but each time he won release because his accusers failed to prove him guilty.

Free people of colour who were less daring or who did not have the opportunities presented to Brisby on his market days assisted the Union by aiding injured soldiers who were the casualties of the many skirmishes in and near the two counties. After General Philip Sheridan's forces were engaged in fighting near William Adkins' home in 1864, Adkins persuaded a small group of his neighbours to assist him in gathering together a few of the wounded Union troops. The free black men put the soldiers in a house nearby where Adkins oversaw their recovery. Once the soldiers gained enough strength to allow safe transport, he carried them to a nearby federal gunboat.[43]

The resolve of free people of colour within the Confederate lines to support the Union never wavered, but the attitudes and actions of the Northern army sometimes tested even the staunchest Union men and women. For much of the war, Union forces were in striking distance of Charles City and New Kent. When federal soldiers were not marching through the counties to attack Richmond, they sent out foraging parties that appropriated anything (sometimes even property that had been nailed down) that they believed to be useful to the military. In some instances, soldiers took property presumably for their own personal use. White planters and farmers expected such incursions and prepared for Northern arrival. Free blacks doubtless assumed they would be spared because of their loyalty and assistance to the Union, but their faith in the Northern army proved ill advised. Many lost provisions that had been stored for the use of their families or were destined for sale in the Richmond market, and they suffered the loss of livestock and other agricultural products essential to their livelihood as farmers. The barely subsisting, as well as the most prosperous among them, fell victim to these foragers. The industrious William Brisby suffered a significant loss when Union troops took his blacksmith and carpentry tools and pulled down his shop. The army used the planks from the structure for firewood and to build quarters. Before they left his place, Brisby lost 1,000 pounds of iron, oak timber, a variety of agricultural goods (including fodder, oats, cornmeal, flour, several boxes of tobacco, over 300 pounds of bacon, and over a dozen hogs), two horses, a cart, several barrels of fish and three fishing boats.[44] In contrast, the army only appropriated a three old mule from William Charity. But its loss doubtless made it more difficult for Charity to gain a subsistence on the rented land he farmed.[45]

Not content to appropriate only stored goods, Union troops turned out their horses to graze in oat and corn fields. Harris Miles gave voice to the frustrations of free blacks when he complained that the army 'grazed down and utterly destroyed' the crop for which he had so diligently laboured. Miles had been the unfortunate recipient of two Union visits, and as a consequence, he had lost most of his livestock and all of the fencing that enclosed 18 of the 20 acres he had rented from John Selden.[46]

Foraging parties did not limit their activities to preying on able bodied free men, and black women did not escape their raids, either. Lucy Green, a 52 year old free black widow of Charles City, lost nearly all her property when Union soldiers camped near her 50 acre farm in 1863 and again in 1865. As they had at other farms, the army tore down her fences for firewood, carried off the cow, calves. and poultry, killed her pigs, and stripped her garden of vegetables. The army took household items as well, including blankets, pillows, a teakettle and water bucket. When she refused to surrender her horse, which she had locked in the stable, Union troops bore a hole through the structure and senselessly killed the horse with a bayonet.[47]

Lucy Green's experience with the Union army paralleled that of the other free people of colour in Charles City and New Kent. When they protested at the appropriation of their property they were answered with gruff retorts and admonishments that the Union was fighting for the freedom of black people and that the free people fought not to grudge them' use of the property.[48] On occasion, commanders showed some compassion and returned a horse or a cow, but usually they merely assured free blacks that they would eventually be compensated for their loses.[49]

While both armies consumed the resources (both physical and material) of free black men and women, people of colour continued their struggle to make a living. Generally, they attempted to reach a subsistence in the ways they had before the war. During the antebellum period they had readily found employment on the farms and plantations of the two counties. Now, with so many slaves escaping from the area, free black labour proved even more valuable. Local whites complained, however, that free people were unwilling to work for them in the fields. In the spring of 1862, former Virginia Acting Governor and Resident of Charles City County, John M. Gregory, complained about the possible loss of the wheat crop because 'the free negroes refuse to work, and the demand for labor is so great in consequence of the great number of negroes who have gone from this County to the Yankees that no labor can be hired'.[50]

Contrary to Gregory's assertions, free blacks did continue to work for whites. But they did so with the recognition that the conditions of war allowed them a large measure of control over the terms of their labour. Perhaps at no other time in their lives did they possess the degree of control over private (civilian) labour contracts as during the war years. Just as the relationship between master and slave was transformed during the war, so too was that between white employers and free people of colour. Free black labour was deemed valuable enough by 1864 to prompt Charles City planters who had complained of the impressment of their slaves in the early part of the war to seek to have the county exempted from free black requisitions.[51] By this time, of course, the slaves had departed for the Union lines, and planters were compelled to negotiate terms of employment with those labourers who remained.

Indeed, despite the hardships of war, some free people of colour managed to better their conditions by taking advantage of the opportunities made available to them during this period. Robert Brown, for instance, owned ten acres of land when the war commenced. In 1863, his improving economic circumstance allowed him to purchase an additional 40 acres and erect a house on the sited. [52] William Brisby, already the owner of 32 acres of land in 1857, used the war years to expand his fishing business and enlarge his carpentry and blacksmithing operations. In April 1863, Brisby purchased a net, and with this and his three boats, he 'caught large quantities of fish which he sold to the people who came for them to the shore and shipped some away'.[53] Brisby also erected a fish house on the Pamunkey where he stored barrels of salted fish; he marketed some of his catch in Richmond. The war gave industrious and ambitious free men like Brisby and Brown the opportunity to increase their income by responding to the needs of neighbours and the larger market at Richmond. Clashing armies and military movements occasionally disrupted weekly trips to the market, but free black entrepreneurs resumed trade when conditions improved. African Americans who had benefited from the varied ways of making a living before the war capitalized on the ability to do so in the midst of the chaos.

Postbellum statements of free people of colour revealed the extent to which they had feared a worsening of their circumstances should the North suffer defeat. Some of these men and women voiced the concern of those who lent support to the Union because of the belief that Northern victory would ensure the destruction of slavery as well as ensure better conditions for the race in general.[54] But what is most apparent in their statements is the extent to which free people were motivated by dissatisfaction with their limited freedom and concern over greater loss of status. They complained that before the war they had been treated badly and had few liberties. They especially lamented the denial of education and believed that Union victory would increase their rights. Moreover, free blacks were motivated by the assumption that if the Confederacy had won, they would have been reduced to slavery. A few of them believed that any money accumulated from selling free people into bondage had been promised to the wives of Confederate soldiers.55 According to William Brisby, local magistrate Edward Pollard had even warned him that he 'meant to have me certain if the Confederacy succeeded'.56 Perhaps Riley Jones best summed up the sentiments of free people when he stated: 'We believed that if the southern people succeeded all of us free people would be made slaves of; and we believed that if the Yankees succeeded we should remain free and have a better chance for our living'. [57]

Free black men and women in Charles City and New Kent saw their economic positions strengthened in the postbellum era and benefited from the inclusion of African Americans in the political process during Reconstruction and for several years beyond. They became leaders of the African American communities, founding churches, establishing schools, winning election to office, acquiring land and starting businesses. William Brisby, for instance, represented New Kent County as a member of the House of Delegates in the first legislative session after Virginia's restoration to the Union. After serving one term there, he returned to the county where he was repeatedly elected to local office either as a supervisor or as a justice of the peace. He held office and was a powerful political force in the district until the turn of the century. Warren Cumber won election as a Commissioner of Roads and served as a judge of elections for the Republican part in New Kent. In Charles City, Harris Miles became the first black man to serve as clerk of the court. Others, like Thomas Cohnan and Robert Brown, played active roles in the church and community. The economic advantage that generations of freedom permitted them enabled these free men to acquire additional property in the postbellum era. Their acquisitions dominate land transactions among African Americans in the first decade after the war, and their role as grantors of deeds reflects the extent to which the landholdings of free men and women enabled freedpeople to become property owners as well.[58] By staying home free people of colour provided the continuity that facilitated the transition of freedpeople from slavery. [59]

Free people of colour in Charles City and New Kent counties experienced the war from a perspective that differed from that of both planter and slave. They were forced to reconcile three different components of themselves: African American, free person, resident of the Confederacy. Their actions during the war were shaped by their own unique needs and ambitions. Self interest kept them at home, but it made them supporters of the Union as well. They saw no contradiction in the two. Without antagonizing Confederate officials, they could safeguard their freedom, expand their liberties, and protect their property. Once they had associated these goals with Northern victory, 'They were all Union people. They were colored free born and couldn't be anything else'.[60]

The author wishes to thank Ira Berlin of the University of Maryland and Joseph Reidy of Howard University for their comments on earlier versions of this essay.

1. In some areas of the South, free people of colour initially offered their support to the Confederacy. See, for instance, Manoj K. Joshi and Joseph P. Reidy, "'To Come Forward and Aid in Putting Down This Unholy Rebellion': The Officers of Louisiana's Free Black Native Guard During the Civil War Era," *Southern Studies: An Interdisciplinary Journal of the South* 21 (Fall 1982), pp.326-42; Ira Berlin, Barbara J. Fields, Thavolia Glymph, Joseph P. Reidy, and Leslie Rowland (eds.), *Freedom: A Documentary History of Emancipation, 1861-1867.* Series 1, VoL 1, The Destruction of Slavery (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), p.683.

2. Ira Berlin, Joseph P. Reidy, Leslie Rowland (eds.), *Freedom, A Documentary History of Emancipation, 1861-1867,* Series 2, VoL 1, *The Black Military Experience* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982); Dudley T. Cornish, *The Sable Arm* (Lawrence: University of Kansas Press, 1956); Benjamin Quarles, *The Negro in the Civil War* (Boston: Little Brown, 1959); James McPherson, *The Negro's Civil War: How American Negroes Felt and Acted During the War for the Union* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1965); Hanson B. Hargrove, *Black Union Soldiers in the Civil War* (Jefferson, North Carolina: McFarland Publishers, 1988); Joseph T. Wilson, *The Black Phalanx* (Hartford: Harper Brothers, 1882).

3. For discussion of Southern white Unionism see Carl Degler, *The Other South: Southern Dissenters in the Nineteenth Century* (New York: Harper and Row, 1974), pp.99-186; Georgia Lee Tatum, *Disloyalty in the Confederacy* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1934); Randall C. Jimerson, *The Private Civil War: Popular Thought During the Sectional Conflict* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1988). Degler indicates that white Southern Unionists were not a monolithic group. They were motivated by a variety of factors, including the beliefs that the South could not win, slavery could be protected more successfully if the South remained a part of the Union, secession was unconstitutional, and slavery was unacceptable.

4. The most significant sources for this essay are the records of the Southern Claims Commission. Established by law in 1871, its task was to accept, investigate, and adjudicate claims filed by persons whose property had been appropriated for use of the Union army. Claimants had to prove ownership of the property taken, provide receipts, and prove loyalty to the Union. Any voluntary aid given to the Confederacy automatically disqualified an applicant. Depositions were taken from neighbours (black and white, Unionist and rebel) in an effort to ascertain the veracity of the claimant. Undoubtedly some claims were exaggerated, but the standard of proof was such that applicants stood little chance of acquiring favourable rulings if they filed fraudulent reports. The Southern Claims records are also useful because they sometimes provide insight into wartime activities and sentiments and post war prosperity.

5. Virginia's Peninsula lay between the York and James rivers. Six counties were carved from the region, including Elizabeth City, Warwick, York and James City at the southeastern end, and Charles City and New Kent in the northwest.

6. See Luther Porter Jackson, 'Rights and Duties in a Democracy: The Brown Family of Charles City County, Virginia', *Norfolk Journal and Guide*, 30 October 1943, p.8.

7. For discussion of the limitations of freedom in Charles City, see Edna Greene Medford, "'It Was A Very Comfortable Place For Poor Folks': Subsistence in a Rural Antebellum Free Black Community", *LOCUS: An Historical Journal of Regional Perspectives* 5 (spring 1993), pp.131-44. See also Luther Porter Jackson, *Free Negro Labor and Property Holding in Virginia, 1830-1860* (New York: Athenaeum, 1969).

8. See 'List of Free Negroes Returned Delinquent for the Nonpayment of State and Capitation Tax for the Year', 1860, 1861, 1862, File #321, Charles City County Special Court Papers, Manuscript Division, Virginia State Archives, Richmond. See also 'Papers of Indenture for Charles City County' in Special Court Papers.

9. Luther P. Jackson, Free Negro Labor and Property Holding in Virginia, 1830-1860, pp.248 and 250.

10. United States, Bureau of the Census, 'Manuscript Population Returns', 'Household Schedules for Charles City and New Kent Counties', Virginia, 1860. National Archives (microfilm). See also Charles City County, Virginia, '1851 Registry of Free Negroes'; and New Kent County, Virginia, '1856 Registry of Free Negroes', Virginia State Archives, Richmond.

11. Ibid. The 'Free Negro Registry' for New Kent clearly bears this out.

12. For discussion of the establishment of Elam Baptist Church see Alexander Q. Franklin, History of Elam Baptist Church, 1810-1910 (Richmond: Reformer Electric Print, 1910).

13. Deposition of Joseph Brown, New Kent County, before the Southern Claims Commission, Southern Claims Case Files, 1877-80, Third Auditor's Office, Virginia, Claim #18499, 2 Jan. 1873. RG 217, National Archives.

14. Robert Engs, *Freedom's First Generation: Black Hampton, Virginia, 1861-1890* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1979), pp.17-22. The fleeing of fugitive slaves to Fortress Monroe in the spring and summer of 1861 had resulted from General Benjamin Butler's initial acceptance of three such persons who requested asylum there. Word of Butler's decision to declare these men 'contrabands of war' and his refusal to return them to their owner spread through the slave community and precipitated a flood of men, women, and children to the safety of the fort.

15. See Berlin et al.. *The Destruction of Slavery;* Louis S. Gerteis, *From Contraband to Freedom: Federal Policy Toward Southern Blacks. 1861-1865* (Westport, Conn., 1973); Engs, *Freedom's First Generation.*

16. Frequently, planters who supported the Confederacy, but were not in military service, left their estates just ahead of the arrival of Union troops. They took their most valued and most troublesome slaves with them, leaving the others behind under the supervision of wives and children. Elderly whites sometimes took their chances with the Northern army, gambling that they would not be harassed. Sometimes they lost the gamble.

17. John Spencer Bassett (ed.), 'The Westover Journal of John A. Selden, Esquire: 1858-1862', *Smith College Studies in History*, 6 (July 1921), p.327.

18. See John M. Gregory to John Ammistead, quoted in Mary Rums Copeland (ed.), The Confederate History of Charles City County, Virginia (1957), p.7. See also, John M. Gregory to Hon. James A. Sedden, 7 March 1863, G 142, 1863, Lepers Received, Ser. 5, Sec. of War, RG 109, National Archives. A copy of this letter appears in Berlin et al. (eds:), The *Destruction of Slavery*, pp.7480-54.

19. Deposition of Peyton Harris, Charles City County, Southern Claims Case files #7592, 6 Feb. 1873; Deposition of Warren Cumber, New Kent County, Southern Claims Case File #19208, I Feb. 1873; Deposition of Elias Adkins, Charles City County, Southern Claims Case Files #16642, 20 Sept. 1872.

20. James A. Brewer, *The Confederate Negro: Virginia's Craftsmen and Military Laborers, 1861-1865* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1969), p.7. See also Berlin et al., *The Destruction of Slavery*, p.679. Berlin et al. indicate that free black men were 'forcibly placed in Confederate service' as early as the summer of 1861.

21. James Brewer, *The Confederate Negro*, p.7.

22. Deposition of Elizabeth Adkins, Charles City County, Southern Claims Commission Case Files #16642, 11 April 1878. Adkins testified that a Confederate guard came to her farm and impressed her son Joseph and carried him to Jamestown where he built entrenchments with other black men. Joseph was impressed at other times as well. Finally, in May 1864, he tired of eluding the rebels and enlisted in the 37th United States Coloured Infantry.

23. Major General J. B. Magruder to General S. Cooper, 22 Jan. 1862, Letters Received, Series 12, Adjutant and Inspector General, RG 109 [F272].

24. Major General J. B. Magruder to General S. Cooper, Yorktown, 23 Dec. 1861, #9026, Letters Received, Series 5, Secretary of War, RG 109, National Archives.

25. US War Department, The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records
of the Union and Confederate Armies. Ist Series, Ll, part 2 (Washington, 1891-1902), p.683.

26. James Brewer The Confederate Negro, p.135.

27. Ibid., p.8.

28. See Ira Berlin et al. (eds.), *The Destruction to Slavery*. pp.686-7, 748-54.

29. John Spencer Bassett (ed.), 'The Westover Journal of John A. Selden', p.318.

30. Deposition of Riley Jones, Charles City County, Southern Claims Commission, Case File

    #7724, 25 Oct. 1871.

31. Deposition of Edmund Jones of Charles City County, Virginia, Southern Claims Commission, Case File #6473, 29 Jan. 1873.

    Depositions of Albert Brown and Thomas Cotman (supporting claim of Albert Brown), Charles City County, Southern Claims Commission, Case File #6468, 28 Aug. 1871.

32. Deposition of William Cumber, New Kent County, Virginia, Southern Claims Commission, Case File #19208, I Feb. 1873.

33. Deposition of Joseph Brown of New Kent County, Virginia, Southern Claims Commission, CaseFile#18499,2 Jan. 1873.

34. Deposition of Warren Cumber, Southern Claims Commission, New Kent County, Virginia, CaseFile#19208, 1 Feb. 1873.

35. Ibid.

37. James M. Coski, 'All Confusion on the Plantations': Civil War in Charles City County, in James p.Whittenburg and John M. Coski (eds.), Charles City County, Virginia: An Official History (Salem, WV, Don Mills, Inc., 1989), p.72.

38. Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies Ist Series, Vol. 11, part 3, pp.22-3, 69-70.

39. Ibid., pp.99-1000.

40. Ibid.

41. For discussion of such relationships see Tinsley Lee Spraggins, 'Mobilization of Negro Labor for the Department of Virginia and North Carolina, 1861-1865', North Carolina Historical Review, 24 (April 1947), pp.168

42. See 'depositions' of Thomas Fox, Joseph Brown, Warren Cumber and William Brisby, New Kent County, Southern Claims Commission, Case File #19204, 18 July 1877. Cumber's claim that Brisby was responsible for the escape of at least 100 people seems grossly exaggerated.

43. Deposition of Elias D. Holmes and Mary Adkins for Elias Adkins, Charles City County, Southern Claims Commission, Case File #16642, 20 Sep.1872. Elias Adkins had filed a claim as representative of his family, since his father had died.

44. Deposition of William Henry Brisby, Southern Claims Commission, New Kent County, Virginia, Case File #19204, 18 July 1877.

45. Deposition of William Charity, Southern Claims Commission, Charles City County, Virginia, Case File 20400, 22 June 1877. Interestingly enough, Charity's mule was taken while he was away labouring for the Union.

46. Deposition of Harris Miles, Southern Claims Commission, Charles City County, Virginia, Case File #20399, 1 Aug. and 25 Sep.1874.

47. Deposition of Lucy Green. Southern Claims Commission, Charles City County, Virginia, Case File # 18854. 21 Jan. 1873.

48. Deposition of Joseph Brown, Southern Claims Commission, New Kent County, Virginia, Case File #18499, 2 Jan. 1873.

49. After the war, the Southern Claims Commission was established. Generally, free blacks were disappointed by the results. William Brisby's $1800 claim was reduced to only $793. Harris Miles was granted $251, despite his request for $600. Perhaps because his claim was so small, William Charity received full $150 that he asserted was the fair market value for his mule. Lucy Green, who had been told that she 'would be paid for everything', saw her claim for $1000 reduced to a mere $105. In her deposition tot he Southern Claims Commission, Green Lamented: 'I was living there comfortably and the soldiers broke me up entirely... I have to live now with one of my sons'. The reason for disallowing some portions of these claims seemed to have very little to do with the truthfulness of the claimants (although Lucy Green's claims was viewed with a great deal of suspicion). Instead, the Commission suggested that certain claims would be disallowed because the property was taken for the personal use of an individual soldier, and not for the benefit of the military in general.

50. Berlin et aL (eds.), The Destruction of Slavery.

51. James M. Coski, 'All Confusion on the Plantations', p.72.

52. Deposition of Robert Brown, and deposition of Edmund Waddill (for Robert Brown), Southern Claims Commission, Charles City County, Virginia, Case File #6138, 31 Jan. 1873.

53. Deposition of William Crump, New Kent County, for William Brisby, Southern Claims Commission file #19204.

54. Deposition of Edmund Jones, Charles City County, Southern Claims

Commission, Case File #6473, 29 Jan. 1873: 'Deposition of Thomas Cotman, supporting the claim of Albert Brown', Charles City County, Virginia, Case File #6486, 28 Aug. 1871.

55. Deposition of Beverly Dixon, New Kent County, Southern Claims Commission, I Feb. 1873.

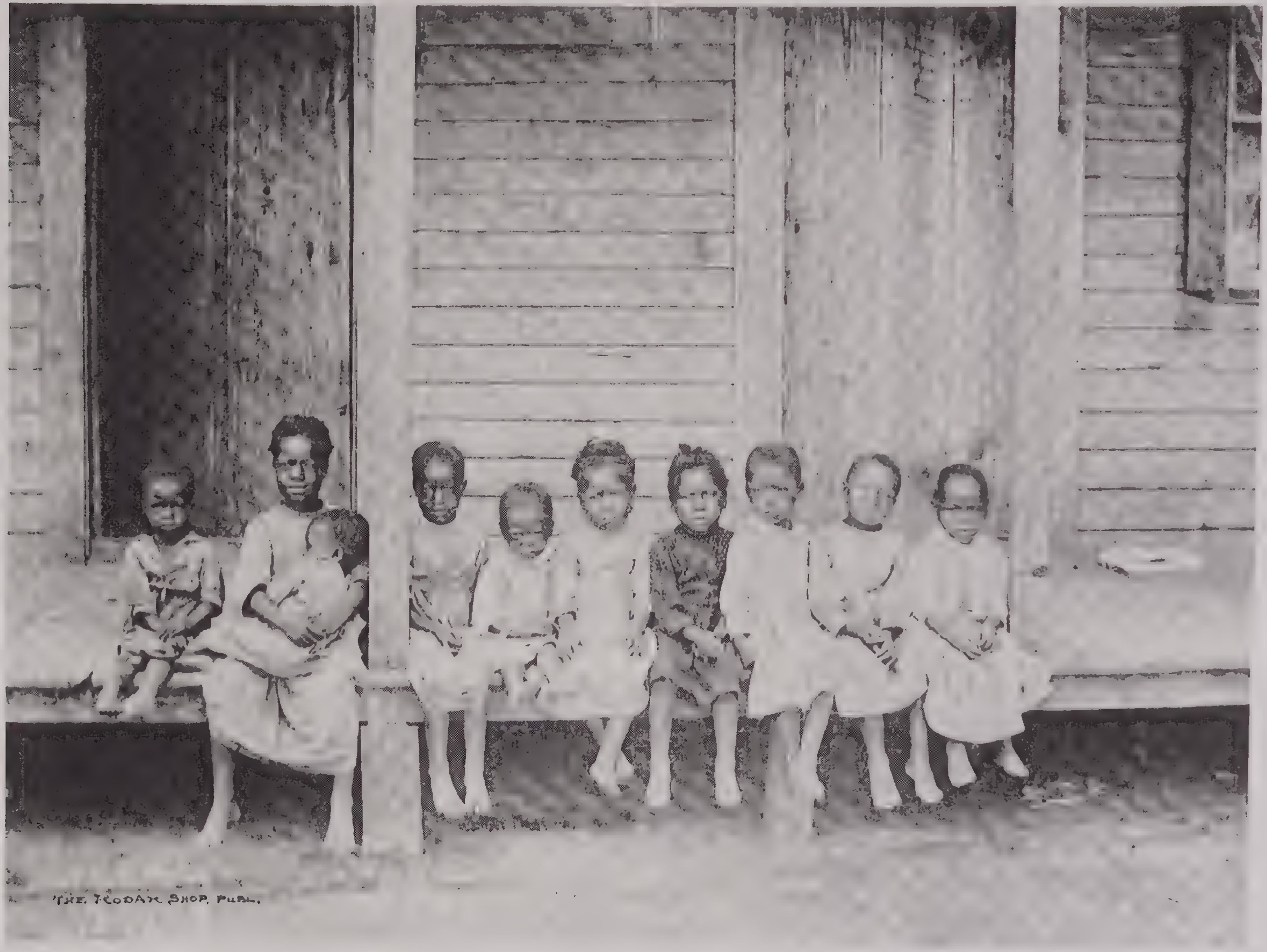
56. Deposition of William Henry Brisby. New Kent County, Virginia, Southern Claims Commission. Case File #19204.

57. Deposition of Riley Jones. Charles City County, Virginia, Southern Claims Commission, Case File #7724, 27 Oct. 1871.

58. See Edna Greene Medford, 'Land and Labor: The Quest for Black Economic Independence on Virginia's Lower Peninsula, 1865-1880'. The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography 100 (October 1992), pp.567-82.

59. The modest wealth and social status of free people of colour in Charles City and New Kent prevented the kind of postbellum separation from the masses that occurred in the Lower South and in certain areas of Virginia. For discussion of such separation elsewhere, see Ira Berlin, Slaves Without Masters: The Free Negro in the Antebellum South (New York: Random House, 1974), pp.38-90.

60. Deposition of William Adkins, statement delivered in defence of claim of Elias Adkins, Southern Claims Commission, Case File #16642, 20 Sep. 1872.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The Children of Slavery. A Photograph taken in Louisiana in 1865. Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

FREEDOM WITHOUT EQUALITY:

EMANCIPATION IN THE UNITED STATES, 1861-1863

by

Regina T. Akers

Emancipation was a direct result of the Civil War. As the tensions between the northern and southern states over the issues of slavery and states' rights intensified, war seemed inevitable. Washingtonians, uncertain of what the political, economic, racial, or social ramifications might be, became anxious as the Civil War loomed closer. Disunion, one of the major political concerns, might lead to the country agreeing to peacefully divide itself. If that occurred, Washington would probably lose its status as a capital city, for it was too far north to serve as the Confederacy's capital. Furthermore, even if Maryland chose not to secede, the District was not likely to become the capital of the Union. The value of investments in Washington would greatly depreciate or be completely lost. As historian Constance M. Green notes, if the District did not remain the capital city, it probably would have "[sank] into insignificance" and have become "a beleaguered city . . . a battleground."[1] For these reasons and others, District residents believed that the war would annihilate the city. Also, as residents of a nonstate, they had no one in Congress to represent or to protect their political and economic interests and rights. The city fell under the authority of Congress, whose members' first priority was the concerns of their own states.

By 1860 the District's population had grown to 75,080— 50,764 whites, 11,131 free blacks, and 3,185 slaves.[2] The city's diverse population included members of the presidential cabinet and Congress, businesspeople, government and contract workers, enslaved and free blacks, runaway slaves, and immigrants, as well as the unemployed, dislocated, and sick. The composition of the city's population made it difficult to determine which individuals were loyal or disloyal to the Union. Moreover, people with southern sentiments, who were not isolated in the geographical South, were living in the District and throughout the country. Their familial and business interests traversed state lines. Thus, those individuals who pretended to support the Union when their loyalty was really with the developing Confederacy were another problem. Additionally, for some— especially those who were well invested in land, property, and slaves— the real issue was not the war itself but the impact that such a war would have on the value of their assets. [3]

To the disappointment of many, the South's rebellion seemed inevitable as Congress and President Elect Abraham Lincoln failed to arrive at a peaceful alternative to war. In fact, members of Congress and military leaders were resigning from their positions to return to their southern homes to support the Confederacy. Their departures created vacancies that were not always easily filled. More importantly, much of the knowledge, experience, and training these men took with them only served to strengthen the Confederate war machine. President Elect Abraham Lincoln had more than a few detractors who were disappointed that he and Vice President Hannibal Hamlin had been elected. People speculated about just what kind of leader this "Black Republican," as some called Lincoln, would be. His inauguration did not serve to inspire confidence in him. The excitement of the event was minimized by the city's appearance and the ominous weather. The Mall grounds and vacant lots were unkept; alleys, with their makeshift residences, had become slums; and the dome had not yet been installed on the Capitol. [4] The absence of civic groups and political clubs in the procession was noticeable, as the Calvary closely escorted Lincoln's carriage under cloudy skies. Riflemen were stationed along the parade route to look out for snipers; plainclothes policemen mingled among the crowd. National Guardsmen protected the inauguration stand after a bomb threat had been received.[5] As Green notes, at the inauguration "nothing looked truly gay," and Lincoln's speech caused no furor.[6] Moreover, the speech disappointed blacks because Lincoln emphasized his commitment not to interfere with slavery and to enforce the Fugitive Slave Law.[7]

Washington was not well prepared for the impending Civil War or secessionists' threat of invasion. Neither Congress nor the mayor had developed effective methods of defending the city. Their defensive measures were so inadequate that any small incident could precipitate a crisis.[8] According to David V. Miller, "as a military post, Washington had no natural defense, being accessible on all sides."[9] The city was also vulnerable because it was situated between Maryland and Virginia, two slave states. Thus, the need to protect the city was urgent. Rumors, letters sent to Gen. Winfield Scott, gossip, and bar room conversations indicated that the South would try to seize the city shortly before Lincoln's inauguration in order to prevent the event from taking place. Furthermore, if the South controlled Washington, the Confederacy would possess the Washington Navy Yard, the American state papers, the Treasury, and the arsenal. Some believed that the capture of the city might also encourage foreign governments to acknowledge a new southern nation.[10]

The completion of Lincoln's inauguration on 4 March 1861 dispelled fears of the rumored invasion. Residents were also reassured when Charles Stone, inspector general of volunteers, organized military companies. Influential men, as well as workers—carpenters, stone cutters, and others—responded enthusiastically, as did blacks, to guard the city. However, no political leaders made a definite decision regarding the service of blacks. Mary Todd Lincoln, the first lady, continued the traditional afternoon receptions at the White House, and the Washington newspapers minimized the likelihood of war. Meanwhile, volunteers to protect the president were quietly sworn into service.[11]

The calm was short lived. The Confederate attack upon Fort Sumter on 12 April 1861—just five weeks after Lincoln's inauguration—disturbed whatever calm and confidence that had been achieved and marked the beginning of the Civil War. The Confederates seized Sumter within two days. On 15 April 1861 President Lincoln requested 75,000 volunteers. Blacks and whites throughout the North answered the call.

For blacks, who saw slavery as the reason for the war, the South's defeat would bring about their freedom. African Americans from Rhode Island to Ohio organized themselves into units. However, despite the acute need for manpower, blacks were not allowed to serve.[12] Jacob Dobson wrote to Secretary of War Simon Cameron on 23 April 1861 to offer "some three hundred reliable colored free citizens of the City."[13] Secretary Cameron responded, "I have to say that this Department has no intention at present to call into the service of the government any colored soldiers."[14]

The most experienced men and units were moved to Fort Washington and other locations, leaving largely inexperienced men in the District. Forts were established on many of the hills surrounding the capital to protect the city from distant artillery, which had a range of four miles.[15] In addition to the northern troops that came to the District to help alleviate the shortage of military personnel, other measures were taken to prepare for war. Anticipating food shortages, Stone persuaded the War Department to seize flour supplies and to store them wherever possible, including aboard ships in the Washington Navy Yard and in the basements of the Capitol and Treasury buildings. A bakery was placed in the Capitol to help relieve bread shortages.[16]

The position of the border slave states, especially Maryland and Virginia, was crucial to the safety of the capital city. Despite the pro Union stance of Virginia's Governor John Letcher (1860-1863), a secession ordinance was passed in Virginia on 17 April 1861. Virginians in Congress promptly resigned their positions to support their state. Virginia's secession made President Lincoln more concerned about Maryland and its governor, Thomas Hicks. Maryland's secession would separate the capital from the northern states and place it between two Confederate states. Hicks had opposed Lincoln's election and had supported the border states' compromise that "slavery should not be forbidden, either by Federal or territorial legislation, south of the 36°30'.[17] However, Hicks remained loyal to the Union—even though many Marylanders did not. One example of the growing hostility between Unionists and non-Unionists in the state was an unprovoked attack by some citizens on a Massachusetts regiment en route to Washington on 19 April 1861.

A relieved President Lincoln continued to develop the Union war machine. He ordered all ships to return to the Washington Navy Yard. As the war between the states began, the navy had three basic missions: (1) the blockade of 3,549 miles of southern coastline from Alexandria, Virginia, to the Rio Grande, including occupying and defending the Potomac River; (2) joining the army as it fought the Confederacy in major ports in the Atlantic Ocean, the Gulf of Mexico, and the Mississippi River; and (3) driving Confederate privateers and cruisers from the sea. Under the leadership of Secretary of the Navy Gideon Welles and Assistant Secretary of the Navy Gustavus V. Fox, the navy grew and improved greatly during the Civil War. According to Charles Oscar Paullin, from 1861 to 1865 the navy's ship strength increased from 90 to 670, the officer complement from 1,300 to 6,700, and the seamen from 7,500 to 51,500. Over 200 vessels were built at government or private shipyards, and the navy's budget grew from $12 million in 1861 to $123 million in 1865. The design and technology of ships also improved. Steam replaced sails, and the navy began building ironclad ships. For example, half of the navy's ships were sailing ships in 1861 but by the end of the war 80 percent of them were steam ships. Significant changes also occurred in the Naval Ordnance Department. Design changes by John Dahlgren, the "Father of Naval Ordnance," improved the canons and their fire.[18]

When Gideon Welles and Gustavus Fox assumed their positions in 1861, the navy was facing difficulties. According to Paullin, the clerks were hostile to Welles, and a number of highranking officers such as Comm. Matthew F. Maury, superintendent of the Naval Observatory, were loyal to the South. Many naval officers were demoralized, and several officers in the Washington Navy yard were disloyal. Moreover, the Confederacy held the Pensacola Navy Yard, and the situation at the Norfolk Navy Yard was not promising. Since Congress had not appropriated funds for improvements in the yards from 1859 to 1860, all the naval yards needed immediate repairs. To make matters worst, the national treasury was bankrupt, and Secretary of the Navy Isaac Toucey, in accordance with President Buchanan's nonresistance policy, had not prepared the navy for a war. In fact, many of the navy's ships were in foreign ports, leaving a home squadron of twelve ships equipped with 187 guns and some 2,000 men. Lincoln had continued Buchanan's policy, and Welles, with the exception of preparing an expedition for relief of Fort Sumter, could initially do little to build the navy.[19]

The Washington Navy Yard, located on the Anacostia River, less than two miles from the capital, played a critical role in the success of the Union navy's mission. The commandant of the Navy yard was responsible for defending both the city and the Potomac River and preventing the river from being blockaded. These were difficult but essential tasks because the Potomac was a barrier between the Confederate offense and the District. Moreover, the commandant's office also served as "the central medium of communications between the Navy Department and the land and sea units moving in their vast theater of operations."[20] The Potomac Flotilla was created to assist in the defense effort by preventing communications between hostile forces in Maryland and Virginia, capturing blockade runners, and eliminating forces from the river. Moreover, ships were constructed and repaired, seized vessels were kept, and naval ordnance was developed and tested in the Washington Navy Yard. According to Taylor Peck, the yard was "the single citadel from which control of the Potomac was exercised."[21] Thus, if the Washington Navy Yard was seized by the Confederacy, the city could also be taken.

Michael Shiner worked in the Washington Navy Yard from 1813 to 1865, first as a slave and then as a freedman. Shiner required a pass to leave the yard, and his master was accountable for his behavior. He enjoyed visiting blacks living in the alley dwellings and frequented a black owned bar and grill. He also liked to tease whites. Shiner's drinking often led to disruptive behavior, which landed him in the city jail in double irons. The next morning, after sleeping off his drunkenness, he faced his owner, the commandant, and the overseer who could dismiss the incident or have him whipped. Stating that he just wanted to have some fun, Shiner was usually not ordered to be punished by his master.[22]

Shiner was among the mechanics and laborers at the yard who volunteered to carry the cornerstone of the George Washington Memorial to its site. He had witnessed the city's progression from light to gas, the extension of the east wall in the yard, and the administrations of eleven presidents.

According to Shiner, the commandant of the yard's staff included a first and second Lieutenant, a purser, and an overseer, as well as master machinists, painters, plumbers, riggers, and workmen. The yard workers included free blacks, immigrants, and slaves who worked ten hour days as machinists, painters, riggers, and laborers.

The Navy Yard was not the safest place to work. Shiner recounts numerous accidents, explosions, and ordnance experiments in the yard that injured or killed workers. Extreme weather sometimes made working conditions unbearable. In addition to their regular jobs, workers helped extinguish fires and responded to other disasters in Washington. Overall, the commandants were well-liked, and, when they died, workers were given time off to attend their funerals.

The Washington Navy Yard became even more essential to the Navy's mission after the Norfolk Navy Yard fell into Confederate hands on 20 April 1861. Norfolk, the largest navy yard in the United States, was conveniently located for use by Union or Confederate forces. It provided an accessible base of operations for ships engaged in blockading against the South. The chief reserve arsenal for naval guns, and containing over 2,000 pieces of artillery, the navy also housed tools, extensive machine shops, and a dry. dock made of granite. The value of the yard was estimated at over $9 million. Paullin argues that Lincoln was so concerned with not offending the southern states still in the Union, especially Virginia, that he did little to protect the Norfolk Navy Yard.[23]

Comm. C. S. McCauley, like all other commandants, had instructions to remove any usable supplies, ammunition, and materials and to destroy whatever could not be taken—such as ships—if the Confederates attempted to seize the Norfolk Navy Yard. On 16 April 1861 Naval Secretary Welles sent Comm. Hiram Paulding to Norfolk to assess the condition of the yard and its ships. McCauley's officers, sympathetic to the South, gave him a false impression of the yard's status. Four days later, expecting an attack, McCauley ordered the ships scuttled. As Paulding approached, the ships were sinking. Instead of defending the yard, McCauley and Paulding decided to destroy the property and to abandon the facilities. However, the destruction was quick and unorganized, leaving many useful supplies for the Confederates. The dry dock and the workshops, containing valuable machinery, were barely damaged. The *Merrimac* was on fire and sunk, but the Confederates were able to salvage and repair the ship, which they converted to an ironclad vessel and renamed the *Virginia*. The refurbished ship would later meet the Union's *Monitor*.[24]

Captain Franklin Buchanan, a Marylander was commandant of the Washington Navy Yard in April 1861.[25] Secretary of War Edwin Stanton seized the steamers *Baltimore*, *Mount Vernon*, *Philadelphia*, and *Powhatan* and transferred them to the Navy.[26] Secretary of the Navy Welles asked Buchanan to prepare the ships for war, but Buchanan's loyalty to the South prevented him from doing so.[27] Expecting Maryland to secede, Buchanan resigned him commission on 22 April 1861.[28] Dahlgren had been born in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, in 1809 and had graduated from the U.S. Naval Academy in 1832. He commanded Plymouth, an ordnance ship, before relieving Buchanan. Since Dalhgren's rank was not commensurate with that of a commandant, he was promoted to the rank of captain by an act of Congress.[29] Dahlgren, who had visited the yard many times before, became one of Lincoln's closest advisors on naval matters and was responsible for the president developing an interest in naval ordnance and ammunition.[30]

Dahlgren was also in charge of the Navy Yard bridge and the ordnance of the yard, as well as holding mutineers and prisoners of war. Free blacks from these ships, along with runaways from the lower Potomac and Virginia, were kept and fed on ships at the Navy Yard. Naval policy was to return slaves to their loyal masters, who could retain them or allow them to work as deck hands or firemen for commanding officers of ships for clothes, rations, and $3 per month. In addition to providing labor, runaway slaves also gave the Union important intelligence about the Confederacy, such as strengths, losses, and other information that they may not have otherwise obtained. The secretary of the navy approved the enlistment of blacks at the rate of "boy," which in September 1861 provided one ration and paid $3 per month.[31]

Washington's population expanded significantly during the war. Numerous troops and recruits were in the city awaiting assignments and training or returning from fighting. They tried to dispel their boredom and anxieties by gambling and drinking, which too often resulted in quarrels. As delighted as District residents were to see the military presence in the city, the troops' wild and aloof behavior troubled them. Initially, residents greeted soldiers at the depot but eventually stopped that practice.

The black population also grew, increasing ten times over from approximately 4,000 in October 1862 to 40,000 in 1865.[32] Runaway slaves and free blacks filled Washington's streets, indicative of conditions wherever Union troops or territory was. As Quarles notes:

> As the war brought federal troops into the slaveholding regions, the freedom-minded bondman no longer had to follow the North Star to a point above the Mason and Dixon Line of the Ohio River. Now with the camps of the Union armies on Southern soil, freedom beckoned more insistently.[33]

Since the War Department had not established a policy, Union officers were not sure how to receive the slaves entering their camps. When three blacks entered Benjamin F. Butler's camp, he gave them jobs. Their owner arrived demanding that they be returned, but Butler refused, arguing that they were "contraband of war." They thus could not be returned unless their master was loyal to the Union or willing to take an oath to the Union. Butler's actions not only gave runaways a new name but also established a policy regarding them. Moreover, the incident encouraged many other slaves to seek refuge among Union forces. Butler contacted Washington to ask what he should do with the large numbers of slaves in his camp. Secretary of War Cameron instructed him to continue to put them to work and to keep records of expenses. Congress had passed the Confiscation Act, which stated that slaves employed by the rebel states would not be returned to their owners; that is, by using them for the Confederacy, southerners forfeited their property.[34]

Contraband roamed about the city seeking shelter and direction. Efforts were made to stop their migration. In July 1861 Lincoln suggested to Gen. Irvin McDowell that their masters be allowed to retrieve them. The Department of War released an order that excluded black refugees from their camps. In an effort to stop blacks from traveling farther north, blacks were required to obtain certificates proving their Freedom before leaving the city. These provisions did not take into account runaways from masters in the border states, or states of the Union. Ward H. Lamon, the marshal! of the District, believed that most of the slaves in Washington did not have Confederate owners and thus authorized the arrest of contrabands. In a short period of time, the jails became overcrowded, making deplorable conditions even worse. Inmates were herded like cattle and forced to sleep on the cold stone floor. The jail was eventually nicknamed "the Washington Slave Pen." Under these conditions, slaves could easily be seized, resold, abused, or neglected. President Lincoln finally intervened by ordering Lamon not to jail any more contraband unless they had committed a crime.

Gen. John Wadsworth, commanding officer of the Military District Washington, interviewed contraband to determine if they could be returned to slavery. Slaves from Virginia were thought to be part of the Confederate war machine. Thus, they were given certificates indicating that they were under the official protection of the District's military authorities. Lamon ignored Wadsworth's certificates, however, and seized these contraband anyway. Wadsworth then took over the jail. Slaveowners from Prince Georges County complained to Lincoln that Wadsworth was stopping them from seizing their property. Lincoln, barely avoiding a terrible conflict between Lamon and Wadsworth, persuaded them that he would investigate their allegations. This situation may not have become a problem if Lincoln had established a clear policy sooner instead of letting circumstances or individuals facing situations form guidelines.[35]

Free and established blacks felt threatened by the influx of runaways. Considering themselves the social superiors of those blacks making homes in alleys, they worked to maintain their status. For example, free blacks established the Lotus Club and limited its membership to upper class blacks. Their desire to be different created "a form of unwholesome snobbery."[36] Thus, classism intensified the disunity among the blacks in the District.

Hostile whites made little distinction between upper class blacks and the masses of runaways in the city. Feeling in no way responsible for them, whites did not want to use their tax dollars to support programs for blacks. Moreover, the black codes, which had restrained the rights and privileges of blacks, had been repealed. White residents thus felt that they had lost control over the blacks. Financially for whites, the abundance of contraband decreased the value of their own slaves. New black school laws and the enlistment of blacks made whites even more resentful.[37]

Through self-help strategies, blacks improved their lives. They also received some assistance from the government and relief organizations. Runaway slaves were encouraged to register with the Contraband Department, which gave them passes, military protection, and rations, and hired those who were fit to perform menial tasks and manual labor for forty cents a day. In March 1862 the Freedman's Relief Association was established to help clothe, feed, and house contraband. In 1863 the government established a contraband village, where some 3,000 lived and grew vegetables for the Union Army. However, the majority of them could not be persuaded to leave the city for the opportunity to live in the bottomlands of Arlington.

Ebenezer Baptist Church established the first public school for blacks in March 1864. The government allocated funds for educating blacks but the amount was disproportionate to the allocation for white students. Blacks were unable to force the government to increase the funds because the District was a federal city and not a state, and the black schools were under federal control. Furthermore, there was no representative in Congress to argue their case. Philanthropic groups and some government employees, however, helped to educate blacks.[38] Blacks found some respite from their situation by attending plays or burlesque shows at one of the theaters, watching military parades, drinking, and visiting friends. They also enjoyed seeing the 32 inch Tom Thumb and his wife, who was 2 inches shorter.[39] Despite the assistance they received and their ability to help themselves, race relations between blacks and whites deteriorated.

Congress was considering some solutions to these problems. However, whatever they proposed had to be contingent on President Lincoln's position on slavery. In his first inaugural address, Lincoln remarked, "I have no purpose, directly or indirectly, to interfere with the institution of slavery in the States where it exists, I believe I have no inclination to do so." Lincoln was convinced that gradual, compensated emancipation and the colonization of blacks were the best solutions, because he believed compensated emancipation would not work if the freed slaves remained in the country. Attempting to persuade some prominent blacks to support colonization, Lincoln stated: "Your race suffers greatly, many of them, by living among us, while ours suffer from your presence. In a word we suffer on each side. If this is admitted, it affords a reason why we should be separated."[40] Moreover, Lincoln saw colonization as an opportunity to do two things at the same time: remove slavery from the South and remove blacks from the country. His main objective, as he had stated many times, was to preserve the Union—not to abolish slavery. If he could save the Union without extending slavery, that was fine with him. He wanted to be careful not to offend Northerners and whites in the border states. Certain that his solution was the best option for him, the Union, and blacks, Lincoln did not grapple with the right or wrong of slavery. Lincoln also opposed the abolitionists because they not only demanded immediate emancipation but equal rights for blacks, which he believed was out of the question.[41]

Given Lincoln's position on slavery, Congress on 16 April 1862 passed the District of Columbia Emancipation Act, which abolished slavery in Washington. It also allocated one million dollars to compensate slaveowners and included a provision for sending freedpeople out of the country. The act also created a three man commission to determine the appropriate compensation for the masters.[42] William H. Thomas, an educator, described the act as "a national act, pure and simple, and vindicated the antislavery contention of over half a century; namely that Congress had exclusive jurisdiction over slavery within the District."[43]

This was the fourth of ten congressional acts during the war years that led to making slavery illegal in the United States. The first freed all slaves working for Confederate authorities rebelling against the United States in 1861. The second stopped officers from returning slaves to their masters in 1862. The third supported Lincoln's promise to compensate any state involved in gradual emancipation. The fifth made slavery illegal in all the Union territories. The sixth liberated all slaves of disloyal owners who sought refuge in Union areas, and the seventh made the African slave trade illegal. The eighth repealed the Fugitive Slave Law in June 1864, and the ninth stopped the interstate slave trade. However, it was the tenth—the Thirteenth

Amendment to the Constitution—that ultimately abolished slavery in the United States and its territories in 1865.[44]

Lincoln was pleased that the District of Columbia Emancipation Act called for gradual emancipation and had provisions for compensating slaveowners. He found it to be a satisfactory way to remove slavery from the capital city. However, he regretted that Congress had acted instead of the District voters. He would have liked for one of the border states to have initiated the act instead of Congress. He even considered vetoing the act but instead decided not to since it had passed both the House and Senate by a two-thirds majority.

Lincoln was not the only one troubled by the act. Representatives of the border states argued that the $300 per slave allocated to compensate slaveowners was insufficient, and that the act invaded states' rights and would result in a change in the social order. Furthermore, they argued that compensated emancipation was too expensive. The border states response to the act disappointed Lincoln because he not only desired to pay the owners for the slaves but also planned to deport blacks. Lincoln was convinced that compensated emancipation would fail if blacks were not colonized.[45]

Colonization seemed unlikely. The costs involved and the unhealthy environment in Liberia eliminated the president's first choice. Additionally, Europeans gave Lincoln a lukewarm response. Unsuccessful negotiations with an unreliable Haitian contact further dismissed that possibility. Running out of options, Lincoln also faced strong opposition from blacks. While some welcomed the opportunity, most had no desire to leave the country. They wanted to enjoy their freedom with the United States. Black delegations, visited the White House to discuss with the president why they opposed colonization. Lincoln, however, was conveniently unavailable. Blacks held meetings throughout the North and wrote letters to Lincoln and newspaper articles to protest forced migration.[46]

District whites were terrified that the black population would increase rapidly. Before the act was passed, whites objected with petitions, memorials, published letters, and editorials. Mayor Wallach, with the support of several councilmen, expressed concern that since the District was between two slave states, it would become an asylum for free blacks and runaways.

The *National Republican*, believing that the city "would benefit from 'the free principles and free industry which have built up the great cities of the North,' supported the act."[47] While the Evening Star and *Intelligencer* advocated gradual emancipation, they opposed using tax dollars to provide food, clothing, health care, and housing for former slaves and argued that the border states should also contribute.

Despite the opposition, the act was passed and signed by the president. Blacks saw the act as a "blow to slavery everywhere." Shouts of joyful praise and thanksgiving could be heard at black churches throughout the city and the nation. The black community in Baltimore established 1 May as a special day of prayer. Celebrations were also held in New York and Boston. Within weeks the black codes, which limited the privileges and rights extended to blacks, were repealed. Upperclass blacks, however, did not look forward to dealing with their newly freed, unskilled, and illiterate brethren.[48]

Ironically, in April 1862, freedom had been sprung on District blacks just as quickly as it had been taken away. There was as little time to prepare for freedom as there had been to receive it. They were free to do as they liked but many lacked the skills necessary to move on. Freedom did not come with expanded job opportunities, but it did mean that Michael Shiner and other workers in Washington could receive a salary or, in some cases, higher pay for their labor. This result in particular must have displeased immigrants and free blacks because the new abundance of laborers in the city probably served to reduce their wages and decrease their opportunities for employment.

By this time Lincoln had realized that the Union could not be preserved without dealing with slavery in the Confederate, Union, and border states. Lincoln reluctantly faced what he called "a perplexing compound—Union and Slavery."[49] Lincoln had been thinking about the slave question for some time; he still believed that compensated emancipation and colonization were the best answers to the slave problem. However, he wanted to try it out in a small state. He persuaded his friend Rep. George E. Fisher of Delaware to let him use the state as a test site. Lincoln drafted two versions of the bill in November 1861. The bill compensated slaveowners with $400, prohibited the sale of Delaware slaves elsewhere, and provided training for the former slaves and blacks born in the state after the act was approved. The strong, proslavery majority prevented the bill from being introduced. Lincoln had failed in Delaware, but he was delighted Congress passed an act promising that the government would cooperate with any state that adopted gradual emancipation.[50]

On 13 July 1862 Lincoln revealed that he wanted to issue a proclamation of emancipation and asked his cabinet to consider it. Shortly afterwards, the secretaries shared their concerns: Would his edict lead to a slave revolt? How would his announcement affect the Republican candidates in the fall elections? Finally, given the recent Union defeats on the battlefield, would it be perceived as a desperate effort by the president? Secretary Steward convinced Lincoln to postpone the proclamation until after the Union achieved a significant victory. The defeat of Confederate troops at the Battle of Antietam on 17 September 1862 gave Lincoln the opportunity he had been waiting for. On 22 September 1862 the president announced his Preliminary Emancipation Proclamation, which freed slaves in the states of the rebellion and allowed blacks to serve in the military. He gave the Confederate states three months to rejoin the Union; if they did not, the proclamation would become effective on 1 January 1863. Lincoln hoped to appease the abolitionists without offending the border states. He insisted that the proclamation was a "fit and necessary war measure" for ending the rebellion and that it would disrupt the South's labor force while stripping them of slaves—their most valuable property. Lincoln would later call the Emancipation Proclamation the "central act of his administration," "the greatest event in the nineteenth century," and "the one thing that would make people remember that he had lived."[51]

To few people's surprise, the war continued, and the South did not surrender. Before the announcement was made on the first, blacks were praying and thanking God for their freedom. Despite the fact that slaves had been free in the District since April 1862, and that the proclamation was next to impossible to enforce, blacks found much to sing and to rejoice about. Large and small celebrations occurred from state to state.

Of course, everyone did not get the news of emancipation at the same time. In fact, some would not know at all except by word of mouth. Even though the proclamation did appear in the New Year's Day edition of the *Evening Star*, illiterate whites and blacks would have to be told of its existence. Some owners informed their slaves and gave them the option of leaving, but others did not.

Abolitionists received the proclamation with some reservations. It certainly did not free all blacks unconditionally or grant them equal rights, but it was more than a step in the right direction. Frederick Douglass remarked that Lincoln had forever changed the nation. Those advocating slavery, as expected, questioned Lincoln's authority to issue the proclamation and were offended by the attempt to control their property.[52]

What had Lincoln's mandate really given them? As John F. Hume suggests, Lincoln's goal was not to help the slave but to chastise his master. Even persons overseas read the document. Lincoln did not really free even one slave. Earl Russell, the British premier remarked: "It does no more than profess to emancipate slaves where the United States authorities can not make emancipation a reality, and emancipates none where the decree can be carried into effect."[53]

However, in addition to abolishing slavery in the Confederate states, the proclamation "as a moral stimulus to the struggle for freedom," "proved of great value."[54] It gave blacks hope in themselves and their race and something to look forward to. It encouraged them to know that if their relatives did survive the war, they were now free. That clearly was not the president's intention—nor was becoming the slaves' Moses, their great liberator. This perception of Lincoln is a myth that persists today. Blacks chose to concentrate on the freedom the document offered without even considering the conditions of that freedom. Somehow the word—freedom—and its implications were enough. It did not matter to them that Lincoln's edict had no impact on the slaves in states that were not in rebellion or in the border states. Moreover, had Lincoln's plan for colonization been more favorably received, they may have found themselves free but outside the United States. Ironically, it was their tremendous hope in and admiration for their Moses that greatly reduced the likelihood of them accepting colonization. Why should they leave Lincoln or their country? Thus, Lincoln's proclamation was an obstruction to his plan for colonization. Blacks began to ally themselves with the Republican Party— "Lincoln's Party"—which they remained loyal to until Franklin Roosevelt, a Democrat, ran for president in 1932.

The war continued for two more years and three months. John Dahlgren was relieved as commandant of the Washington Navy Yard by Comm. Andrew Harwood on 22 July 1862. Dahlgren received command of the South Atlantic Blockading Squadron. Harwood, a native of Pennsylvania and a Naval Academy graduate, had served as chief of the Bureau of Ordnance since 1861.[55]

Frederick Douglass recruited blacks for military service. Over 10,000 blacks served in the navy, and 4 earned the congressional Medal of Honor. At least 165,000 joined the army. The Massachusetts 54th was one of the black units that distinguished itself. Lincoln was elected to a second term and sworn into office on 4 March 1865.

Gen. Robert E. Lee surrendered to Gen. Ulysses S. Grant on 9 April 1865, just five days before the president's death. While watching the evening performance of The American Cousin at the Ford's Theater in Washington, Lincoln was assassinated and died the next morning. The nation mourned the loss of their president. Blacks cried many a tear for their slain liberator.

On 13 March 1865 Congress passed the Thirteenth Amendment, which abolished slavery in the United States. This amendment was an answer to one prayer—the prayer for freedom—but not the other one—to be given equal opportunity in the pursuit of life, liberty, and happiness. African Americans moved from slavery to freedom in 1865 but still lacked such basic rights of citizenship as voting. In fact, white women were given the right to vote in 1920, 45 years before blacks received it. Although blacks were no longer slaves, whites did not treat them as equals. Vice President Lyndon B. Johnson made a comment in 1963 that could have just as easily been spoken in 1863. During a speech at Gettysburg, Pennsylvania, celebrating the centennial of the famous battle, Johnson stated:

> Until Justice is blind, until education is unaware of race, until opportunity is unconcerned with the color of men's skins, emancipation will be a proclamation but not a fact.[56]

NOTES

1 It is a pleasure to note the outstanding assistance provided by the staffs at the Navy Department Library in the Naval Historical Center, the Washingtonian a Room at the Martin Luther King, Jr. Library, and the Newspaper and Current Periodical Reading Room and the Manuscript Division of the Library of Congress. Curtis H. Davis was kind enough to spend an afternoon with me recounting his participation in the March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom. The paper also benefited from reviews by Dr. Debra Newman Ham, the black history specialist at the Manuscript Division of the Library of Congress, and my friend Jennifer Streets. My family, especially Alena and Denise Akers, encouraged me when I needed it most. Mr. Bernard C. Cavalcante, my supervisor at the Operational Archives Branch of the Naval Historical Center, granted me the time off to complete the research and writing. Dr. Elizabeth Clark-Lewis was a constant source of guidance and encouragement. Finally, the prayers of my brothers and sisters in Christ were more helpful than they will ever know. This is a work in progress, but it would never have developed this much without this kind of support. Of course, I am responsible for any errors that remain. Constance M. Green, *Washington: A History of the Capital, 1800-1950.* (1962; reprint, Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1976), 1:232.

2 Constance M.Green, *The Secret City: A History of Race Relations in the Nation's Capital* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1967), 33.

3. Green, *Washington*, 232-34.

4. Ibid., 232-39.

5. Benjamin Franklin Cooling, *Symbol, Sword, and Shield, Defending Washington during the Civil War* (Hamden, Conn.: Archon Books,1975), 27.

6 Green, Washington, 239.

7 Benjamin Quarles, *Lincoln and the Negro* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1962), 65. This is considered one of the most balanced biographies on Lincoln and his position on slavery.

8. Green, Washington, 235.

9. David V. Miller, *The Defenses of Washington during the Civil War* (Buffalo: Mr. Copy, 1976), 4.

10. Green, Washington, 234.

11. Ibid., 239-40.

12. Quarles, Lincoln, 166.

13. Willian L. Katz, *Eyewitness: The Negro in American History* (New York: Pittman, 1967), 218.

14. Ibid.

15 Miller, Defenses of Washington, 5.

16 Green, Washington, 240-42.

17. Sarah Ellen Blackwell, *A Military Genius: The Lip of Anna Ella Carroll of Maryland* (Washington, D.C.: Judd and Detweiler, 1891), 33-34; Green, Washington, 242.

18. Charles O. Paullin, "President Lincoln and the Navy," *American Historical Review* 26 (October 1908-July 1909): 284-85.

19. Ibid., 294.

20. Taylor Peck, *Round Shot to Rockets: A History of the Washington Navy Yard and the U.S. Naval Gun Factory* (Annapolis, Md.: United States NavyInstitute, 1949), 122.

21. Ibid., 123.

22. See the Michael Shiner Diary, 1813-1865, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C. This diary provides an interesting and informative description of how the Washington Navy Yard and Washington, D.C., changed from 1813 to 1865.

23. Paullin, "President Lincoln," 297-98; Peck, Round Shot, 119-20.

24. Paullin, "President Lincoln," 298-99; Peck, RoundShot, 119-20;Proposed Yard Script in Washington Navy Yard, Histories of, and Katherine Ainsworth Semmes, A Historic Heritage: The Washington Navy Yard in Washington Navy Yard, Plans of the Yard, ZE, Early Records Collection, Box 15, Operational Archives, Naval Historical Center,Washington, D.C. (hereafter cited as OA, NHC).

25. "Life of Franklin Buchanan, C.S.N.," 15, Franklin Buchanan, B Series, Early Records, OA, NHC.

26. Franklin Buchanan to President Lincoln, Gideon Welles to Franklin Buchanan, Franklin Buchanan to John Dahlgren, all dated 22 April 1861, Franklin Buchanan, ZB series, Early Records, OA, NHC.

27. Peck, RoundShot, 188; Semmes, Historical Heritage, 6; Capt. E. W. Baonnaffon, "History of the W.N.Y.; The Old Days of the WashingtonNavy Yard," in Washington Navy Yard, ZE Series, Early Records, Box 15, OA, NHC; Madeleine Vinton Dahlgren, Memoir of John A. Dahigren, Rear Admiral, U.S. Navy (New York: Charles L. Webster, 1891), 287; Paullin, "President Lincoln," 299.

28 "Captain Franklin Buchanan, Late of U.S. Navy," *Washington National Intelligencer*, 23 April 1861 (copy in Buchanan's folder in the ZB Series, Early Records, OA, NHC). For additional information about Buchanan's Life and career in the Union and Confederate navies, see Oretha D.Swartz "Franklin Buchanan, A Study in Divided Loyalties," United States Naval Institute Proceedings (December 1962): 61-69.

29 Dahlgren, Memoir of John A. Dahlgren, 287-88; Semmes, Historic Heritage, 6.

30. Paullin, "President Lincoln," 300-303; John A. Dahlgren folder, ZB Series, Early Records, OA, NHC. For additional information, see C. Stewart Peterson, Admirallohn A. Dahlgren, Father of U.S. Naval Ordnance (New York: Hobson Book Press, 1945); and John Reilly Jr., "Bicentennial Log Book, Dahlgren—The Man, The Guns," NAVSEA (February 1976): 310 Robert John J. Schneller, "The Contentious Innovator: A Biography of Rear Admiral John A. Dahlgren, USN (18091970): Generational Conflict, Ordnance Technology and the Command Afloat in the Nineteenth Century Navy" (Ph.D. diss., Duke University, 1991).

31. For Semmes, Historic Heritage, 67; Baonnaffon, "History of the W.N.Y.,"125-26; Report of Flag Officer Stringham, USN, commanding Atlantic Blockading Squadron, transmitting of fugitive slaves, 18 July 1861; Instructions of Secretary of the Navy to Flag Officer Stringham regarding fugitive slaves, 22 July 1861; Order of the Secretary of the Navy to Flag Officer Goldsborough, USN, commanding Atlantic Blockade and Squadron, regarding enlistment of contrabands, 25 September 1961; and Report of Commander Parrott, USN, commanding USS Augusta, 13 May 1862. See Morris J. MacGregor and Bernard C. Nalty, eds., Civil War and Emancipation, vol. 2 of Blacks in the United States Armed Forces (Wilmington, Del.: Scholarly Resources, 1977), 175-78.

32. Green, Washington, 241-42; Dahlgren, Memoir of John A. Dahlgren, 340-

41. For statistics of black population growth, see Green, Washington, 276-77; Benjamin Franklin Cooling, Symbol, Sword, and Shield, chapter 2.

33. Quarles, Lincoln, 68.

34. Ibid., 68-69.

35. Ibid., 77-82.

36 William O. Stoddard, Inside the White House in War Times (New York: Charles L. Webster, 1890), 213; Green, Secret City, 65.

37 Green, Washington, 278-79; Green, Secret City, 66-67.

38 Green, Washington, 280-82; Green, Secret City, 62-67; John Hope Franklin and Alfred Moss, *From Slavery to Freedom: A History of Negro Americans*, 6th ed. (New York: Knopf, 1988), chapter 11.

39 Green, Secret City, 72.

40 Franklin and Moss, *From Slavery to Freedom*, 189.

41 Quarles, Lincoln and the Negro, 108- 9; Franklin and Moss, *From Slavery to Freedom*, 181

42 George . Sanger, ed. *The Statutes at Large, Treaties, and Proclamations at the United States of America from 5 December 1859 to 3 March 1863* (Boston: Little Brown and Company, 1863), 17:376-8.

43 William Hannibal Thomas, *The American Negro: What He Was, What He Is, and What He May Become: A Critical and Practical Discussion* (New York: MacMillan Company, 1901; New York: Negro Universities Press,1969), 37.

44. Ibid., 36-38.

45. Quarles, *Lincoln and the Negro*, 108-9; President Lincoln's message to Congress, 16 April 1862, in Arthur Zilversmith, *Lincoln on Black and White: A Documentary History* (Belmont, Calif.: Wadsworth Publishing Company, 1971), 84.

46 Quarles, *Lincoln and the Negro*, 108-14, 117-18.

47. Green, Secret City, 1960.

48. Ibid., 60-61; Quarles, *Lincoln and the Negro*, 105.

49. Ibid., 91.

50 Harry S. Blackistone, "Lincoln's Emancipation Plan," *Journal of Negro History* 7 (January 1922): 366-67.

51 Franklin and Moss, *From Slavery to Freedom*, 188-91; Quarles, *Lincoln and the Negro*, 127, For Lincoln's description of the Emancipation Proclamation, see Quarles, *Lincoln and the Negro*, 151.

52 John Hope Franklin, *Emancipation Proclamation* (Garden City, N.Y.: 1963) 142-54.

53 Quoted in John F. Hume, *The Abolitionist Together with Personal Memories of the Struggle for Human Rights, 1830-1864* (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1905; New York: Negro Universities Press, 1969), 137.

54 Blackistone, "Lincoln's Emancipation Plan," 277.

55 Andrew A. Harwood, ZB Files, Early Records, OA, NHC.

56 Franklin and Moss, *From Slavery to Freedom*, 444.

PART SIX

THE AFRICAN DIASPORA IN POST-EMANCIPATION ECONOMICS

Changes in the industrial economies of the United States and western Europe during the twentieth century transformed the employment patterns that had developed under slavery. For example, in the United States, beginning with World War I, when the immigration of European workers slowed to a trickle, industrial employers in the North tapped the reserve labor power on southern plantations. The ensuing great migration represented only the first wave of such movements of black workers from the south to the north. After a lull during the Great Depression of the 1930s, a second wave accompanied the start of World War II and persisted through the 1960s.

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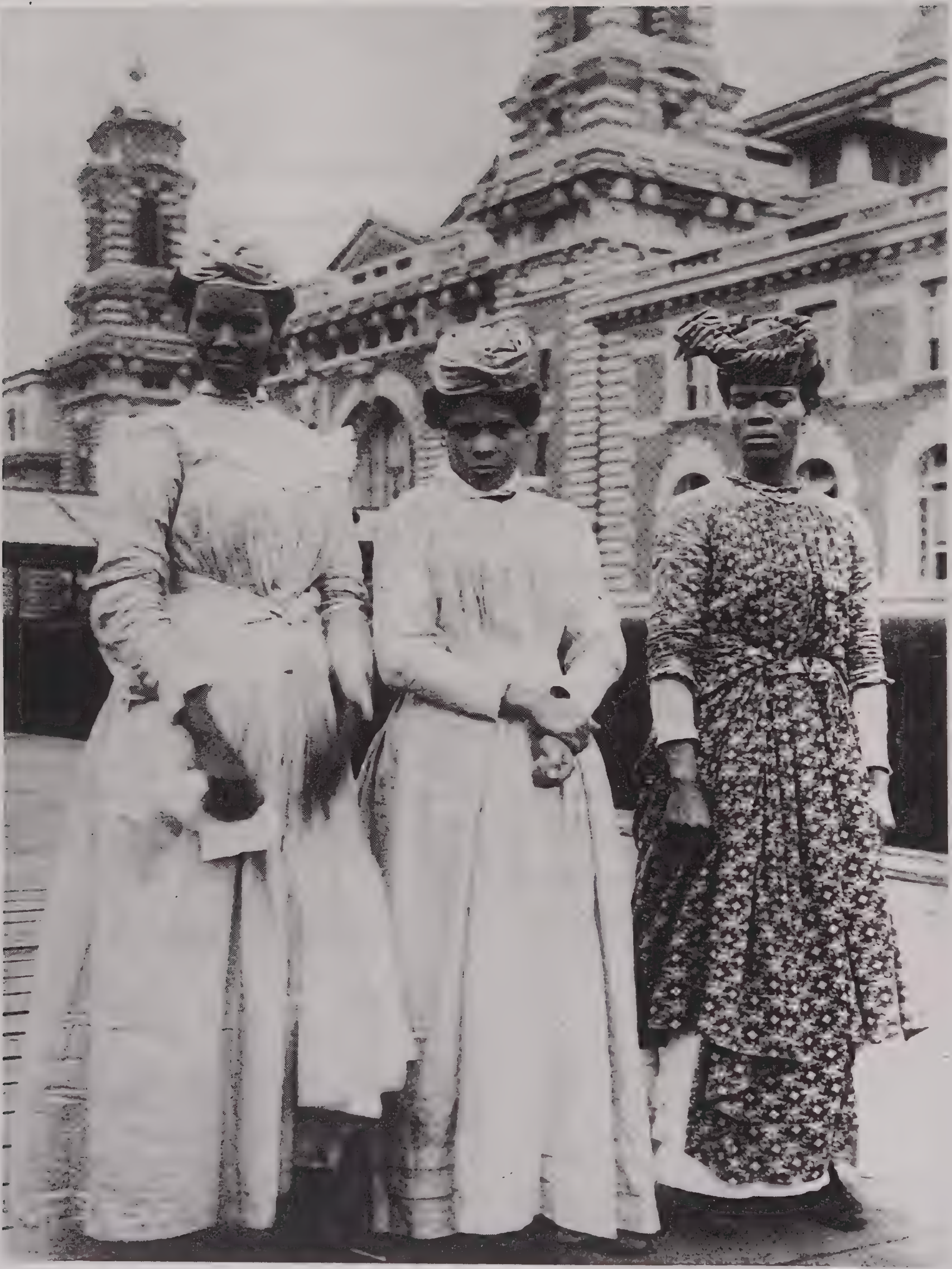

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Three Guadeloupe women arriving at Ellis Island in April 1911.
Statue of Liberty National Monument, Washington, D.C.

AFRICAN AMERICANS IN POST-EMANCIPATION ECONOMICS

by

Linda Heywood and Joseph Reidy

Between the 1880s and the 1970s, persons of African descent throughout the Americas moved from agricultural labor into a diverse array of urban-industrial occupations and professions. The transformation did not occur evenly; it resulted in part from larger developments in the world economy, from wars, and from the individual actions of persons ranging from government officials to plantation and factory owners and to black leaders in different countries of the Americas. Most of all, however, it reflected the efforts of black laborers to escape poverty, dependence, and degradation and to gain the benefits made possible by the Industrial Revolution.

At the end of slavery, not all people of African descent in the Americas occupied the same status. In fact, even during the days of slavery certain distinctions among black workers were present, the most significant of these differences being the array of occupational and social privileges held by the free black population. Free blacks often practiced skilled trades or professions and operated businesses, at times under the direct patronage of their European relatives. In the period after slavery, these old-line free persons were often able to advance their professional and entrepreneurial status, even as most emancipated slaves struggled to escape the confines of plantation labor.

Changes in the industrial economies of the United States and western Europe during the twentieth century transformed the employment patterns that had developed under slavery. For example, in the United States, beginning with World War I, when the immigration of European workers slowed to a trickle, industrial employers in the North tapped the reserve labor power on southern plantations. The ensuing Great Migration represented only the first wave of such movements of black workers from the south to the north. After a lull during the Great Depression of the 1930s, a second wave accompanied the start of World War II and persisted through the 1960s.

Migrants to the urban North did not merely broaden their employment prospects, they also gained access to material goods, social amenities, educational opportunities, and political rights that were unavailable to them in the South. Although occupational and other kinds of discrimination persisted in the North, a wide gulf separated the overall circumstances of factory workers from those of plantation workers. On the job, black workers were exposed to (and at times affiliated with) trade unions and other specifically working-class organizations. Off the job, a wide variety of nationalist and internationalist movements and parties, ranging from Garveyism and Pan-Africanism to socialism and communism supplemented the traditional range of church and benevolent organizations that had been the mainstays of rural southern life. In short, black workers and entrepreneurs in the cities could think and do what would have been inconceivable on the plantations.

The emergence of the United States as an economic powerhouse early in the twentieth century affected black workers elsewhere in the hemisphere. Construction of the Panama Canal, for instance, stimulated labor migration from the Caribbean, and such immigration became an increasingly characteristic feature of twentieth -century life in the region. Indeed, migrants from the British West Indies moved to Cuba, to the United States, to Canada, and to England as economic opportunities presented themselves (and as state-imposed restrictions on such migration permitted). Migration increased dramatically following World War II, as did the movement of Afro-Caribbeans from the Spanish islands to the United States and from the French and Dutch islands to their respective European metropoles. At the same time, the growth of new industries and new plantation products throughout Latin America often profoundly affected employment patterns among those persons of African descent who did not migrate.

Black workers in the Caribbean, Central America, and South America responded to many of the same forces that affected black workers in the United States, though often at different times and with different results. By the mid-1960s, however, it was clear throughout the Americas that the old plantation order had been transformed and that black workers had entered industrial employment on a large scale. Much of this change resulted from the international challenge of industrial capitalism to labor-intensive plantation economies. But even more important was the determination of black workers to benefit from the economic, political, and social amenities that industrial-capitalist societies offered.

THE PRE– WORLD WAR I PERIOD

In the 1890s the plantation regime defined the work experience of most persons of African descent throughout the Americas. In every plantation region, the post-emancipation struggle between former masters and former slaves had produced a variety of economic groups, including independent landowners, quasi-independent peasant producers and tenants, and dependent sharecroppers and wage laborers. Nonetheless, the plantation as an institution continued to provide the essential context of life as well as labor.

The rise of imperialism presaged drastic changes in this pattern, as the industrialized nations of Europe along with the United States searched the globe for investment markets and sources of raw materials. These new ventures often required mobilizing laborers in new ways, the effects of which would become increasingly apparent as the twentieth century advanced. At the dawn of the century, however, the new patterns developed alongside the old. Railroad contractors and mining and lumbering concessionaires, for example, often took advantage of slack agricultural seasons to obtain laborers. Over time, workers who strung together successions of nonagricultural employment found it possible to break cleanly from the plantation. Still others managed to escape plantation labor by operating small businesses.

In the southern United States, most of the region's 6 million Afro-Americans worked in commercial agriculture, growing cotton, tobacco, sugar, and grains. Although approximately two hundred and eighteen thousand families (representing perhaps one million persons) worked their own land in 1910, most southern black workers were tenants, sharecroppers, and wage laborers who were frequently debt-ridden and who owned little but their clothing and household effects. Despite the fact that the South did not industrialize as the North did during this period, cities were growing throughout the region and extractive industries outside the plantation belt provided opportunities to earn cash wages. By 1900 certain patterns of local and long-distance migration—not necessarily seasonal—had emerged over much of the South, which suggested the erosion of the planters' monolithic power over the black labor force.

The Caribbean islands demonstrated several other variants of plantation economies. In Barbados and Antigua, for example, the European planter control over the limited amount of cultivable land gave persons of Africa descent little choice except plantation labor. Most resided in plantation quarters (with occupancy conditional on labor), supplementing their meager earnings with produce from garden patches. In Jamaica and the large islands (and British Guiana, too), emancipation enabled black workers to escape the planters' control. For years the planters attempted to rein in the former slaves through such means as vagrancy laws and taxes or, failing that, to replace them with laborers from India. The former slaves effectively resisted these pressures. Denied wage employment, former slaves and their descendants abandoned the plantations and settled on vacant land where they raised subsistence goods and some marketable surplus. Accordingly, a black peasantry arose on most West Indian islands. In Haiti where the former slaves had dismantled the plantation system and sub- divided the land into one- and two-acre smallholdings, the peasantry was the most numerous as well as the most isolated from larger economic trends in the Caribbean region.

African Americans in Spanish- and Portuguese-speaking regions fare differently, in part because slavery did not end in Cuba and Brazil until the 1880s. In Cuba, most former slaves remained in rural areas, either as wag laborers on the sugar plantations or as settlers on newly occupied lands in the mountainous eastern end of the island. In Brazil, however, the deterioration of slavery gave rise to patterns that persisted well into the postemancipation period. In the sugar plantation region of the northeast Afro-Brazilians continued to play their customary role as tenants and wage laborers on plantations. In the newer coffee region of the southeast and the urban centers of Rio de Janeiro and Sao Paulo, the planters' and in industrialists preference for European immigrants squeezed Afro-Brazilian into the most menial and low-paying levels of rural and urban employ meet. In areas where the black population was traditionally small (in southern South America, for instance), state- sponsored immigration of Europeans and Asians further marginalized persons of African descent indeed, in Argentina they virtually disappeared as a distinct group.

In the United States, black communities diversified in response to these larger developments. Entrepreneurs, both male and female, found market for their goods and services among neighbors and friends and within larger economic networks. Towns and cities provided a supportive atmosphere for the emergence of small but influential groups of professionals, particularly ministers, physicians, teachers, and at times government functionaries. In southern cities, such as Charleston, this elite may have. constituted as much as 15 percent of the black working population by 1890. In contrast, in northern cities, such as Philadelphia, its proportion did not exceed 5 percent. Members of this elite occupied precarious positions in their communities. Although some may have functioned autonomously within the larger society, most suffered discrimination of one kind or another that placed them on a par with the masses of black laborers. Discrimination notwithstanding, the elites held themselves aloof, especially when they were distinguishable by light skin, wealth, and education. They tended to socialize and marry among themselves; they educated their children at Howard or Atlanta University or at elite northern institutions; and they formed such self-help organizations as the National Negro Business League and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP). At the dawn of the twentieth century, U.S. imperialism profoundly affected persons of African descent throughout the Americas. Unlike Europe, which was scrambling for lands in Africa, Asia, and the Pacific during this period, the United States largely avoided acquiring new territories. To be sure, the United States seized Cuba and Puerto Rico after the Spanish American War, repeatedly occupied sovereign states under Theodore Roosevelt's corollary to the Monroe Doctrine, and effectively asserted that the Caribbean was an American lake. Business followed the flag to Central America and the Spanish-speaking Caribbean, constructing railroads and investing in the traditional plantation economies. European capital flowed unevenly into the region— with the British interested in railroads, lumber, and mining, and the French, the Dutch, and the Germans in sugar mill machinery— with correspondingly uneven effects on the established employment structure.

North American and European capital investment in the sugar industry illustrates these trends. New central factories *(centrales* in Spanish) employed advanced engineering techniques to convert cane juice into sugar, and many planters substituted machines for workers in the fields as well. Sugar-growing regions from Louisiana to Argentina witnessed such changes. Mechanization had two broad effects: seasonal labor and unemployment. In Louisiana and Cuba (and to a lesser extent Puerto Rico and Martinique), it created reliance on seasonal wage workers, giving rise to migrations at harvest time into the sugar regions by men unaccompanied by their families. In most of the British West Indies, however, where such change occurred more slowly, resident plantation workers experienced under-employment and unemployment. Even when planters did not attempt to economize by introducing machines, they reduced costs by consolidating operations and rationalizing production. For example, the number of sugar estates in British Guiana declined from about four hundred in the late 1830s to forty-six in 1904, at which time the four largest plantations controlled 60 percent of the industry. Consolidation meant loss of jobs, and black workers had no other choice but to seek alternative employment.

Both governments and private businesses invested heavily in infrastructure, particularly railroads and shipping facilities. Black workers often found employment on these projects. Throughout the southern United States, for example, railroad contractors employed black laborers to clear land, lay track, build bridges, and mine tunnels. In some instances, the laborers were recruited locally—they included convicts as well as seasonally employed agricultural laborers—but in Arkansas, Louisiana, and Texas, gangs of railroad workers developed migrant-labor patterns that took them from one construction site to another, with periodic stints at logging camps and lumber mills in between. The opening of railroads in Central and South America produced similar results. From the Guianas to Honduras, black workers built the railroads and then extracted the timber, gold, and other resources from the interior.

The most massive of these projects was the Panama Canal. As early as 1904, some forty-four thousand workers from the West Indies (primarily Barbados and Jamaica) were at work on the canal, and by the time the project was completed in 1914 several times that number had migrated to the Isthmus for a tour of work, which usually lasted about a year and a half. Over time, a West Indian community took root in Panama; by 1914 it numbered perhaps fifty thousand persons. Its core consisted of those who set up small businesses to serve the needs of migrant workers in the Canal Zone.

European and American investors also underwrote assorted projects aimed at extracting natural resources in the region. Prior to World War I, the major products were timber and minerals. But the dawn of the age of automobiles and electricity brought U.S. and European oil interests into the Caribbean Basin, especially to Trinidad, Aruba, and Curacao, and aluminum producers into Jamaica and Guiana. Despite its initially small scale, employment in oil and mining signaled the growth of an industrial wage-labor force that was unattached to plantation agriculture. Miners, oil workers, roustabouts, seafarers, dockworkers, and day laborers, as well as the small-scale entrepreneurs, who served them, would in time transform the political landscape of the entire region.

In some places, like the northern United States and southern Brazil, industrial employers favored European immigrant workers over those of African descent, even though most of the Europeans hailed from rural backgrounds and differed culturally from the rest of the population. In the United States, the growth of industries in the cities of the Northeast and Midwest, and the steady increase of North-South rail traffic began to lure Afro-Americans northward. By 1900 large black communities existed in Boston, New York, Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, Buffalo, Cleveland, Detroit, Chicago, and Milwaukee, not to mention the border state cities of Baltimore, Louisville, and St. Louis. Most black workers in the North were laborers and servants, but small numbers of entrepreneurs and professionals also appeared, representing at most 15 percent of the population. Although real, discrimination in the North took a less blatant form than the Jim Crow practices springing up across the South. Hence, when the outbreak of World War I created job opportunities in northern industries, Afro-Americans had social and political as well as economic reasons to leave the South en masse.

World War I and the Great Depression

Between 1914 and 1939, the various black laboring classes in the Americas continued to diverge, owing largely to the uneven pace of industrialization, the varying effects of World War I and the Great Depression, and the differing responses of the respective nations to the war. In North America, where the industrialization of the black labor force proceeded the farthest, war production increased the need for workers at precisely the time that conscription was thinning their ranks and the war in the North Atlantic was curtailing immigration from Europe. Black workers in the South saw an opportunity to escape the economic ravages of the boll weevil and the social and political disabilities of segregation and disenfranchisement. Black migrants to the northern cities, where southern-style Jim Crow legislation did not apply, entered a new relationship with government structures at the local, state, and federal levels. Following the war, as the United States assumed world economic leadership, black workers continued to benefit from industrial employment. When the depression began late in 1929, black workers, like their counterparts of other colors and nationalities, turned to the state for assistance.

The West Indies witnessed a similar, though less dramatic, process of industrialization and urban migration, especially in and around the port cities. In 1917 British authorities interdicted the importation of contract laborers from India, thereby at least theoretically creating the possibility of more jobs for workers of African ancestry. But the plantation sector, where most of the contract laborers were employed, stagnated after World War I. Displaced rural workers moved to the cities, found what employment they could, and began fashioning a movement that soon spread in a number of directions. In large measure it was a labor movement, but in its struggle to exact concessions from employers and the colonial state, it had political ramifications.

For Brazil, the other region that experienced industrial development between the two world wars, the specific effects of industrialization on black workers cannot be easily assessed. Industrial and agricultural output increased and commerce expanded, largely thanks to coffee exports. As in earlier periods, however, such developments did not necessarily work to the benefit of black laborers, who for the most part remained a marginalized agricultural work force, despite the fact that the black population in the cities was growing. Like their counterparts throughout the Caribbean, black city dwellers in Brazil worked in assorted trades and performed unskilled labor and domestic service. With but few exceptions, factory employment remained the preserve of European immigrants.

Apart from such differences from one region to another, differentiation proceeded within regions as well. In the United States, for instance, several million Afro-Americans migrated to the urban North between 1910 and 1940, and those who remained behind tended to resettle in cities rather than in rural areas. Occupations varied between South and North and between rural and urban areas; so, too, did educational attainments and entrepreneurial opportunities. As persons of African descent moved in new directions, they often came into contact with other ethnic groups with whom they had had little, if any, prior experience. In the Harlem of the 1920s, for example, a former sharecropper from the South might rub shoulders with a West Indian poet. Similar differentiation occurred in Caribbean and Latin American areas, though on a less dramatic scale.

Although in some respects this differentiation signaled strength, in others it represented weakness. In the United States, for example, established black communities did not always welcome the new migrants with open arms. At times, fear of competition for scarce jobs or social services fueled this tension. However, much of it followed cultural lines, with groups that had become acculturated to urban life looking askance at the crude ways of the newcomers. Government officials as well as employers could exploit these tensions. Larger social and cultural differences among different groups of workers enabled employers to play one group against another, as steel manufacturers, for example, did with Anglo-American, northern European, eastern European, and Afro-American workers. Such a strategy of capitalizing on ethnic divisions within the work force closely resembled the preferred strategy among employers in such multiethnic plantation regions as Peru, Cuba, and the British West Indies.

In the United States, World War I dramatically altered the status of black workers. The most significant impact of the war was to close off European immigration that northern industrialists had come to rely on so heavily. To fill the need for laborers, they soon turned to the untapped black laborpower resources of the South. Even before the United States declared war in 1917, recruiters representing such concerns as United States Steel in Gary, Indiana, the Westinghouse Electric Company in Pittsburgh, and the Ford Motor Company in Detroit had begun canvassing the South, offering jobs and often transportation to prospective migrants to the North. After circumventing such barriers as astronomical state and local licensing fees, recruiters tapped into existing networks within black communities by making contact with a man who had a network of relatives, friends, or workmates interested in migrating. Typically, recruiters established ties with ministers and owners of small businesses who could place them in contact with large numbers of prospective migrants.

Once set in motion, the migration took on a life of its own, as workers who had already migrated sent money and information home. Workers returned home to assist the move northward of family members, neighbors, or friends. In black communities throughout the South, prospective migrants formed clubs to exchange information and to save money for the trip. In some cases, communities of relatives or neighbors reconstituted themselves hundreds of miles from their original homes. Church congregations re-formed, as did benevolent societies and social organizations of every description. Entrepreneurs often followed their customers north.

Not all migrants were prepared for the challenges that faced them on the job, no matter how carefully they had planned their move. Job experiences such as foundry work for men and domestic service for women were transferable to the North, but agricultural work provided few skills relevant to industrial employment. Work in steel mills and slaughterhouses had little in common with farming. Farm workers followed patterns governed by the sun and the seasons, whereas factory workers had to keep pace with machines and punch a time clock. Moreover, factory work entailed artificial lighting, foul air, and noise. Some workers found the new settings exciting, but most longed for the sights, sounds, and smells of the outdoors, if not necessarily for southern sharecropping.

In some respects, the new circumstances replicated the old, and in most cases, men and women had to find remunerative employment to support their families. Informal patterns of segregation consigned black workers to crowded tenements, many of which lacked proper sanitary facilities. Public services for blacks such as schools, water and sewer facilities, and garbage removal left much to be desired. On the job, similar patterns of discrimination prevailed. The consignment of black workers to the lowest paying, dirtiest, and often the most dangerous jobs seemed to replicate patterns typical of the South. Moreover, the gap between take-home pay and the cost of living necessitated that both parents support their families. But the northern setting also marked a clean break with the South in a number of ways. Workplaces and neighborhoods displayed an ethnic diversity for which there were few counterparts in the South. By the same token, few northern institutions could replicate the aura of the plantation.

If conditions in the factories called for amelioration, the factory setting provided fertile ground for labor organizations. But black workers viewed unions skeptically at best. With only few exceptions, southern unions systematically discriminated against black workers, either excluding them from membership outright or relegating them to separate locals. In the North, industrial employers had a long history of employing black substitute workers to break strikes conducted by white workers, thus exacerbating racial and ethnic tensions among workers. As a result, black workers in meatpacking plants, steel mills, automobile assembly plants, and the other mass industries often kept their distance from organizing campaigns. To reinforce these misgivings, employers such as Henry Ford deliberately cultivated an image of paternal concern for black workers. Ford went out of his way to establish contacts with black ministers and other community leaders, who in turn recruited potential workers for Ford's plants but also opposed an auto workers' union. Even in the absence of such calculated paternalism, many black workers steered clear of union organizers to protect their jobs. Yet despite all these influences, small numbers of black workers began seeing the unions as a source of collective strength whereby they could improve their working conditions. Hard economic times increased their numbers significantly.

For black workers in the Caribbean, World War I did not bring about such dramatic change. The pattern of uneven development in the sugar economies continued to create labor shortages in some islands and unemployment in others. The war did make seasonal interisland migration difficult. On islands such as Jamaica, where commercial agriculture remained viable and peasant agriculture stagnated even after the war, many peasants became agricultural wage workers, at least seasonally. Moreover, thousands also became laborers on docks or on road crews, petty merchants, and roadside vendors, in rural as well as urban areas. Still others found employment in the new industries (oil in Trinidad and bauxite in Jamaica) that began operations in the post-World War I era. Overall, however, because of the slow rate of industrialization in the Caribbean as a whole, the economies of the region were unable to absorb the expanding number of people who were looking for work off the plantations.

This structural crisis in the plantation economies of the Caribbean did not impede the process of professionalization within black communities. It was not simply that the number of physicians, writers, and civil servants increased, but their influence grew as well. Education assumed new importance, and the war brought into public debate such topics as imperialism and communism. Military service in France, as well as international intellectual movements, including Garveyism, Pan-Africanism, and the Harlem Renaissance, began sprouting seeds throughout the Caribbean. Whether as workers or entrepreneurs, persons of African descent began formulating demands for enhanced government services such as health and education and for fuller participation in political affairs.

During the 1920s, interisland migration advanced the transformation of the Caribbean region even further. Like their counterparts in North America, Caribbean migrants received information about job prospects from networks of families, neighbors, and friends. As the Pullman porters had done in the United States, Caribbean seafarers spread news about available jobs to dockside workers who passed it along. Whereas local authorities in the U.S. South tried to block northward migration, British officials in the Caribbean were only too happy to facilitate migration to relieve unemployment and to gain needed foreign exchange from wage remittances.

Between the two world wars, Cuba replaced Panama as the destination of migrant laborers in the Caribbean. Cuba's large agribusinesses—mainly sugar centrales—desperately needed workers and attracted as many as four hundred thousand Jamaicans and Haitians between 1913 and 1920. The United Fruit Company in the Dominican Republic and Central America and the United States Sugar Company in Florida also recruited migrant laborers from the islands. Thus did the postwar influx of U.S. capital into the Caribbean Basin continue to transform traditional labor patterns in the region.

When they returned with their earnings, these migrants often invested them in repairs to their cottages or in purchases of small lots of land. The movement of workers among the islands and to the shores of the mainland loosened the plantation's hold on their labor and their lives.

Permanent migration from the Caribbean to the United States (especially to New York City) persisted after World War I, although restrictive immigration laws passed during the 1920s slowed the movement. Up to that time, the total number of immigrants to the states was about one hundred and thirty-thousand persons. Largely from urban areas rather than plantation districts in the Caribbean, these migrants were similar to their counterparts from the American South in their lack of industrial experience. Considerable numbers of West Indians in Harlem and Brooklyn became entrepreneurs, however, and as such they fared somewhat better than migrants from the South. During this period, some black Cubans, Dominicans, and Puerto Ricans also began migrating to Miami and New York City.

More than simply prompting population movements, World War I affected black workers throughout the Americas in other ways. For example, it drew several hundred thousand black men into military service, large numbers of whom saw combat in France. Besides representing a way to escape plantation employment, such service exposed the soldiers to a larger world and the exhilaration of having helped to liberate Europe. With such memories fresh in their minds, returning soldiers did not take kindly to resuming their inferior positions at home. Tensions in the United States reached fever pitch during the infamous "Red Summer" of 1919, when race riots embroiled over a dozen cities. Even in the absence of such violence, it was clear throughout the Americas that the fires of war had created "a New Negro. "

The war also advanced the process of internal differentiation within black communities. In the United States, growing urban populations created demands for assorted services that were filled by black entrepreneurs, professionals, and politicians. Businesspeople, physicians, attorneys, and politicians, in turn, exerted pressure on public officials to respond to the needs of their communities. Moreover, they placed a high premium on higher education, which resulted in the flowering of Howard, Fisk, and Atlanta Universities and the matriculation of Afro-American students at leading universities throughout the nation. The Harlem Renaissance represented the flowering of postwar black intellectual life. Like the broader movement of Pan- Africanism, which also flourished after World War I, the renaissance celebrated the African heritage and provided a supportive context wherein black artists could express their creativity. Such cultural expressions as jazz and the blues furnished vehicles that allowed working-class Afro-Americans to participate in the new spirit of the age.

Political-cultural movements such as Marcus Garvey's Universal Negro Improvement Association (UNIA) similarly thrived among black workers in the cities. A complex movement that defies easy generalization, Garveyism promoted pride in the African heritage through a variety of subsidiary organizations, a newspaper (the *Negro World)*, and a back-to-Africa movement. Much like his hero, Booker T. Washington, Garvey emphasized entrepreneurism. Shaky business ventures, particularly the Black Star Steamship Line by which he intended to establish commercial connections with Africa, opened Garvey to persecution from the government. U.S. agents convicted him of mail fraud in connection with stock subscriptions, and he was deported upon his release from prison in 1927. Although his movement faltered thereafter, it left a legacy of black pride on which later generations would draw liberally.

The sleeping car porters and maids, the men and women hired by George Pullman to work on the railroad sleeping cars that bore his name, also merit special mention. Their duties were deceptively straightforward, yet complex. Pullman charged them to fulfill every request of railroad passengers quickly and cheerfully, and in the process they had to endure the countless humiliations to which persons in service are generally exposed. Any sign of insubordination resulted in instant dismissal. The Pullman porters were a select group that often included college graduates, for whom the Pullman Company represented steady work and steady income despite its assorted disadvantages.

The Pullman porters distinguished themselves in other ways besides their exceptional backgrounds. Under the inspired leadership of A. Philip Randolph, they organized a union, the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters and Maids, which became an important vehicle not only for their demands regarding wages and working conditions but also for issues affecting their families, their communities, and Afro-Americans generally. Typically, they carried news and information along the routes they traveled, and in this way they were able to disseminate copies of newspapers published by Afro-Americans throughout the nation. They also reported information on living and working conditions in the various locales with which they were familiar.

Other groups of Afro-American workers also took up the concerns of the Pullman porters. Following passage of New Deal labor legislation, large numbers of black workers entered the emerging industrial unions affiliated with the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO). Many joined Communist party- affiliated unions in the steel, rubber, tobacco, and electric industries, and some joined the party itself. As a reflection of their strength in the manufacturing sector, black workers played a critical role in pressuring the administration of Franklin D. Roosevelt to enact legislation guaranteeing certain rights to workers, particularly collective bargaining, a minimum wage, unemployment benefits, and governmental compensation during retirement (or social security). In return, most black voters changed their party allegiance from Republican to Democratic during the late 1930s.

Elsewhere in the Americas, the depression affected black workers differently. In Brazil, where continuing coffee exports helped finance internal industrial development, neither coffee growers nor industrialists made a point of hiring black workers. Black workers, however, abandoned declining agricultural areas for the cities and took whatever jobs they could find. Afro- Brazilians in cities such as Rio de Janeiro formed social and cultural organizations, some of which asserted black and mulatto consciousness, at times with clearly African inspiration.

In Latin America and the Spanish Caribbean, the depression had varying effects. Although the prices of plantation products had collapsed, the Cuban sugar centrales continued to provide employment for black as well as mestizo workers. However, urban unemployment increased, with direct repercussions for the black Cubans who had migrated to the cities over the previous two generations. Many workers allied themselves with radical syndicalist, socialist, and communist organizations with links to the Soviet Union or to the working classes of western Europe. This was especially the case in Cuba and the Central and South American regions, some of whose traditions of political radicalism dated from their wars of independence in the nineteenth century. Yet, as of 1939, neither in Brazil, Cuba, nor any other Latin American countries did black workers improve their condition as did those workers associated with the Pullman Company or with the CIO unions in North America.

Throughout the Americas, the depression altered traditional relationships between workers and officials of the state. Nowhere outside the United States did the government take such comprehensive action to ameliorate workers' grievances in the interest of avoiding social unrest. In much of Latin America, including Cuba and Haiti in the Caribbean, dictators manipulated state power to serve their selfish interests, often at the direct expense of their respective working classes. Black workers lost jobs, as a result of political manipulation as well as direct economic dislocation and black entrepreneurs felt the effects as the purchasing power of their clienteles decreased. The prototypical dictator of this period, Getulio Vargas of Brazil, refused to countenance independent unionism. Neither did he initiate policies to relieve the suffering wrought by the depression. As a result, all Brazilian workers suffered, . but, given their previous marginalization, black workers arguably endured more additional hardship than their white counterparts did.

In the English-speaking Caribbean, the depression created the preconditions for mass political mobilizations that increasingly challenged the legitimacy of colonial rule. The first step in this process was the crisis of plantation agriculture, which had prompted large-scale unemployment and migration to the port cities. There, continuing unemployment and low wages offered fertile ground for protest movements.

Colonial officials sought to appease insurgent workers with alternate appeals to platitudes and brute force rather than jobs. The shadow of Marcus Garvey loomed large. While the exiled leader's health deteriorated, his movement took on new strength, serving as a catalyst for black workers throughout the British Caribbean and Central America. The *Negro World* provided propaganda for the growing rebellion. Many of the leaders of the violent outbursts against European businesses in particular and British colonial rule in general were veterans of World War I and organizations associated with the UNIA. Rarely in the history of the postslavery period did solidarity between black workers and black petty entrepreneurs in the region bring about such a high level of governmental concern. States from the Canal Zone to the Windward Islands moved to coordinate action against the movement, banning the *Negro World* and other incendiary publications and suppressing workers' associations.

The depression gave rise to various social and welfare organizations among expatriate West Indians. Whether known as self-help organizations in the West Indies or ethnic organizations in New York City or London or cells of Garvey's UNIA throughout the Atlantic world, these associations built networks among Caribbean workers and entrepreneurs. Most of these groups combined internationalist and nationalist ideology and politics. In New York City, for example, the most radical elements affiliated with socialists and communists, hoping to bring attention to the international plight of West Indian workers. Yet, in the vein of Garvey's own infatuation with ethnic nationalism, these groups also envisioned nationalist solutions to the problem of colonialism, and they affiliated strongly with West Indian organizations in the city. George Padmore and Cyril Briggs, to name only two of the most prominent examples, were expelled from left-wing parties for supporting "Negro petty bourgeois nationalism." Because of their small numbers and their tendency to insulate themselves, West Indian workers and entrepreneurs retained a separate identity within the growing black population of New York City. A shared interest in Garveyism did not overcome the cultural and other differences between West Indians and southern migrants.

Between 1919 and 1929, production of bauxite and petroleum buoyed the regional economy of the Caribbean. This industrial expansion stimulated trade, which redounded to the direct benefit of both workers and entrepreneurs and made possible the development of industrial unions. The depression reversed these trends, creating widespread unemployment among the increasingly urbanized working class. Lacking access to the garden plots that had helped mitigate the effects of unemployment in the past, these workers turned increasingly to British authorities for relief. When officials failed to respond, workers began challenging the legitimacy of colonial rule itself.

The new activism that appeared in the 1930s surfaced first in the extractive industries but spread rapidly through the urban working class and beyond to plantation laborers. The 1937 Butler riots in Trinidad provide a good example of this phenomenon in the British West Indies. The riots took their name from T.B.U. Butler, an expatriate Grenadian who had formed an independent union to rival one sponsored by the managers of the U.S.-owned Leasehold Oil Company and sanctioned by British authorities. The company's failure to restore pay cuts precipitated the outbreaks. Between 1929 and 1936, the company had reduced the pay of workers by 30 percent; by the last year, the oil industry had recovered, but leasehold's managers refused to return to the 1929 rates on the ground that they were too high. When the government refused to respond to their demands, the workers took to the streets. Workers in the sugar industry were in an even worse position as wages decreased and unemployment surged. They quickly joined the ranks of the insurgents. The 1938 report the Moyne Commission, established by the Colonial Office to identify the sources of unrest among West Indian workers, pointedly faulted the government's lack of a policy to combat the effects of the depression. As a result, the British Parliament passed the Welfare Development Act to promote economic recovery and thereby lessen the threat of worker agitation. Yet, popular rebellions of this type continued throughout the island during the 1930s.

World War II completed the transformation of plantation laborers throughout the Americas into urban industrial workers. In the United States, a threatened march on Washington in 1942 guaranteed black workers access to employment in war industries, which in turn prompted mass migration to the Northeast, Midwest, and Pacific coast. In the two decades following the war, a successful struggle for civil rights overturned the entrenched system of Jim Crow and established political equality among citizens. At the same time, the federal government declared a war on poverty, which some extent was intended to reverse the damage caused by decades of systematic discrimination against Afro- Americans.

In the Caribbean, the war produced a similar transformation. Economically, the islands experienced the continuation of some older trends and the growth of entirely new ones. As earlier, bauxite extraction and petroleum production accounted for the region's heavy industry. Secondary industries such as local manufacturing alternately flowered and wilted response to changes in local, regional, and international markets. Under the auspices of metropolitan capital, bananas replaced sugar as the ma export of several islands, while most plantations became agribusiness that increasingly relied on machines and chemicals to perform work previously done by humans. With so many displaced workers, the condition of structural unemployment and political unrest that had characterized

1930s were reproduced. Politically, the postwar period witnessed the formal end of colonial domination and the emergence of independent state. In every instance, workers' organizations played a critical part in the independence process. As had been the case earlier, black workers in Brazil struggled to adapt to changes over which they had little control in a political and social climate that did not acknowledge their special needs. Under Vargas, Brazilian industry and agriculture diversified, on the whole mitigating the ravages of the depression, though not necessarily the endemic marginalization of black workers in rural and urban areas. After World War II, these trends continued but with the additional phenomenon of new waves of displaced smallholders and agricultural laborers to the cities, where they faced poverty and crowding in *favelas,* or shanty towns.

In the United States, the outbreak of World War II accomplished what the New Deal had proved incapable of doing, namely, ending the depression. Only in late 1939, when England declared war on Germany and the United States became the "arsenal of democracy," did unemployment begin to decline. Spurred by orders for military goods, factories sought additional workers, relying first on their unemployed former employees. Lest employers discriminate against black workers in the rehiring process, A. Philip Randolph began organizing a march on Washington to force President Roosevelt to integrate the armed forces and prohibit discrimination in the defense industry. Although the president stopped short of abolishing Jim Crow in the services, he accommodated the demand for non-discriminatory practices among defense contractors and established the Fair Employment Practice Committee to monitor compliance.

When the United States entered the war in December 1941, military production skyrocketed and with it the demand for additional defense workers. As manufacturers had discovered during World War I, black migrants from the South were fine workers. The war against Japan also spurred the growth of war industries on the West Coast, an unknown phenomenon in the earlier war, and so black workers migrated in unprecedented numbers to the centers of the shipping and aircraft industries: the metropolitan areas of San Diego-Los Angeles, San Francisco-Oakland, and Seattle and Portland. During the 1940s, an estimated 1.6 million Afro-Americans abandoned the South for other regions of the nation. Even within the South, however, the growth of defense industries along the South Atlantic and Gulf coasts attracted large numbers of black migrants from declining plantation regions.

The new migration both resembled and differed from the earlier one. As in the earlier period, black workers often had to settle for overcrowded and expensive housing and scanty public services. Now, however, employment opportunities tended to cluster in manufacturing and service, and large numbers of women gained access to manufacturing jobs due to the size of the military call-up. The migrants also encountered ethnic groups with whom they had had little previous contact—Chicanos and Asians, as well as Europeans—and at times social tension resulted. The rapidly changing demography and shifting balance of employment opportunity and political power in Detroit led to a riot there in 1942 that was every bit as bloody as the clashes during the Red Summer of 1919.

The war left a mixed legacy. When the hostilities ended, the shipping and aircraft industries entered a period of retrenchment, with other primary industries (such as automobile assembly) and secondary industries not always able to pick up the slack. Although the shipyards never recovered, other industries did, and the manufacturing economy of the northern and western United States remained vigorous through the 1960s. Hence, migration continued. In the 1950s a total of 1.5 million black persons left the South, and during the following decade an additional 1.4 million migrated.

In the Caribbean, different economic patterns emerged in the aftermath of World War II. Plantation agriculture underwent a major transformation, virtually collapsing in some areas, consolidating into highly capitalized agribusinesses in others, and experiencing a combination of collapse and consolidation elsewhere. Throughout the region, the proportion of workers employed on plantations declined, often precipitously. In Trinidad and Barbados, for example, plantation employment shrank from more than half of all workers before the war to 22.8 percent and 16.7 percent, respectively, by the late 1940s. As a result, workers migrated, often in response to governmental policies.

During much of the postwar period, Haitian and Dominican officials connived in the seasonal movement of semislave Haitians to the Dominican sugar fields. Although the Walter-McCarran Immigration Act of 1952 restricted the immigration of West Indians to the United States, agricultural interests lobbied successfully for admission of short-term agricultural laborers. These workers, who numbered in the thousands by the early 1960s, cut sugarcane in Florida and (with other migrants from Mexico and the American South) followed the vegetable and fruit harvests from the Gulf states to Canada. Temporary migrants—who in immigration jargon came to be known as H-2s after the provision of the law under which they were admitted—performed some of the most undesirable work possible under the control of exploitative and racist employers. They had virtually no legal rights and could at will be fired and deported for "unsatisfactory" performance of their duties. During the 1950s and early 1960s, several thousand West Indians also entered the United States and Canada as domestic servants.

Throughout the Caribbean, migration of various kinds became the order of the day, including permanent, semipermanent, and seasonal, both within the region and beyond. In the most striking of these patterns, migrants left the islands for metropolitan areas of North America or Europe: Puerto Ricans came to New York City; British West Indians to Toronto, New York City, and London; and French West Indians to Paris.

By the early 1960s, as many as three hundred thousand persons per year migrated from the region, but not all permanently. Many had adopted a strategy of temporary migration as a hedge against economic downturns or as a source of ready cash. The earnings accumulated by migrant workers, like the money sent home by those who had moved permanently to industrial countries, enabled significant numbers to purchase homes and small parcels of land and to help maintain families who remained in the islands.

For workers who remained in the Caribbean, the collapse of the plantation system both made possible and necessitated a diversification of skills, some of which had clear entrepreneurial application. Men became jacks-of-all-trades, moving from one trade to another as need dictated. As petty traders, women fashioned elaborate networks with both suppliers and customers to keep their businesses afloat. Flexibility was the key—being able to respond to changing conditions quickly by moving from island to island and by resorting to a range of skills and contacts.

As the postwar years advanced, black workers developed an ever more sophisticated political consciousness. They challenged the status quo and joined forces with Garveyites and the emerging intellectual elite, best personified by Eric Williams in Trinidad. As working-class leaders increasingly challenged the legitimacy of the colonial state, they engineered the transformation of their unions into political parties. In Jamaica, Bustamante's Industrial Union became the Jamaica Labor party. The Oil Field Workers Trade Union in Trinidad underwent a similar transformation, as did the Manpower and Citizens' Association in Guiana. Moreover, the expanded urban and nonpeasant sector made up the bulk of the membership of the new political parties such as the People's National party in Jamaica, the Progressive League in Barbados, and the West Indian Nationalist party—later the People's National party—in Trinidad. The experience of labor leaders and the support of workers made possible the victories of black-dominated political parties beginning in the early 1960s.

The civil rights movement in the United States paralleled these developments. The Montgomery bus boycott, which launched the career of Martin Luther King, Jr., was triggered by Rosa Parks, a seamstress, and organized by Jo Ann Robinson, a college professor, and E. D. Nixon, a Pullman porter. Black workers bore the brunt of the hardships that the boycott entailed, even as they devised an alternate transportation system to help sustain their protest. As the movement for equal civil and political rights swept across the South, black workers in both rural and urban areas played a similarly critical role. They risked injury and death sheltering organizers, registering to vote, and engaging in nonviolent protests against discrimination. Even after the enactment of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Voting Rights Act of 1965, southern black workers, professionals, and entrepreneurs continued to risk life and limb asserting the freshly guaranteed rights.

From the mid-1960s onward, the mounting frustration of northern black workers pressed the movement beyond civil and political rights toward such economic rights as jobs, housing, and unemployment relief. Urban unrest in Watts, Detroit, Newark, and other manufacturing centers stemmed not so much from interethnic conflicts as earlier, but from resentment against pervasive discrimination even in areas where Jim Crow laws had not applied. Industrial workers faulted their unions as well as employers and elected officials for failing to address systematic inequality. The Dodge Revolutionary Union Movement (DRUM) in Detroit was only one of many such grass-roots movements among black unionists that took inspiration from international struggles for national liberation and sought a radical transformation of the economic and political structure.

Such movements had mixed success in altering traditional patterns both within their respective industries and the broader society. They did provide the foundation for electing black mayors in such industrial cities as Gary, Indiana; Detroit; Newark; Chicago; and Los Angeles. But this political achievement accompanied the economic transformation, wherein corporations closed factories in urban areas, leaving unemployment and its resulting social consequences behind. Black workers only recently removed from the collapse of the southern plantation system now faced the collapse of the factory system.

From the mid-1960s onward, similar developments affected the Caribbean. When they could no longer resist the demand of colonial subjects for national independence, Britain and the other colonial powers reluctantly conceded it. However, political self-determination by itself did not infuse new life into the regional economy. Only in Trinidad among the English-speaking Caribbean islands did the black workers' and intellectuals' control of the state inaugurate a period of economic boom. On that island, prosperity resulted from nationalization of the petroleum industry and exploitation of natural gas reserves. In the islands that lacked such resources, workers and entrepreneurs continued to pursue a variety of employment and business options both in the Caribbean region and on mainland North America and Europe.

In the Spanish Caribbean and Central America, black workers and entrepreneurs experienced similar upheavals after World War II. The United States' foreign policy played as large a part in this process as did its economic policy. Puerto Rico's special status made possible a mass exodus of displaced workers to the mainland, particularly to New York City. In Central America and the Dominican Republic, U.S. armed forces intervened against popular leftist movements whether led by government officials or opposition forces. In many of these countries, dictatorships and military regimes took root with the blessing of the United States. With the investment climate thus stabilized, U.S. capital poured into the region, with a primary objective of producing and transporting plantation products. In South America, where the United States did not intervene militarily, it nonetheless remained a dominant economic force.

For various reasons, these changes produced a heightened awareness of race among persons of African descent throughout Spanish America. At one level, black workers became more outspoken in their resentment against white creole domination of the managerial and technocratic cadres as well as most of the skilled trades. At another level, they increasingly criticized government officials who ignored the significance of race in the formulation of public policy. Moreover, pockets of English-speaking West Indians who had migrated to the Latin countries over the years also contributed to a greater awareness of race, especially in such places as Nicaragua and Costa Rica, where they remained largely apart from the Spanish-speaking population.

This explosion of racial consciousness among workers went farthest in Cuba, in part through the support of Fidel Castro. On the eve of the Cuban Revolution, for example, more than 60 percent of the blacks and mulattos in Cuba lived and worked in urban areas. Racial discrimination excluded them from certain trades, such as baking and pastry-making, though not from the construction trades. Most Afro-Cubans, however, were unskilled rather than skilled workers, and they experienced high unemployment, with approximately 45 percent of the work force permanently unemployed or at work only intermittently during the late 1950s. Castro's pointed criticism of such discrimination made his movement attractive to black workers. Indeed, blacks and mulattos became the staunchest supporters of communism in Cuba in hopes that socialism would eliminate racism in the workplace as well as society. A survey in 1962 showed that an estimated 80 percent of the Afro-Cuban population supported Castro, as against 67 percent of the whites.

The economic blockade that the United States imposed on Cuba and the mass exodus of thousands of white Cubans to the mainland in the 1960s and 1970s eventually allowed black workers to benefit under Castro's socialist policies. The Cuban government initiated jobs programs for black workers, and, just as important, it sponsored a host of Afro-Cuban cultural programs, many organized through the workplace. Hence, support for his regime remained strong over time.

Black workers and entrepreneurs in Brazil also struggled against economic marginalization but in a very different setting from that of Cuba. Whereas Castro actively sought the support of black workers and integrated them fully into the armed forces and the manufacturing sector of the economy, Brazilian policymakers largely ignored Afro-Brazilians in their larger aim to achieve world standing as an industrial nation. Black workers thus had no institutional means of gaining industrial skills. To the extent that officials took into account the concerns of workers, they uniformly did so within the traditional structure of political parties and labor unions wherein Afro- Brazilians lacked a distinct voice. As a result, the postwar industrial boom largely bypassed black workers, and the development of agribusiness in the countryside continued to displace tenants and small farmers. As of 1952, Afro- Brazilians made up a significant part of the 42 percent of the agricultural labor force that was unemployed, and in the 1960s the percentage was still growing. But Brazilian industrialists— in marked contrast to their North American counterparts— did not take advantage of this windfall of potential laborers from the rural areas. As a result, Afro-Brazilians working in nonagricultural occupations remained overwhelmingly concentrated in low-paying manual labor, often working intermittently at best. Not surprisingly, the rate of employment among Afro-Brazilians in the major urban centers such as Sao Paulo made up a tiny portion of the total labor force in many of the leading businesses. In the better paying skilled occupations, Afro-Brazilians were underrepresented or even totally absent.

Unlike other areas of the Americas, in Brazil urbanization did not foster political mobilization. Rather, it produced large-scale poverty as displaced rural folk crowded into favelas in the major metropolitan areas. To the extent that Afro-Brazilians had formed racial-political organizations in Sao Paulo and elsewhere, these remained largely underground until the 1970s. Only in the cultural realms of music and dance did Brazilian society at large recognize a distinct African contribution.

In short, Afro-Brazilians never gained access to jobs or exercised the democratic rights on a scale comparable to that of black workers elsewhere in the Americas. Economically, politically, and socially marginalized, Afro-Brazilians did not benefit from the nation's industrial expansion following World War II. Thus, by the 1960s the achievements of Brazil's black workers fell far short of those beginning to be made by their counterparts in the United States, the Caribbean, and even Cuba.

CONCLUSION

Between the 1880s and the 1970s, black workers in the Americas underwent a profound transformation from plantation laborers to a diverse group of industrial and service workers, professionals, and entrepreneurs. Many descendants of slaves struggled against low pay and other kinds of exploitation, which in some respects rendered their position structurally similar to what it had been under slavery. In the United States and Brazil in particular, racial discrimination exacerbated this situation. Yet overall, the years brought unthought-of improvement in the status of black persons throughout the Americas. In the United States, federal civil rights legislation gave black workers the tools to fight discrimination in unions, on shop floors, and in neighborhoods, and to take part in the political life of the nation. In the independent Caribbean islands, black workers constituted a majority of the citizens; in Cuba, their support for the Castro regime brought them victory against restrictive employment patterns in law and custom. All over the Americas, mobility within and between areas made black workers a significant factor in the economic and political life of postindustrial societies. Although not immune to reversal, these achievements represented the outcome of struggle, originating in emancipation and persisting through the imperialist environ-ment that followed.

PART SEVEN

EUROPEAN IMAGES OF AFRICA AND AFRICANS

One of the trails for tracing Dutch definitions of blacks since the sixteenth century has been left by dictionaries and encyclopedias. These compendia, drawing on the best literary references as well as popular notions, contain some words no longer heard as well as antecedents of some terms still being used.

Allison Blakely

Definitions of "black" in the late nineteenth century suggest how a characterization based on skin pigmentation created a negative framework by which Europeans viewed sub-Saharan Africans. Literally, black meant "dirty" and "obscure." Used figuratively, black referred to anything that was criminal, melancholy, or defamed.

Dana Hale

BLACKS IN THE DUTCH COLOR SPECTRUM: LEXICOGRAPHY AND RACIAL IMAGERY

by

Allison Blakely

The United Provinces of the Netherlands and its distinctive Dutch culture arose in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries out of intense European religious and political conflicts. Within two generations, this new society boasted a global maritime empire with a number of strategic and valuable colonies. Admiring contemporaries, harking back to classical models, compared Amsterdam to Athens. The Dutch colonies were initially founded and governed by the East and West India trading companies, the main instruments through which Dutch commerce in Asia and the New World was built. The East India Company, founded in 1602, established bases in Ceylon, India, Japan, South Africa, and most important, in the part of the Malay archipelago that would become Indonesia. The West India Company, founded in 1621, held under Dutch laws a trade monopoly in the Americas and West Africa. By the end of the century, while engaged in commercial and military competition with Spain, Portugal, Britain, France, and other European rivals, the West India Company planted significant bases on the Caribbean island of Curagao, in northern Brazil, in Surinam, and in North America, where the well known New Netherlands was centered on New Amsterdam. In West Africa, Dutch commerce involved a dozen forts along 200 miles of coastline, including Elmina and Creveceur, names that reflected Dutch acquisitions from their European rivals. Though Dutch control in some of these forts spanned only a few decades, there was a lasting influence in South Africa.[1]

This vast Dutch maritime empire, comprising multinational, multireligious, and multiethnic societies of various races, offers historians much material for studying the evolution of European perceptions of race and color in the modern world. The Dutch make a particularly interesting study in view of their traditions of religious toleration and political liberalism as well as their economic prowess based partly on the African slave trade. Racial attitudes are deceptively "easy" to detect in a broad sampling of pictures of blacks. The profound complexity of valid interpretation is more readily apparent, however, in written racial descriptions. Here these attitudes are clearly difficult to fathom since the meaning of words has varied greatly over time and from place to place. In one of the former Dutch colonial areas in Brazil, for example, statisticians in the 1980s described people of color in 136 different ways.[2]

The language of race and color has involved a variety of geographic, social, and economic factors that affected the formal definitions of race and color as they evolved in the Netherlands and throughout its empire. The language of race was also conditioned by European mentalities that were common in folklore, religion, art, and literature. The experiences of the Dutch overseas as well as their attitudes at home contributed to their views of blacks. [3]

One of the trails for tracing Dutch definitions of blacks since the sixteenth century has been left by dictionaries and encyclopedias. These compendia, drawing on the best literary references as well as popular notions, contain some words no longer heard as well as antecedents of some terms still being used. Sixteenth and seventeenth century dictionaries seemed to demand correctness in their presentation of the Dutch language. In the eighteenth century, encyclopedias broadly covered the arts, sciences, industry, and customs. By the nineteenth century, dictionaries and encyclopedias articulated racial matters within the comprehensive rubric of "civilization." Thus Dutch lexicography not only reflected Dutch overseas experiences but affected the English speaking world as well. The author of a leading study of the earliest Dutch English/English Dutch dictionaries has observed that the "establishment of a network of bilingual dictionaries for the modern languages of Western Europe should probably be looked upon as a single process; or, if the evidence of Dutch and English is any thing to go by, almost as a single industry, with a complex pattern of inter national affiliations."[4]

The use of the term "black" (*swert* and *noir*) to describe a person was present in the sixteenth century Netherlands. The Dutch terms initially used to describe blacks appear to have been influenced as much by French (Walloon), German, and English as by Spanish. Given the importance of the Lowlands to the Spanish empire, "Moor" and "Neger" from the Spanish legacy came to be the terms most used in the Netherlands. At the same time, the French "Blanke" became the most popular term for describing whites, rather than the more Germanic "Butte." In the seventeenth century, the word "Moor" had already been broadened from the Spanish legacy to include "a blacke Moore, or an Ethiopian," with "Moorlands" meaning Ethiopia. By the eighteenth century, the Spanish term "Neger" came to be equated with "Schwarzer," "Mohr," and "Mooriaan," although "Moor" continued to refer to non-negroid North Africans and their Arab culture.[5]

Some dictionaries of the eighteenth century included comprehensive discussions of blacks. Some associated the origin of the term "Neger" with the region of the Niger river in West Africa, presented various theories about how racial differences developed, and addressed the character and customs of blacks. One meaning for "Neger" in these dictionaries was a certain large fish encountered in the West Indies that had a black head, the diable de mer (sea devil), some varieties of which were said to be deadly poisonous. Some discussions in eighteenth century dictionaries even sought to explain the place of blacks and whites in human history. One dictionary, observing that the "holy scriptures are completely silent" on whether "the first man . . . was white or black," concluded that he must have been white firstly because Negroes are seldom seen beyond the lands between the tropics. Adam was formed and lived four hundred miles to the North of the Tropic of Cancer. Secondly, seldom, if ever [have] the Negroes' color been known to pale through a change in climate, while Whites become yellower as they near the scorching climate.

This one observation is sufficient in order to conclude with certainty that Blacks must be descendant from Whites and must have acquired the darker color which distinguishes them over the course of the centuries. Thirdly, there are far fewer Negroes than Whites.[6]

In the nineteenth century, the widely used *Taallundig Woordenboek* included illustrations from popular writings. It defined a Moor as "a man of black color, with kinky hair and thick lips, like the inhabitants of southern Africa" and noted that the phrase, "to scrub a Moor, or Mooriaan," meant to do "futile" work. "Neger" continued to be used similarly and spawned the related expression, "negerij," which described any clumping of houses arranged like an African village.[7]

The dictionary entries for these terms were more detailed and bolder during the nineteenth century. A dictionary of 1825 noted that blacks had "een bijzonder sterk riekend zweet" (an especially strong smelling sweat). A definition of 1845 incorporated much erroneous information before concluding that Negroes can never reach the level of civilization which other, more highly organized peoples, such as, for example, the Celtic tribes, have reached. It may be supposed that when left to themselves they remain on a very low stage of intellectual development. In general Negroes are unfeeling; they very seldom cry and express emotional grief taciturnly, while on the other hand they express the sensual through shouts and song. Thus they are vengeful and appear only, or at least best suited for manual labor.

In the 1880s, Grimm's *Deutsches Worterbuch* defined "Neger" negatively with illustrations from the writings of Kant, Herder, and Schiller. In the 1890s, one leading Dutch dictionary produced the following:

> Although some tribes are encountered who practice cannibalism, on the whole Negroes are not savages. The practice agriculture and cattle breeding and various industries; they smelt and work iron, weave and dye cotton goods, and have much aptitude for commerce. They form states, whose government however is mostly horribly despotic. In their religion superstition and fetishism occupy a large space; however Islam is making increasingly greater inroads among Negroes.[8]

At the start of the twentieth century, the *Oxford English Dictionary* attached the term "Negro" in popular usage not only to people but to fish, fowl, foods, and plants. The dictionary had numerous, mosey connotations in describing blacks: "Nigger" was an alteration of "Neger," the ancient term "Nikker," which in popular lore meant the devil or various other spirits. At the same time, Dutch dictionaries associated "blank" (white) mainly with purity and high quality.[9]

In a Dutch encyclopedia of the 1930s, half the entry dealt with the unequal status of blacks in the United States but said nothing about their status in the Netherlands or its colonies. Late twentieth century Dutch dictionaries and encyclopedias, recognizing changing demographics and social outlooks, have relatively brief entries on blacks chat only hint at some of She older, negative definitions. For example, "darky" is indicated as one meaning of 'Neger" along with "Negro." [10]

Given the racial variety of Africa, Asia, and Europe, the color spectrum of the Dutch empire was necessarily varied. By the nineteenth century, Dutch dictionaries included definitions of "creole" and "colored" that were often applied to those of black African descent When originally applied to people, She Portuguese crioulo and Spanish criollo had meant anyone born to European parents or raised in overseas colonies, but it eventually also came to designate those having both European and non European blood, mixed languages and cultures, and even to identify varieties of animals and plants. The expression "colored" was used to designate both non-whites generally and those of mixed white and non-white parentage. In Surinam, "creole" meant specifically those descended from slaves. In the West Indies, "colored" designated only those of Euro-Indian or Euro-African descent and Their children. In South Africa, "coloured" was applied to people of mixed African, European, or East Indian descent in the eighteenth century and sometimes to the Khoi and San peoples, whether mixed or not. In Dutch Brazil, "meztizo" described those of Euro-Indian descent, while in East India, "meztizo" meant racial mixture in a more general sense. In West African fortress societies, mulattoes were described by a number of different terms. Finally, the black Africans in the Dutch East Indian Army were called Blanda Itam (black Hollanders) an treated as whites.[11]

The visual depictions of blacks in Dutch religious tradition and folk- lore illustrate negative images of blacks from the seventeenth to the twentieth centuries. One of the most important features of Dutch definitions and depictions of blacks is the extent to which the Dutch borrowed from other Europeans or contributed to European stereotypes of blacks. The few examples presented here show that the Dutch clearly shared in a Western experience, despite the smallness of the black population in the Netherlands itself. The lexicography and images of blades in Dutch culture therefore relate to the general Western experience since the early modern era.[12]

NOTES

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1.An admirable recent study of Dutch culture at the height of the Dutch empire is Simon Schama, *The Embarrassment of Riches: An Interpretation of Dutch Culture in the Golden Age* (New York, 1987). Schama's study, however, focuses almost exclusively on the life and thought in the Netherlands proper, seldom mentioning the nexus with the outside world, which had a crucial impact on the subject of this essay.

2.Mac Margolis, "Brazil's Blacks Look Anew at Issue of Race," *The Washington Post*, 13 May 1988, sec. A, 25-26.

3.This brief essay cannot deal with the broader history of the emergence and development of the Dutch language. See B.C. Donaldson, *Dutch: A Linguistic History of Holland and Belgium* (Leiden, 1983); L. Van den Branden, *Het streven naar verheerlijking, zuivering en opbouw van het Nederlands in de 16.eeuw* (Gent, 1956); D.M. Bakker and G.R.W. Dibbets, eds., *Geschiedenis van de Nederlandse taalkunde* (Den Bosch, 1977); Lode van den Branden, Elly Cockx-Indestege, and Frans Sillis, *Bio-Bibliografie van Cornelis Kiliaan* (Nieuwkoop, 1978), Leon Voet, *The Golden Compasses: A History and Evaluation of the Printing and Publishing Activities of the Officina Plantiniana at Antwerp*, vol. 1, Christophe Plantin and the Moretuses: Their Lives and Their World (Amsterdam, 1969-1972)

4.N.E. Osselton,*The Dumb Linguists: A Study of the Earliest English and Dutch Dictionaries*(Leiden, 1973), 109

5.Mathias Sasbovt, comp., *Dictionaire Francoys-Flamenc* (Antwerp, 1579), s.v. "swert," "noir"; Hendrick Hexham, comp., *Het Groot Woordenboeck: Gestelt in't Neder-duytsch, ende in't Engelsch* (Rotterdam, 1648), s.v. "Moor"; Matthias Kramern, ed., *Het Nieuw Neder-Hoog-Duitsch en Hoog-Neder-Duitsch Woordenboek, oder neues hollandisch-deutsches und deutsch-hollandisches Worterbuch* (Leiden, 1777), s.v. "Moor."

6.Egbert Buys, comp., Nieuw en Volkomen Woordenboek van Konsten en Weetenschappen: De Takken der Nuttige (Amsterdam, 1775), s.v. "Neger."

7.P. Weiland, *Nederduitsch Taalkundig Woordenboek* (Amsterdam,1804), s.v. "Neger."

8.Gt. Nieuwenhuis, *Algemeen Woordenboek van Kunsten en Wetenschappen, voor den Beschaafden Stand en ten Behoeve des Gezeliligen Levens* (Zutphen, 1825), s.v. "Neger"; P.G. Witsen Geysbeek, comp., Algemeen Noodwendig Woordenboek der Zamenleving, behelzende beknopt en Zakelijk Al het Wetenswaardige uit de Geschiedenis en Ieder Vak van Menschelijke Kennis (Amsterdam, ca. 1845), s.v. "Neger"; Jacob Grimm and Wilhelm Grimm, Deutsches Worterbuch (Leipzig, 1889), s.v. "Neger"; Sijthoff's Woordenboek voor Kennis en Kunst, naar de Nieuwste Bronnen Bewerkt (Leiden, 1893), s.v. "Neger."

9.James A. H. Murray, ed., A New English Dictionary on Historical Principles (Oxford, 1908), s.v. "Negro"; A. Kluyver and A. Lodewyck, eds., Woordenboek der Nederlandsche Taal (Leiden, 1913), s.v. "blank"; De Katholieke Encyclopaedie (Amsterdam, 1937), s.v. "Blank."

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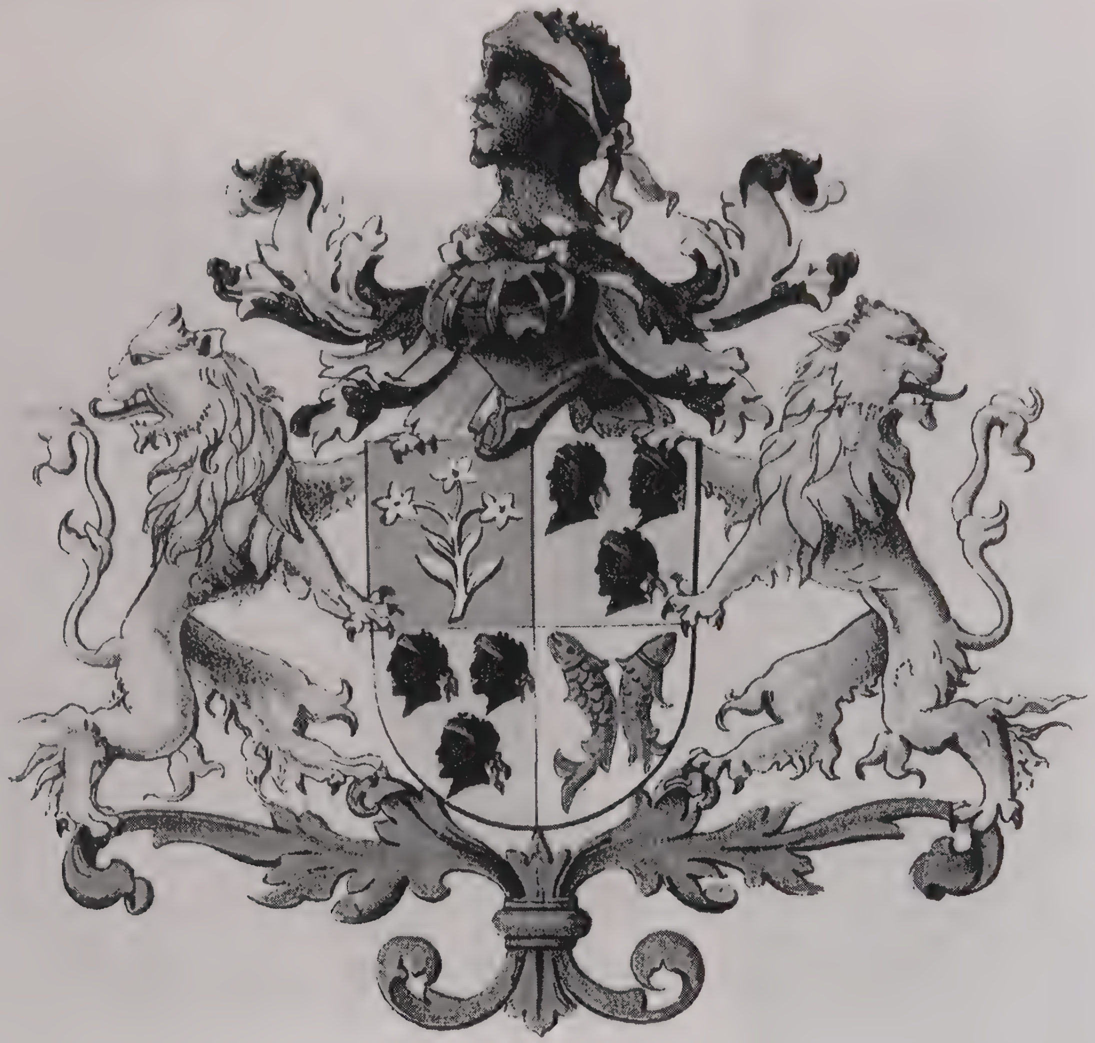
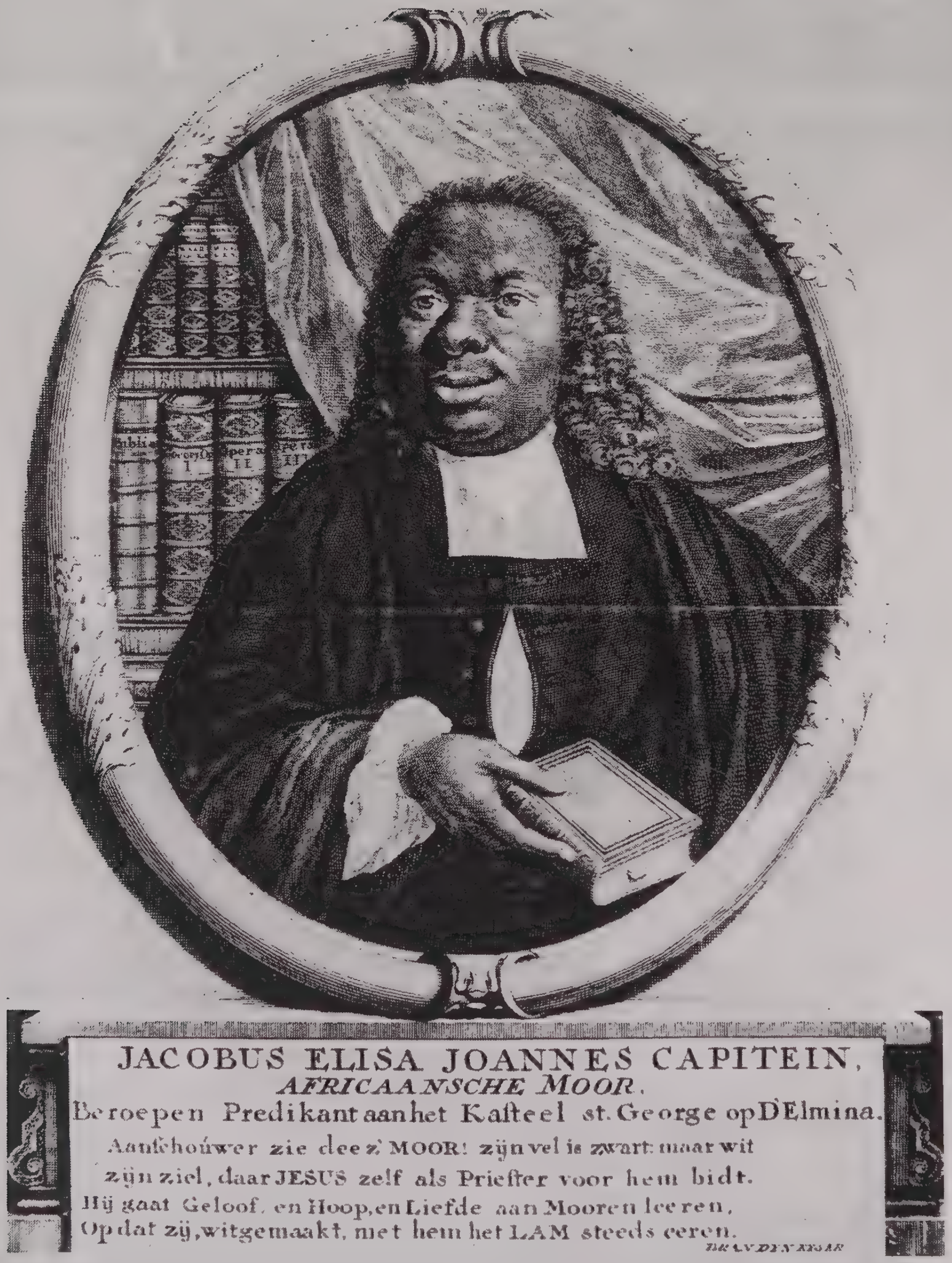
12.Systematic study of racial attitudes toward blacks in Europe has only recently begun. See James Walvin, Black and White":The Negro and English Society 1555-1945 (London, 1973); Ladislas Bugner, ed., The Image of the Black in Western Art (Cambridge, Mass., 1979); Hans Werner Debrunner, Presence and Prestige: Africans in Europe (Basel, 1979); A.C. de C.M. Saunders, A Social History of Black Slaves and Freedmen in Portugal, 1441-1555 (London, 1982); Francois de Madeiros, L'Occident et l' Afrique (Xiii-XV siecle) (Paris, 1985); Jan Nederveen Pieterse, Wit over zwart: beelden van Afrika en zwarten in de westerse populaire cultuur (Amsterdam, 1990).



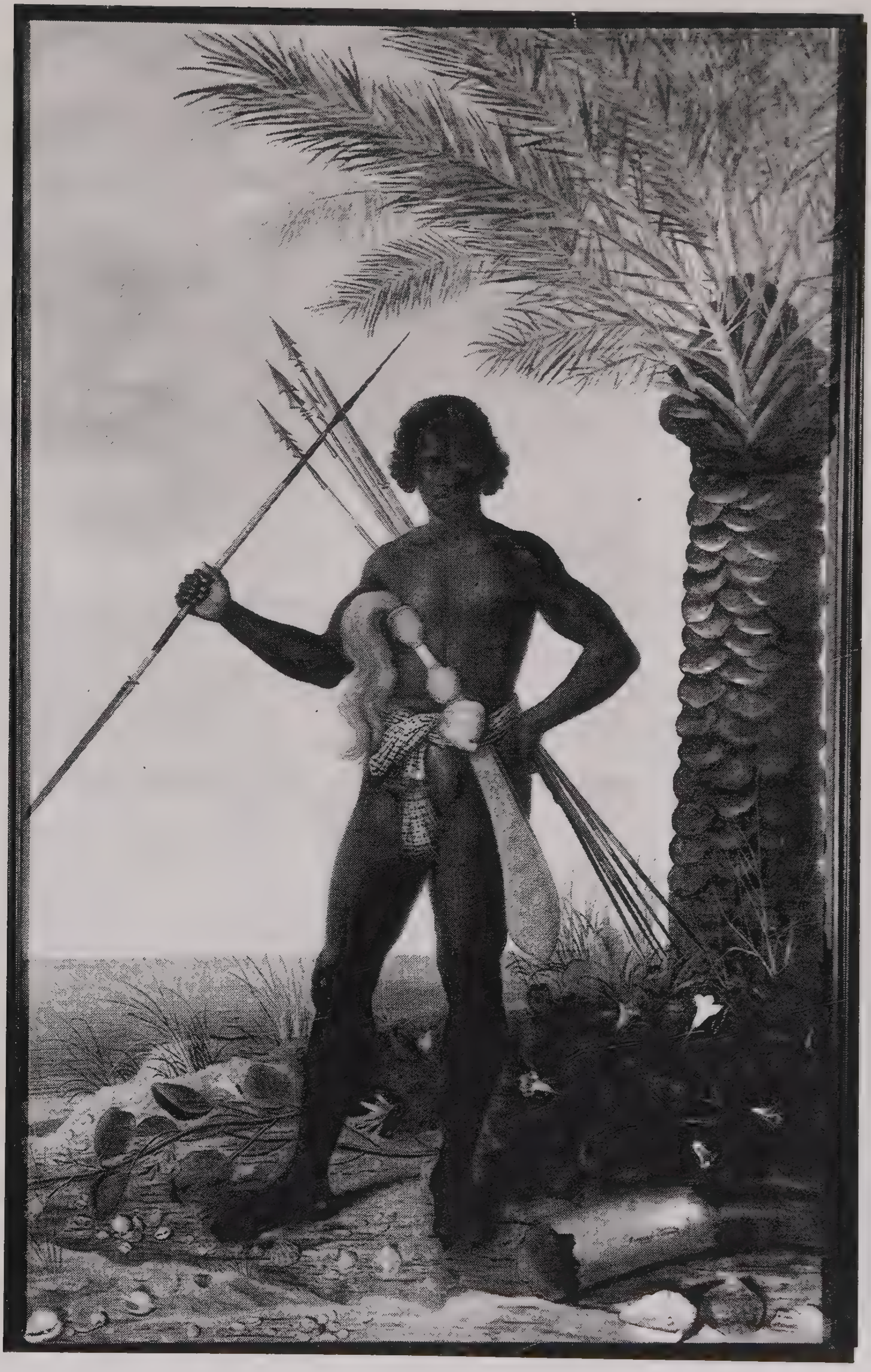
A Dutch family coat of arms with "Moors heads"
Private Collection of Allison Blakely
Washington, D. C.


JACOBUS ELISA JOANNES CAPITEIN,
AFRICAANSCHE MOOR.
Beroepen Predikant aan het Kaſteel st. George op D'Elmina.
Aanſchouwer zie deez' MOOR! zijn vel is zwart: maar wit
zijn ziel, daar JESUS zelf als Prieſter voor hem bidt.
Hij gaat Geloof, en Hoop, en Liefde aan Mooren leeren,
Op dat zij, witgemaakt, met hem het LAM steeds eeren.

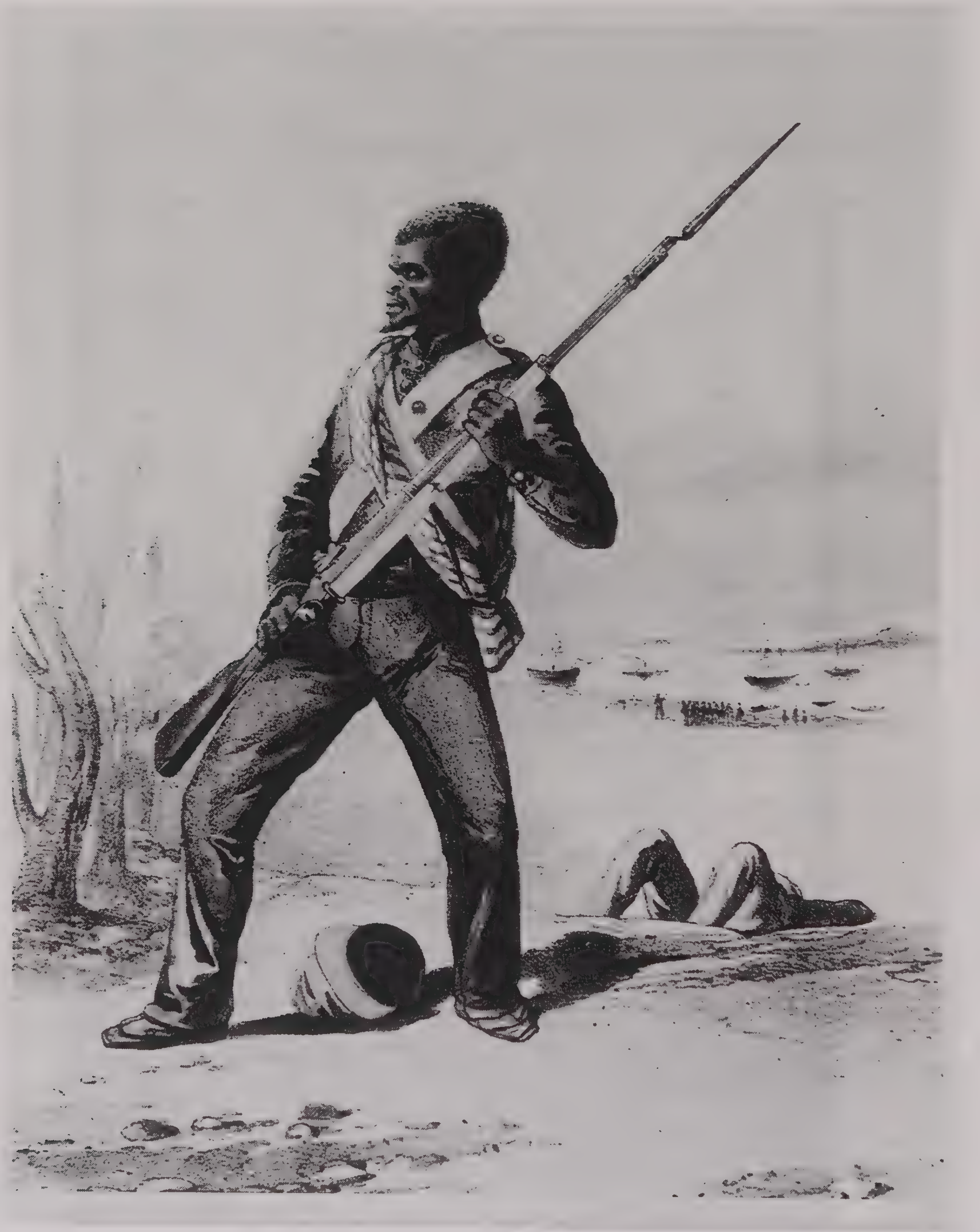
F. van Bleyswyck engraving of Jacobus Capitein

The inscription reads: Spectator, behold this Moor: his skin is black; but his soul is white; for JESUS himself has called him to the ministry. He will teach Faith, Hope, and Love to the Moors, so that they, thus made white, may all the better worship the Lamb along with him.

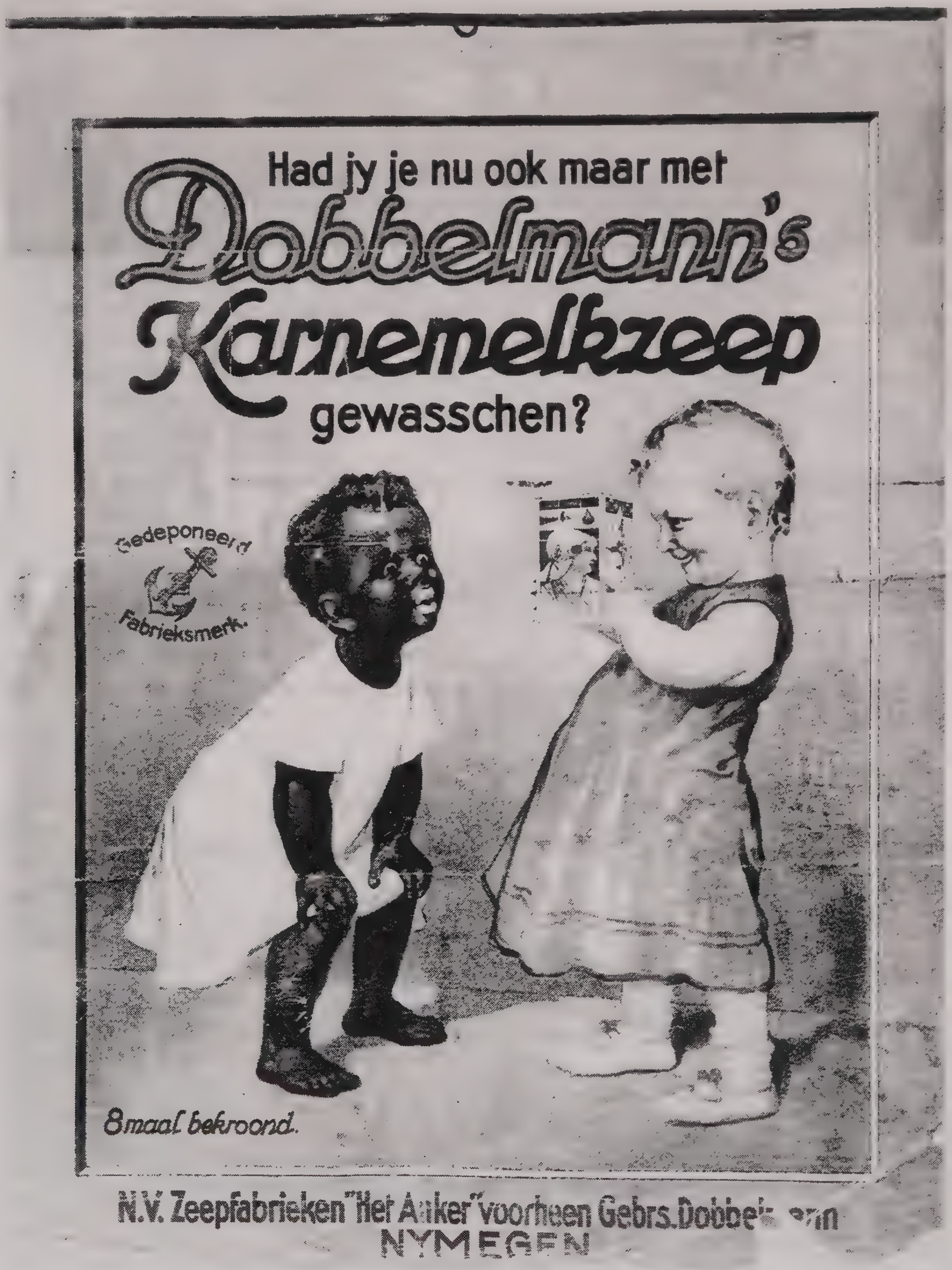
Stichting Iconographisch Bureau, The Hague



"A Negro Warrior"
Albert Eeckhout, seventeenth century
National Museum, Ethnographical Department Copenhagen, Denmark



"Ernest Hardouin, African Soldier," serving with the Dutch Foreign Legion in Java during the 1850s


Had jy je nu ook maar met
Dobbelmann's
Karnemelkzeep
gewasschen?
Gedeponeerd
Fabrieksmerk.
8maal bekroond.
N.V. Zeepfabrieken "Het Anker" voorheen Gebrs.Dobbelmann
NYMEGEN

"Don't you wish you also had washed with Buttermilk Soap?"
Soap poster, 1910
Negrophilia Foundation, Amsterdam

"UNCIVILIZED TYPES":

FRENCH IMAGES OF SUB-SAHARAN AFRICANS, 1886-1913*

by

Dana Hale

Western stereotypes of Africans and peoples of African descent developed out of opinions of their status expressed in the intellectual and business communities. Because of the Atlantic slave trade, early visions of Africans focused on bondage and freedom. Africans were presented as laborers within their own continent, as slaves of Arab Muslim masters or as people under the control of rival groups. Sub-Saharan African kingdoms and their rulers were usually viewed as tyrannical and belligerent. Nevertheless, the idea of the "noble savage," untainted by the corrupt forces of advanced civilization, guided the thinking of some about the African. Yet even if the African was a "noble" savage in the eyes of Europeans, he did not cease to be a savage—primitive, uncontrolled, uncivilized. In the nineteenth century many Western abolitionists supported an end of the slave trade and plantation slavery as a means of ensuring that black Africans could be properly educated in the Christian religion and elevated from their savagery and ignorance in an environment free from abuse and hypocrisy.[1] Slave owners conversely argued that the Caribbean plantation was an ideal setting in which to convert and civilize Africans. Neither argument won the support of the largely disinterested French population. The abolition of slavery by France in 1848 was the result of the initiative of a few inspired republicans and not a reflection of a change in public attitudes toward Africans and blacks in the Caribbean.[2]

The general image held by the French of sub-Saharan African peoples in the decades before the First World War was one of primitiveness and backwardness in regard to material culture, customs, and moral values. As the French acquired more knowledge about African societies, government officials, military leaders, scientists, and scholars recognized vast regional and ethnic group differences on the continent but continued to hold to this stereotype. This view expressed itself especially in travel book illustrations, works and drawings by scientists, the press, and in commercial advertisements and trademarks. African nudity or near-nudity was viewed as a reflection of backwardness or savagery. French scientists and physical anthropologists such as Paul Broca claimed that there was a link between physical traits such as head shape or lip size and intellectual and moral qualities.[2] In the minds of the French, however, the perception of sub-Saharan primitiveness was always coupled with the belief that the African could be civilized through prolonged and meaningful contact with their culture. French trademarks and portrayals of natives at colonial expositions before the First World War clearly reflect both of these perspectives. This chapter will review the most common depictions of sub-Saharan African and black primitiveness found in French trademark illustrations from 1886 to 1913 and look at the use of this theme by the organizers of the Colonial Section of the 1900 World's Fair in Paris.

I. TRADEMARK IMAGES, 1886 TO 1913

In the decades surrounding the turn of the century, French businessmen and businesswomen used images of Africans and blacks in trademarks to communicate three different messages. Trademark designs stressed exoticism, symbolic blackness, and the socioeconomic relationship between Europeans and people of African heritage. Sometimes trademark labels portrayed two or all three of these messages simultaneously, but usually one remained predominant.

A. Exoticism and the Generic "Noir"

The idea that blacks were exotic governed their likenesses on a variety of trademarks. Businesses used images of the "Noir"—both sub-Saharan Africans and Caribbean blacks—in trademarks for items traditionally produced in these regions and for a wide range of manufactures and foodstuffs. The names of products such as "Le

Dahoméen" or "L'Antillaise" clearly identified the person in the label. For many products, however, the specific identity of the "Noir" or "Nègre" could not be determined by clothing, surroundings or product name. Moreover, trademark drawings of blacks in traditional Caribbean-style dress were sometimes used for products associated with Africa. A striking example of this is seen in Henri-Louis Saver's 1895 soap trademark called "Le Volof." While the name of the trademark referred to the Wolof people of Senegal, the drawing on the label was a depiction of a black man wearing a wide-brimmed straw hat more often pictured in scenes from the West Indies. This did not correspond to most illustrations of Wolofs, who were generally Muslims and wore garments and headgear influenced by Arab North Africa. Many businesses with registered trademarks in France during this period used a generic image of Africans and people of African descent which was modeled after familiar images of mulatto *Antillais,* the descendants of African slaves brought over to work the Caribbean island plantations.[3] [Note the Caribbean scarf on the "Soudanaise" label—fig. 1.] The discussion which follows is based on a survey of French trademarks with designs containing labeled images of blacks from French sub-Saharan Africa (and Madagascar) and blacks whose regional identity is not specified.

Political events spurred several companies to turn to exotic portrayals of Africans on their trademarks. Two companies used the highly publicized kingdom of Dahomey as the theme for their product labels. In 1889, as tension grew between French officials and the Dahomean rulers, Xavier Pène registered his "Savon des Amazones du Royaume de Dahomey" and "Savon des Amazones" hygiene soaps. The labels for Pène's soaps included drawings of male warriors with knives and guns, and soldiers in marching formation. In 1908 Felix Fournier illustrated his "Bougie du Dahomey" candle with a drawing of a group of Dahomeans with spears. These labels evoked images of black savagery and primitiveness also publicized in the French popular press.[4]

But the most common manifestation of a black image in trademarks from 1886 to 1913 was an advertising symbol, the black head *(la tête noire , la tête de nègre),* used as an exotic emblem. Many companies marketed their products by fixing a drawing of a black head in silhouette, profile, or face view on their trademark label. Designers distinguished the *têtes noires* by stressing physical traits, clothing accessories and special design motifs. Black head images in the West first appeared in heraldry emblems of the Holy Roman Empire in the fourteenth century. These depictions seem linked to the Bible story of the Three Kings (Magi) who went to see the baby Jesus. During the fourteenth century one of the Magi was depicted as a black Moor. The heraldic Moor was pictured on various armorial bearings from Bavaria to Cologne, Aragon, England, France, and Corsica. (In Corsica, the national arms still contains a Moor wearing a head band.) Different versions of the black head appear repeatedly in the trademark registers for each year in this study. Some feature the same characteristics seen in original designs five centuries old.[5]

The prominent physical characteristics of black heads on French trademarks were the lips, teeth and hair—traits that whites in Europe and America found very different from their own. Designers consistently accentuated these features, especially in caricature portrayals. Trademark artists particularly emphasized the lips on their black head drawings. Enormous lips on many of the drawings stressed the Negroid origins of the subject and caught the attention of the viewer. In 1905, the Société Générale des Huiles et Fournitures Industrielles in Paris registered "Oléo" for its line of automotive and bicycle lubricants and related items. Their trademark was a smiling male black head with large lips. Throughout the 1910s and 1920s the company kept this basic image for new products it registered, only adding a hideous caricature in 1922 [fig. 2 and 3]. The most striking example of a black head image with a smile that shows a full set of teeth is Georges Laurent's "Vanille Bourbon Extra Marque 'Saïd Ali'," registered in 1908. The trademark label is a photograph of a grinning West African man wearing a Muslim cap. In the eyes of Laurent, Saïd Ali's African origins and his stereotypical grin made him the perfect exotic symbol for this product which, nevertheless, originated in Ile Bourbon (Réunion) in the Indian Ocean.

In more elaborate black head illustrations, designers added jewelry and headgear to the subject. Women in the drawings often wore African or Caribbean-style head coverings; men wore hats, Islamic caps, and Oriental fezzes. However, both male and female black heads wore large hoop earrings and necklaces, making the gender of the individual in a number of the trademark labels impossible to determine. A representative example of an androgynous black head is the toothpaste label for "Poudre Dentrifice du Soudan" (Paris, 1889). The oval label pictures an African with a headband across the forehead. A dark person wearing earrings and a necklace appears on the soap trademark "Le Noiro" (Marseille, 1894). We cannot be sure if the drawing depicts a man or if the masculine article in the name is simply referring to the soap—*le savon.* Indeed, the designer did not need to clarify the gender of the individual in the trademark because this detail was irrelevant to the commercial strategy which was being used. A consumer would have been drawn to the label because of its exotic image or because of its association with the idea that soap cleans away filth—the African figure representing uncleanliness.[6]

As trademark images, *têtes noires* varied in motif from stately with refined or classical designs to caricature portrayals. Black heads were displayed in several positions, and most were framed in round or oval seals and medallions. Generally, the presentation and detail of the design depended on the nature of the product. For instance, trademark designers often used the simplest drawings for liquor labels. The Conilh Brothers of Marseille marketed their own "Amer Conilh" (1888), a bitter made from African plants, with a black head in the center of the label. Their "Fine Champagne" label (1891) shows a similar black head drawn in a medallion with a more distinctive border of grape clusters and leaves. Several beer companies incorporated the black head image on their labels, notably the "Brasserie de la tête noire" (Paris, 1886).

Other companies created special motifs with black heads. A 1890 label for Corsican mineral water included a black head in a medallion frame being held up by angels. For his "Comica" line of film products and publications in 1910, Henry Danzer registered a trademark showing a black head bursting through a movie screen. The black's mouth was open, but instead of teeth, the word "Comica" filled the gap of his smile.

Business owners who registered trademarks in France from 1886 to 1913 used the *tête noire* image frequently and often without linking the qualities or origin of the product registered to the black head itself. Black heads appeared in 48 of the 74 trademark categories. They were absent from categories such as artillery, clocks, locks, and ceramic, which generally made up a small percentage of the total trademarks registered annually. The prevalence of black images reveals the confidence of the entrepreneurs in their appeal and their traditional use as a symbol of ownership. There seems to be no other logical explanation for companies placing *têtes noires* on their official trademarks for items ranging in diversity from safety pins to champagne.

B. Symbolic Blackness

Definitions of "black" in the late nineteenth century suggest how a characterization based on skin pigmentation created a negative framework by which Europeans viewed sub-Saharan Africans. Literally, black meant "dirty" and "obscure." Used figuratively, black referred to anything that was criminal, melancholy, or defamed. The Dictionary of the Académie Française gave a concise definition for the word black when used to describe an individual: "Noir. Nègre. Il se dit par opposition à Blanc."[7] Intellectuals communicated all these ideas when they used the term "savage" to describe dark-skinned Africans. Numerous Europeans had for a long time painted the image of a morally "black" Africa. Pierre Loti's popular novel *Le roman d'un spahi* gives the account of how a typical French youth who serves in the colonial army is "corrupted" by the entangling charms of an African woman. His black mistress holds an "evil" power over him, so much so that he chooses life with her in Africa over marriage to a virginal French girl awaiting his return in his home village. Writings and drawings from the modern colonial period illustrate how the French, viewing themselves as exemplary members of the white "race," believed that they represented the qualities that were lacking among Africans. The French often saw sub-Saharan Africans as lazy and themselves as industrious. White French Catholic morality opposed black African animist immorality. Blacks had limited intellect, while the French were capable of complex reasoning; expressed differently, blacks were intellectually "dull" while whites were "bright."[8]

Color symbolism appeared frequently in the registered trademarks of the Third Republic from 1886 to 1913. Blackness had both a negative and a positive value in trademark depictions. On cleaning product trademarks prior to World War I, Africans and blacks often represented the undesired filth or dirt to be washed away. Those who associated black identity with uncleanliness portrayed blacks on their labels for special degreasing soaps. Black men and women were often depicted on labels for personal soap products without the elegance accorded members of other races on comparable labels. Some Marseillais soap companies, however, used busts of Africans on their soap bars in the same manner as they used drawings of character types such as the "Provençal," the "Emir" and the "Alsacienne." When companies named their soap bars after African countries or people from those countries they may have intended to evoke exotic themes. Their depictions of blacks contained none of the negative imagery that typically appeared on soap labels.

Images of blacks also served to illustrate the efficiency of cleaning products. Several companies humorously asserted that their product was powerful enough to bleach a Negro white. A laundry bleach called "La Négresse," registered in 1888, presented a "before and after" drawing to suggest that "La Négresse" whitened the best. The same theme appeared in the trademark for "Lessive Instantanée, Au Nègre Blanchi" (1891). Labels for "KYR" (1906), "Savon des Comtes de Provence" (1907) and "Jeffh, Savon Ponce" (1907) pictured black children being cleaned by special soaps [fig. 4]. On the "KYR" label a white woman was toweling dry a black child who had been whitened from the neck down in a washbasin of KYR. Blackness was washed or bleached away by French products, and moreover, black adults and children in the drawings actively cooperated with the process. The soap and bleach trademarks promoted the long-held idea that black people were under the "curse of Ham," and that their dark skin color and inferior status were punishment from God.[9] Therefore, whitening was a desirable goal for both parties. In this commercial use of color symbolism, we see a vivid illustration of what Abdul R. JanMohamed calls the "manichean allegory."[10]

Conversely, blackness was emphasized as a positive attribute in trademark labels when companies placed drawings of Africans on labels for any dark-colored product from motor oil to cocoa powder. The black image confirmed the origin, purity, and strength of the product. Businesses made extensive use of images of blacks on trademarks for chocolate, coffee, and dark beverages such as chicory and cocoa. Trademarks for these products displayed two relationships between the black image and the product. First, the dark pigmentation of Africans and mulattos represented the color of the beverages. Second, blacks played an important role in harvesting coffee and cocoa in plantations in America and Africa and, moreover, had the job of preparing and serving the beverages as servants in European households.

Black images appeared more frequently on coffee trademarks than on any other category of registered products. Generally, these portrayals were realistic plantation scenes where one or more workers packaged or displayed the coffee beans, or domestic scenes where a smiling servant in uniform stood waiting to serve the piping hot beverage. The names of coffee trademarks reflected these two images. "Café du Colon" (1898), "Au Planteur" (1900), "Au Planteur de Kouilou" (1903), "Aux Plantations de Caira"(1904), "Aux Planteurs Français" (1908), "Au Nouveau Planteur" (1909), "Au Nègre Planteur" (1901), and "Au Nègre Récolteur" (1912) represent typical plantation scene trademarks. Domestic scene coffee trademarks were often named after the black servant: "Au Nègre Gourmand" (1898), "Cafés du Joyeux Négrillon" (1900), "Au Nègre de Neuilly" (1902) [fig. 5], and "Au Nègre de Madagascar" (1913). Chocolate trademarks depicted blacks in the same two settings.

As with coffee and cocoa products, French businesses utilized images of Africans and blacks in their trademarks for shoe polish, oil and ink. Designers presented black men as shoe shiners on shoe and boot polish trademarks. Blackness was stressed in the names of various polishes such as "La Nigrosine" (1887), "Beau Noir" (1888) and "La Soudanaise" (1909). The pre-war trademark registers contained two portrayals of blacks in ink trademarks: "Encre du Congo, Noire Fixe Inaltérable" (1887) and "Encre de Javel, Oh! Qu'Elle est Noire" (1898). In the "Encre de Javel" label an attractive black woman was depicted in a cloth wrap dress which left one breast completely exposed—an example of the pairing of exoticism and eroticism in advertising trademarks. Blackness in the product and in the image was presented as a desirable trait.

C. *A Socio-Economic Relationship*

French trademarks confirmed the unequal economic relationship that existed between African peoples and Europeans for several centuries. Commercial images of blacks and Africans in the late 1800s evoked the slave system which had only been dismantled in the middle of the century. Drawings of black domestic servants and black agricultural workers were essentially familiar drawings of house slaves and field slaves from the Caribbean. Some of these trademarks showed French planters in tailored white three-piece suits surveying their lands while black workers in loincloths and shifts labored over crops. Trademarks from 1886 to 1913 made master and servant roles clear, confirming the inferior position of the black.

When French entrepreneurs wanted to associate blacks with certain foods and household products, they portrayed them as domestic servants—a realistic depiction of black roles in French colonial society. Trademark designs showed servants at work on daily tasks in mundane or comic scenes. Black men and women were pictured in European homes serving or preparing cocoa, coffee, breakfast cereals, cookies, and candies. Women were shown hunched over the laundry basin; men shined shoes and boots. Most images in this category of trademarks correspond perfectly to older images of black slaves working in white households. For example, in 1897 Gaston Lenglet, a dealer in coffees, teas, and spices, registered as his trademark a drawing of a white woman being served at a dining room table by a black servant who is abnormally small in proportion to the woman. Plisson and Company's 1908 "Cirage Parisien" trademark label was a typical shoe and boot polish label that evoked the master/servant relationship with a drawing of a black man polishing a boot while his white employer held a leisurely pose at his side.

Black men appeared more frequently than women in the role of domestic servant in the trademark labels. Usually dressed in fancy butler uniforms, these stylish dark men adorned trademarks for coffees, teas, candies, bleaches, and metal polish. In 1898, Parisian merchant Pierre Laba chose "Au Nègre Gourmand, Café du Nègre" as the name of his business. Laba's trademark label contained a drawing of an immaculately dressed black domestic wearing a long service apron and holding up a cup of coffee. In 1913, businessman Adrien Hémery named his coffee specialties "Au Nègre de Madagascar." His trademark pictured an African man dressed in a formal white suit with tails. Regardless of their often dignified appearance, there was never a doubt that these black men held the most subordinate position in French society. Their childlike grin or facial expression created a persona that differed from the "civilized" image associated with their Western uniform.

The black domestic in European attire offered a sharp contrast to the modestly and sparingly clad black plantation worker. Parisian and Marseillais trademarks depicted blacks as agricultural workers in fields and groves, gathering cotton and cocoa pods, or carrying crates and sacks for European merchants. Label designers at the end of the nineteenth century continued to use slave plantation illustrations with symbols that allowed even an illiterate consumer to identify the product's exotic origins. Tall ships, palm trees, and black field workers indicated that the item came from America or Africa. The plantation owner wore a hat, often held a walking cane, and was always pictured in a relaxed position. One or two of his black workers, holding shovels or gathering in the fields in the background, appeared opposite the planter. All the symbols in the plantation worker labels are present in the "Chocolat du Planteur" trademark registered in 1898. The scene on the label was not meant to be a realistic depiction of chocolate production since it showed blacks working in a grain field. Essentially, this trademark portrays the owner/worker relationship—the white man overseeing the work of the black—and secondly, the authenticity of the exotic product illustrated by the presence of symbols such as palm trees. The "Chocolat du Planteur" label, and others like it, invoked the past slave system and suggested that, at least in this commercial realm, little had changed in the way that the French viewed or portrayed blacks. Businesses continued to use plantation images until events after the turn of the century created new black "types."

The value of black images before World War I lay in their ability to allure the consumer by stressing exotic themes, serve as signifiers of product traits or effectiveness, and reaffirm a socio-economic relationship of French supremacy over non-white groups. In all three functions, blacks were objects —whether objects of scorn, as in the plantation and cleaning product labels, or "colorful" objects, as in the chocolate trademarks. In nearly every case, the French represented blacks as exotic, non-Western, uncivilized types.

II. PORTRAYALS AT THE 1900 PARIS WORLD'S FAIR

Coming at the dawn of a new era, the colonial sections at the 1900 Paris World's Fair reinforced a similar image of sub-Saharan African primitiveness. Government organizers prepared a vision of the African empire that was meant to be both educational and entertaining. Exhibits for the French sub-Saharan African colonies at the 1900 World's Fair featured "authentic" miniature villages with African artisans, musicians, and military units. Colonial administrators in Dahomey, Senegal, and Madagascar provided the transportation, food, lodging and compensation for native workers and some of their family members who agreed to participate in the event. Madagascar sent over the largest native African contingent—a total of 124 individuals; an additional 26 Dahomeans and 21 Senegalese natives added "local color" to village buildings and huts. Other colonies such as the Congo, Ivory Coast, and French Guinea decided not to send natives to the exposition, but sponsored standard exhibits with product samples, artifacts, and economic and geographical documentation displayed in exotic pavilions. In addition, a concessionary society, the Société Anonyme du Panorama de la Mission Marchand, depicted Commander Marchand setting out on the Oubangui river in the Congo in 1899. The main panorama included Marchand, his officers and natives advancing towards the river, and what were described as "bizarre dances" taking place at the scene. A series of 11 other dioramas included paintings of a marsh, rapids, women preparing a meal, and the burning of a village in revolt.[11] The collection of dioramas, imitation villages, documents, and living displays of sub-Saharan Africans presented blacks of the continent as primitive but capable of advancement.

A. Featured Exhibits

Madagascar

The Madagascar exposition boasted a cylindrical, three-story Malagasy theme pavilion, native-built huts, and dozens of Malagasy workers who represented "specimens of the principal groups of peoples" inhabiting France's new possession.[12] In selecting the individuals who were to be displayed in Paris, officials in the territory apparently used two main criteria—ethnicity and profession. Officials made a genuine attempt to show the diversity of the island's population by the composition of the native group and to demonstrate various Malagasy artisanal skills. At least ten ethnic groups were represented at Paris.

The Madagascar exposition contained three parts. First came what delegate Jules Charles-Roux called a "spectacle mouvementé," an outdoor scene of a Malagasy forest region, complete with vegetation and native animal life. Organizers placed an artificial island in the center of the Trocadéro basin to create the exotic environment. To complete the scene, the colony imported crocodiles, birds, and snakes. The crocodiles made their home in the basin, which was specially heated for the occasion. In another area, near the Malagasy huts, stood a small park where domestic animals grazed. The colony displayed economic information and agricultural samples for coffee, cocoa, rubber, tobacco, and other products on the first floor of the main pavilion. Part two of the Madagascar exhibit included maps and charts of the island's terrain, cities, and infrastructures, and an ethnographic section. The third part of the exposition presented historical and geographic information, artwork, precious objects from the ex-queen's palace, *lambas* [13] and a concessionaire's panorama of the seizure of Tananarive by the French.[14] Outside of the pavilion, the public watched as natives in the straw huts used "primitive means" to make cloth and lace, weave baskets, and work gold.[15] Uniformed *tirailleurs malgaches* and militia-men plus 35 musicians added spark to the "living" section of the government exposition.

The collection of Malagasy "specimens" participated in numerous colonial fêtes organized during the fair. Charles-Roux coordinated these celebrations during a series of meetings with the commissioners who had natives present. Their first organizational session was held in June after all the pavilions were completed and the exhibits installed. The immediate goal of the evening festivals was to draw crowds and increase the numbers of customers for concessionaires in the colonial section.[16] Secondly, the administration stressed the importance of these celebrations for showing the well-groomed troops, the diversity of the natives, and their exotic cultural traditions. The commissioners decided to "stimulate the zeal of the natives" by paying them one franc for each event.[17]

Because of their numbers, the Malagasy natives played an important part in the festivals of the colonial section. At the first parade of the section, the contingent from Madagascar appeared second after a platoon of Algerian *spahis.*[18] A group of *tirailleurs malgaches* carrying animal-shaped lanterns headed up their compatriots. They were followed by musicians playing "turbulent" refrains, a group of men carrying a platform on which rested an enormous stuffed crocodile, and a Sakalave woman with a strange hairstyle carried on a *filanzane* chair. Another group of *tirailleurs* carrying lanterns marked the end of the Malagasy section.[19]

Exposition organizers found other ways to display African natives. The Alliance Française and Berlitz both received permission to construct small pavilions for use as classrooms for language instruction. After all, a Berlitz director reasoned, "At the Exposition we're having the natives dance, sing, and do manual work before the public. Why not try to instruct them?"[20] Visitors to the exposition could observe firsthand this vital aspect of the civilizing mission in the two pavilions. The Alliance Française had the first choice of which groups to instruct, and chose the Malagasy. The Dahomeans and the Senegalese were divided between the two organizations.

The natives sent to the Paris exposition from Madagascar provided colonial enthusiasts with a sample population through which to investigate anthropological and cultural questions in an environment entirely controlled by the French.[21] Malagasy were displayed, studied, and observed during their stay in Paris by anthropologists and others. Members of the Anthropological Laboratory of the Ecole Pratique des Hautes Etudes took detailed measurements of individuals from each ethnic group with the ultimate goal of clarifying Malagasy origins. Anton Jully, the technical delegate from the colony—and an architect and engineer by profession —compiled a Franco-Malagasy vocabulary during the exposition which included eight dialects. Charles-Roux reported that after observing the musical aptitudes of the Malagasy musicians, the exposition administration provided the group with three months of music studies in Paris, after which they had been transformed into "a good ensemble" and won a prize in a sight-reading contest.[22] Thus, the civilizing mission of the French included transforming even traditional Malagasy music forms to a French standard.

Organizers of the Madagascan exposition created their pavilion exhibit and village display areas to familiarize the public with the new colony and underline its economic value to France. The native workers, soldiers, and performers that they brought to Paris were an exotic attraction for the public and for academics zealous to document their physical traits and define their racial origin. Moreover, the presence of the Malagasy gave the organizers an opportunity to "civilize" the group through language and music lessons. Through the various documentary exhibits and "living displays," the French showcased the foreign qualities of the native group and reinforced their own superiority.

Dahomey

The Dahomean exhibit at the exposition attracted public attention because of the highly publicized French campaign in the 1890s against the regional King Behanzin. French images of African savagery at the end of the nineteenth century developed in part from the portrayal of Behanzin and his Dahomean entourage as bloodthirsty and ruthless.[23] The Dahomean section at the exposition contained a 20-meter-tall military post tower; a pavilion and annex with maps and charts, products, and ethnographic objects; and a small native village adjacent to a man-made lake [fig. 27]. The entire village was surrounded by a short bamboo and reddish plaster wall. In the pavilion, organizers displayed samples of the finest products the colony offered—palm oil, woods, nuts, cotton and coffee—plus European products sold in the colony. Several of the featured items in the pavilion were royal seats from the kingdom of Abomey. One of these seats, which belonged to a ruler named Guézo, rested on top of "the skulls of his four ministers." The pavilion annex contained "the table of sacrifices," further evidence of the savage ways of Behanzin and the defunct Dahomean leaders.[24]

Dahomean natives on display in the village included ten men from the civilian guard, seven artisans, four "boys," and five wives [fig. 28]. These were "true" Dahomeans, according to an official exposition publication, not "so-called Dahomeans" brought to France in the past who came from Togo or Lagos. For the first time, the French public would observe natives of Lower Dahomey, members of the Nago and Djedji races, who were nothing like the black troupes traveling the continent in ethnographic shows and begging audiences for money. The artisans in the group—jewelers, cloth weavers and basket weavers—worked in a large hut, and were permitted to sell their products to the public. Their wives amused themselves at the village while their husbands worked or kept guard.[25]

At the first colonial evening festival the Dahomeans distinguished themselves by their music and costumes. As recorded in the official exposition report, their section of the parade consisted of several people beating on gongs and drums, Dahomeans in "bizarre" ceremonial dress carrying "fantastic" lanterns, and the simulation of a royal cortège. The Dahomean "queen," dressed in a long red velour robe with a tall silver fringed hat, sat in a hammock suspended between two porters.[26]

Unlike the Malagasy, Dahomeans refused to participate in any "scientific" examination—especially efforts by anthropologists to measure their physical features—but did submit to being displayed in the language classroom.[27] The results of this experiment were mixed. At the end of the exposition, Monsieur Collonge from the Berlitz program expressed disappointment in the fact that the Dahomeans could only attend classes three times a week due to the large number of celebrations in which they participated. Moreover, he considered the Dahomeans "less cultivated" than the Senegalese, which explained why they had difficulties grasping the language in the beginning. The Dahomeans left the exposition with enough French skills to deal with everyday matters, but it would require a more stable setting to train them effectively.[28]

The Dahomean section presented the public with two images of the colony. Visitors saw the old "savage" nation in the objects, descriptions, and processions associated with Behanzin's rule. Through other displays in the pavilion and village they discovered the wealth and development produced in the region since its incorporation in the empire. Exposition scenes of talented Dahomean artisans, disciplined guards, and natives learning French supported the theme of progress the colonial officials stressed. By using opposing images of a "dark" and "savage" African-ruled Dahomey and a productive and civilized French Dahomey, officials buttressed their case for developing colonial rule.[29]

Senegal

The Senegalese exposition was housed in a striking pavilion measuring 917 square meters and accompanied by a miniature West African village with soldiers and artisans. After being "inspired by documents brought from Djenné and Timbuktu," the resident architect of the colonial exposition designed this structure with an Islamic motif representative of regional mosques.[30] A straw-covered wooden hut stood on each side of the pavilion. Here Senegalese artisans, filigree jewelers, leather workers, woodcarvers, and a cloth weaver exercised their trades [fig. 29]. The pavilion itself housed over 200 exhibits, stressing the main Senegalese exports of peanuts, gums, and rubber.

The local committees of Senegal sent only a small contingent of natives to Paris in 1900. Quite likely this reflects the fact that Senegal, the oldest of the sub-Saharan African colonies, was already familiar to the French public. Charles-Roux presented the Senegalese as an example of the promising effects of the civilizing mission.

> Ces noirs sont grands, souples, bien découplés; le contact fréquent et d'ancienne date avec les Européens leur a retiré toute espèce de sauvagerie et, tout en restant de parfaits musulmans un peu trop amateur de fétiches, ils comprennent très bien notre civilisation et cherchent assez volontiers à se l'assimiler.[31]

The all-male group sent to the exposition was composed of 19 Wolofs and three Bambaras. Among them were two *cora*[32] players who were important participants in colonial processions and celebrations. At the first fête, held on July 4, the *cora* players strummed tunes while their compatriots carried a series of lanterns. Charles-Roux recounts how the rest of the Senegalese group "promenaded majestically" in their "long white *boubous.*" The organizers of the colonial exposition did not attribute to this group the "uncivilized" or "savage" qualities it saw in other groups.

The Alliance Française and Berlitz language programs exhibited the Senegalese group in their pavilion classrooms as they did with the Malagasy and the Dahomeans. Berlitz' Collonge reported at the end of the exposition that the Senegalese attended classes every day and made good progress. They were able to communicate in French for their "petites affaires," and several became fluent. Collonge was convinced that the Senegalese would "carry back to their country the taste for the French language which they all enjoyed speaking." Nevertheless, he noted that "they have enormous difficulty conjugating, and those who knew a few words couldn't keep from addressing us in the familiar 'tu' form."[33] Despite these problems, Africans were learning the French language. This was an essential victory for colonial enthusiasts who believed that "the native who speaks French is won over to France."[34]

In many ways, the Senegalese group at the exposition served as the "model" African population, successfully transformed because of extended contact with French civilization. Yet, no colonial official ever suggested that the Senegalese were close to being "civilized" or that their complete assimilation of French society was a tenable goal. Exposition exhibits and displays maintained the underlying premise of African racial inferiority while emphasizing the idea of progress toward the French definition of civilization. Officials had to show the exotic dancers and village dwellers opposite assimilating groups to prove that the civilizing mission was successful. In the context of the 1900 World's Fair, the showcase of modern European progress, the French used the colonial exhibits to express confidence in their own "race" and in "La Plus Grande France."

D. Ethnographic Descriptions

In their general effort to educate the public and convince it of the necessity of the civilizing mission, French officials supplemented the colorful visual exposition of colonial natives at the 1900 World's Fair with a series of informative texts. The commission charged with the preparation of the Colonial Ministry's exhibit and the colonial administrations overseas offered a number of publications which addressed, among other topics, the ethnographic composition of their territories. These texts and *notices* provided the reader with a detailed picture of the physical and moral characteristics of the populations in the sub-Saharan African colonies. The authors' accounts reveal the views that French officials held toward their indigenous subjects and hoped to pass on to the general public. A series of 18 illustrated volumes, published by the commission in charge of organizing the colonial ministry's participation at the exposition, sold for 15 francs. Individual texts were on sale in the various pavilions. Six publications within the Colonial Ministry series treat the sub-Saharan African colonies. For the colonies that did not send natives to Paris, the *notices* may have been the most influential source of information available to visitors. The authors of these publications varied. Most were written or edited by administrators serving in Africa and commissioners for the exposition based in Paris. Some, however, were authored by French academics.

The writers painted a mixed, but overwhelmingly negative picture of the African societies they described. Their comments fall into three general categories: 1) ethnic/racial groups and phenotypic descriptions; 2) livelihood and labor potential, and 3) temperament, intelligence, and morality. Quite often, the descriptive categories are intertwined and "races" are categorically condemned. For example, groups that are opposed to French rule are portrayed as morally degenerate, useless as laborers, and even physically unattractive. With vivid language, the ethnographic descriptions published for the 1900 Exposition define sub-Saharan Africans, outline their usefulness as workers, and reaffirm French moral superiority.

Races and Phenotypes

The authors of the ethnographic *notices* described each significant ethnic group in France's African colonies with varying degrees of detail. One typical publication is *Notice sur la Guinée Française,* prepared by a local colonial administrator, the chief of the customs office at Conakry, Lucien-Marie Famechon. This text contains a short ethnographic section on the colony, including physical descriptions of the Guinean populations and commentary on their intelligence level and character. For example, Famechon describes the complexion, facial characteristics, physical build, and languages of the Mandingo and Baga peoples. After discussing the nose, cheeks, jaw, and teeth of the Mandingo, the *Notice* points out that "in spite of these characteristics, the type isn't disagreeable, and the individuals are gentle, docile and intelligent." Famechon calls the Bagas "robust men, stocky, with an almost flat face, wide nose, thick lips—in a word, possessing all the characteristics one attributes to the Negro race." He also points out that "The characteristic sign of the Bagas is extraordinarily small ears located near the top of the head."[35]

Dahomey et Dépendances, authored by the delegate to the Dahomean exposition, Jules-Louis Brunet, includes a section which describes and links the "physical and moral characteristics" of the people. He divides the population into "three distinct types"—the Mina, Dahomean, and Nago. The Mina he calls beautiful—"his open physiognomy expresses intelligence and goodness." Gentle and faithful, the Mina is also perceived as more sly and argumentative than other blacks. Brunet attacks the Dahomean "type," again associating his moral and physical traits. "Morally, he's the worst of the Guinean Negroes. His stupid and hypocritical physiognomy is hardly friendly; he is a liar, a thief, a fake, lazy and puffed up with pride for his race and his country." Brunet reserves the kindest words for the Nago. Compared to the Dahomean, "his more open physiognomy is less disagreeable. The Nago is good, kind, conscientious, sincere, and very obliging." It is no surprise, then, when Brunet remarks: "It's with him that we have the easiest and most reliable relationship."[36] These comments illustrate how French officials emphasize pleasant traits in the peoples with whom they have the least conflict. Enemy races are generally viewed as unattractive and corrupt.

Labor Potential

A second concern that administrators address in their ethnographic descriptions is the livelihood of African peoples and how they might be employed to serve the French. In the publication on French Guinea, Famechon states that, in spite of "several moral deficiencies," Guineans served well as soldiers, subordinate employees and artisans.[37] The author of the notice on Dahomey has a positive outlook on the use of Dahomean labor. Jean Fonssagrives claims in one chapter that "it is easy to recruit from the mild and submissive Dahomean population the number of workers needed even for important long-term enterprises." He anticipates no problem in finding the more than 2,000 men needed to prepare the embankments of the Dahomean railway. Then, for those readers who might be potential investors in the colony, Fonssagrives explains the usual salary ranges for typical manual labor and construction tasks. French employers could hire Dahomean natives for two-thirds the cost of European labor. Better yet, they could employ Krumen, Africans from the coast of Kru who worked as contract laborers for a one-year period at a minimal cost of 1.30 francs per day, food included.[38] Fonssagrives hopes to convince his readers that Dahomey has great economic potential and an available labor pool despite its turbulent past.

Notice sur le Congo français, edited by Marcel Guillemot, highlights some of the prominent skills and occupations of the native populations. The author describes seven main Congolese ethnic groups. A few groups that he mentions include the Pahouins, the Chakés peoples, the Batékés, and the Loangos. The Pahouins are a "violent" and "belligerent" people whose only industry was blacksmithing. Several of the Chaké peoples are described as "excellent canoers," and one group, the Adoumas, is recognized for their cloth weaving skills. The Batékés are pictured as mainly agricultural people who, like their neighbors, "practice cannibalism during times of war." But they have positive qualities as well. They are traders, "they hire themselves out as porters, and are excellent servants to French authority." Finally, the *Notice* gives a description of the Loangos. While seen as prideful and haughty, the Loangos are recognized as sailors, porters, and talented cooks and tailors.[39] With the exception of one ethnic group, the authors describe the peoples of the Congo as capable of providing the labor required for the development of the French colony. The "savage" nature of the inhabitants notwithstanding, the administrators respons-ible for the *Notice sur le Congo français* emphasize the untapped potential for new African workers for France.

Character, Intelligence, and Morality

Although most ethnographic descrip-tions began with sketches of African racial "types" and categories, the writers' greatest concern seems to have been with defining differences in group character and morality. No matter how positive a characteristic of an African "race," the author never compares the Africans to the colonizers. Conversely, in criticizing sub-Saharan African societies for moral or character weaknesses equally present in their own society, French officials harshly condemn Africans. In the exposition texts, French hypocrisy looms large.

One vivid example of this hypocrisy appears in the *notice* on French Guinea. The customs official who wrote the text labels Fulani women and their husbands as "extremely lazy." He explains that the husband "nonchalantly watches over the crops cultivated by his slaves but does not work himself." Here we recognize a French double standard applied to colonial societies. An African landholder whose slaves work the fields is "lazy," while a French landholder whose laborers (or slaves) work the fields for him would be considered as a respectable planter.[40]

The French judged Africans harshly in the publication on Senegal. *Une Mission au Sénégal,* written by government physician Alexandre-Bernard Lasnet and three other academics, contains a detailed ethnographic description of twelve populations. The presentation focuses on the religious temperament of the groups, their work habits, morals, conflicts with neighboring groups, and reaction to white influences.

Lasnet and his colleagues begin by describing the morals and customs of the Moor. In rather strong language, Moors are pictured as zealous for Islam, having "little sympathy for whites" (or blacks), beggars, thieves, and sluggards. The writers call the Moors particularly cruel in times of warfare, given to murdering and mutilating their prisoners.[41] A rival group, the Tukulor (Toucouleur), fares no better in the eyes of the French authors: "more intelligent than the other blacks, their superiority makes them arrogant and insolent." The Tukulor are also described as fanatic Muslims lacking enlightenment, advocates of holy wars against the infidel. In the eyes of Lasnet and colleagues, the character strengths of this group only serve them for ignoble purposes:

> Très énergiques, très entreprenants, les Toucouleurs s'imposent toutes les privations pour arriver à leurs fins, les scrupules ne les étouffent pas, ils sont très menteurs, dissimulent parfaitement et sont capables de tous les méfaits pour conquérir la fortune et le pouvoir. Pour ramasser un peu d'argent ils quittent volontiers leur pays et vont offrir leurs services aux maisons de commerce de St-Louis ou aux travaux publics qui les emploient comme manoeuvres ou comme terrassiers, rarement comme ouvriers d'art; ils n'hésitent même pas à aller plus loin, au Congo, par exemple, où ils ont fourni la majorité des Sénégalais employés à la construction du chemin de fer de l'Etat indépendant.[42]

As this passage suggests, characteristics viewed in a positive light in the west—enterprise and financial gain—are interpreted as a reflection of a certain greed inherent in Africans. In making a subjective assessment of Africans which avoids comparisons with "whites," the French maintained their intellectual posture of superiority over colonial peoples. The authors downplayed positive or moderate traits and emphasized excessive behavior. Weaknesses that appear in both Africa and Europe were seen as signs of "evil" in the African context. For example, African drunkenness, theft, pillaging, and lying were pinpointed and condemned. The French strongly criticized certain ethnic groups' lack of openness to outsiders, especially where Europeans were concerned.

The authors' depiction of the Wolofs stands out in striking opposition to their portrayal of the Moors and Tukulors. Although the Wolofs had their character flaws, the writer believed that these worked to the advantage of the French:

> Les Ouolofs sont de moeurs douces, habitués aux Européens depuis des siècles et n'ayant point le fanatisme farouche qui éloigne de nous les Maures et souvent les Toucouleurs. Ce sont de grands enfants ne vivant que pour le plaisir et l'ostentation, incapables de songer au lendemain, s'exposant à la misère ou à la famine pour briller avec un riche boubou ou un bel harnachement, dépensant tout leur argent pour se payer une jolie femme. Très orgueilleux, il n'est pas de travail qu'ils n'accomplissent avec joie quand on fait appel à leur amour-propre, ils ne peuvent résister aux louanges les plus grossières et se laissent dépouiller de tout par ceux qui les flattent.[43]

The passage goes on to cite the Wolof's lack of commitment to Islam and their openness to any type of religious practice or celebration that they find attractive. It describes their love for amusement, dance, and the attention of others. In *Une mission au Sénégal* Lasnet and his colleagues ridiculed the Wolof people as a childlike, pliable, and controllable race—available and faithful workers who posed no threat to the French. They made perfect subjects, amenable for adoption into the French colonial family.

The *Notice sur le Congo* presents the moral qualities of the major ethnic groups. In the "Populations indigènes" section, the authors refer to the explorer Savorgnan de Brazza's classification of the Congolese into people of the bush and people of the forest. The people of the forest are described as "in general belligerent, savage, mistrustful, cruel, difficult to tame and bend." On the other hand, "the bush people are a little spineless *[mou]* but more diligent and less bloodthirsty." The writers followed this blunt description with a section that highlighted some of the positive skills and occupations of the Congolese.[44]

The character of the peoples of Madagascar is discussed in a volume prepared by the local committee for the Madagascar exposition. Of the ten principle ethnicities, the authors described the Hovas as the most intelligent and civilized of the Malagasy peoples and the Sakalaves as the most degenerate. In between these two extremes are the Betsiléos, Betsimisarakas, Anaimoros, Antanosys, Sihanakes, Bezanozanos, Tanalas and Baras. The authors of the text depict the Betsiléos as "docile and indolent and therefore easy to govern. They rarely develop their intellectuals faculties." The writers criticize the lack of "marriage" in their society and explain that couples live in a state of concubinage and "never pride themselves in faithfulness." The notice depicts the Betsimisaraka as "gentle, fearful and naïve." Nevertheless, they are animists and are known for their drunkenness and debauchery. Other groups are criticized for their laziness or lack of submission.[45]

For the description of the Sakalaves, the notice relies on the findings of Monsieur Gautier, the director of instruction in Madagascar, who spent two years among the people:

> A la civilisation, ils n'ont emprunté que le fusil et le rhum; ils sont belliqueux sans courage et pillards par nature. Mélangés de transfuges hovas, ils ont fourni les bandes de *fahavalos* que les autorités françaises ont bien de la peine à faire disparaître complètement.
>
> Ils sont incapables d'amélioration et s'attachent aux coutumes de leurs ancêtres.[46]

If little hope existed for the rebel Sakalaves to become civilized, the opposite could be said of the Hovas. First of all, they were the dominant power in Madagascar before the French takeover, and the only non-Negroid group. The most frequently mentioned Hova quality is intelligence. Not only were the Hova more intelligent than the other Malagasy people, they "had been taken by a great desire to copy our [European] institutions."[47] The ethnographic section of the Madagascar text concludes that they are the only Malagasy people open to French civilization:

> En résumé, en dehors des Hovas, dont les multiples aptitudes compensent heureusement les vices non moins variés, la population malgache oppose généralement à la civilisation une apathie dont on n'aura raison qu'avec le temps—et la pratique des vertus chrétiennes, notamment de la tempérance et de la sobriété, est peu compatible avec des instincts qui font craqueler à chaque instant le vernis de religion dont l'a badigeonné le zèle des missionnaires de toutes les confessions.[48]

The authors of the Madagascar *notice* assign intelligence and positive traits to cooperative and assimilating groups while labeling groups that are less open to French rule and the civilizing mission as stubborn, lazy, and backward. This pattern appears in all the ethnographic and character descriptions of sub-Saharan Africans by the French.

Finally, in the Brunet text on Dahomey, we find a comprehensive assessment of the character of "the Negro." As always, the solution for saving him from his savage ways is further contact with French civilization:

> Le défaut dominant du nègre est la curiosité; il est très observateur et suit le blanc dans tous les détails de sa conduite.
>
> L'ivrognerie est sa passion favorite.
>
> L'intelligence du nègre est très développée, et elle est même plus précoce que celle du blanc; elle se développerait plus rapidement si l'âge de puberté n'arrêtait chez les noirs l'essor des facultés de l'âme.
>
> Il comprend et raissone très bien; ce qui lui manque, c'est la volonté, l'énergie, la suite dans les idées que possède l'Européen.
>
> Comme le dit l'abbé Bouche, il y a dans le noir *plus d'intuition* et *moins de réflection.* Quant à la volonté, il y a *plus de spontanéité que de constance.* L'énergie fait défaut au nègre s'il faut la soutenir, et s'il en a dans un premier mouvement elle tombe aussitôt.
>
> A cause de leur intelligence, il est permis d'espérer qu'au contact de notre civilisation, et après avoir acquis un peu d'instruction, les indigènes perdront bien vite les mauvais instincts inhérents à leur caractère sauvage.[49]

For political reasons, colonial officials propagated images of a savage and difficult African native and a docile and submissive native. When the "savage" groups possessed obvious character strengths and intelligence, the French claimed they used them ignobly. The existence of African "savages" lent credibility to the argument that the French had to continue to maintain a tight rein on their colonized populations and actively work to civilize them. The second category of natives, the pliable and submissive groups, proved that the civilizing mission worked and needed to continue. Whether or not the official descriptions of the sub-Saharan peoples were accurate was irrelevant to the essential purpose of the propaganda of the colonial exposition—maintaining the colonial system by reinforcing the concept of French racial and cultural superiority. These descriptions fulfilled that purpose. [50]

The opinions and observations concerning black African natives expressed in the colonial *notices* reinforced the general image of blacks on the continent as savage and backward, yet moldable into workers who would serve their French master adequately. By their substance, the publications reflect two French assertions. First, French conquest and colonization of Africa was necessary, orderly and effective. Second, as colonizers they had acquired an intimate knowledge and understanding of the populations who were under their charge. The propaganda was far from the reality. Ethnographic descriptions prepared for the colonial exposition gave a slanted French version of African customs. Colonial administrators, who had varying degrees of contact with African populations, spoke as experts on "la' race noire" or recycled the accounts of one or two explorers as the unbiased truth. To justify the colonial system, the authors reinforced the image of African savagery and moral decadence on the one hand, and economic potential on the other. Each perspective supported the argument for continued French intervention. Through long-term contact with their French tutors, Africans were expected gradually to reach a material form of civilization but never "Civilization" itself.

CONCLUSION

The portrayal of black Africans at the Paris 1900 World's Fair and of blacks in trademark images registered between 1886 and 1913 demonstrates an official and commercial view of the 'uncivilized," "non-Western" type-a colonial Other. During this period the French referred to scientific taxonomy to emphasize the physical and moral "differences" between blacks and whites. French colonial officials and business owners presented the black as a "race" possessing qualities that were much the opposite of their own. Ignoble "black" qualities such as laziness were condemned, while "white" qualities such as commitment represented the positive end of the moral scale. The French built their relations with Africans on the premise of a Manichean reality." Black character strengths never paralleled white ones. White weaknesses never paralleled black ones.

The French recognized and defined differences among African ethnic groups, as the colonial publications from the 1900 exposition reveal. The goal of the defining process, however, was primarily to classify enemies and allies in the political, cultural, and economic conquest of Africa. In trademark illustrations, the "Manichean Allegory" functioned in a similar way. Soap and cleaning product labels demonstrate the association between whites, cleanliness, and goodness, and blacks, filth, and evil. Paradoxically, blacks and Africans also represented the potency and positive traits of some dark colored products. I would argue, however, that these portrayals remained defined by subordinate roles of blacks a s laborers, servants, and exotic Others. Thus, the representation of "le noir" in the 1900 colonial section mirrored the idea of black subordination to whites found in French product trademarks between 1886 and 1913.

*This paper first appeared as a chapter in my dissertation "Races on Display: French Representations of the Colonial Native, 1886-1931 (Brandeis Univ., 1998).

NOTES

[1] David Brion Davis' books on slavery in the Western world, *The Problem of Slavery in Western Culture* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1966) *and The Problem of Slavery in the Age of Revolution, 1770-1823* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1975), cover this subject thoroughly.

[2] See Jan Nederveen Pieterse, *White on Black*, chapter 2, and William Cohen's chapter 8 on Scientific Racism in *The French Encounter with Africans.*

[3] Nederveen Pieterse's *White on Black: Images of Africa and Blacks in Western Popular Culture* presents a European survey of images of blacks drawn from numerous sources including engravings, advertising posters, comic strips, magazine illustrations, and packaging labels. He refers to a specific set of Western stereotypes of blacks, and outlines national variations.

[4] See William H. Schneider's *An Empire for the Masses: The French Popular Image of Africa 1870-1900* (Greenwood Press: Westport, Conn., 1982).

[5] Jean Devisse and Michel Mollet, *The Image of the Black in Western Art*, vol. 2, no. 2, *From the Early Christian Era to the "Age of Discovery. " Africans in the Christian Ordinance of the World (Fourteenth to the Sixteenth Century)*, William Granger Ryan, trans. (New York.: William Morrow and Co., 1979), 10- 14. Chapter one deals with the early history of the heraldic Moor image. See also Paul H.D. Kaplan, *The Rise of the Black Magus in Western Art* (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1985).

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[6] See Marie-France Latour, *Subverting Manichean Allegory: Soap, Blackness and the Articulation of Racial Difference in French Advertisements for Hygienic Products, 1900-1930* (A.B. Honors Thesis, Harvard College, 1992). I will discuss the idea of blackness as it is associated with filth in trademarks for cleaning products in the following section.

[7] *Dictionnaire de l'Académie Française* (Paris: Firmin-Didot, 1879).

[8] This idea is repeated in many writings on Africans at the end of the nineteenth century and is referred to in the publications on the colonies prepared for the 1900 Exposition Universelle. See, for example, L.-M. Famechon's *Notice sur la Guinée Française.* William B. Cohen discuses this issue for scientific and intellectual circles in *The French Encounter with Africans.*

[9] See Genesis 9:20-27 for the root of this myth. Noah's son Ham saw his father naked in a drunken sleep inside his tent, and told his two brothers about the situation. His brothers, apparently out of respect, walked backwards into the tent so as not to see their father naked when they placed a cover on him. When Noah woke up and discovered what had happened, he cursed Ham's son, Canaan, proclaiming that he would be the lowest of slaves to his brothers. The "Curse of Ham" myth asserts that Ham's descendents are cursed with black skin and destined to be slaves as a punishment from God, but nothing in Genesis refers to complexion or to the curse involving anyone but Ham's son Canaan. Moreover, it is a curse pronounced by Noah and not by God. This interpretation of Noah's curse is a blatant example of how biblical passages have been twisted to defend racial thinking.

[10] Abdul R. JanMohamed, "The Economy of Manichean Allegory: The Function of Racial Difference in Colonialist Literature," in Henry Louis Gates, Jr., ed., *"Race," Writing, and Difference* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1986).

[11] Picard, Alfred, *Exposition Universelle de 1900. Rapport général administratif et technique,* vol. 7 (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1903), 219.

[12] Exposition Universelle de 1900. *Colonies et pays de protectorat. Le Madagascar,* vol. 6 (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1900), 7.

[13] *Lambas* are large pieces of cloth worn as shawls or cloaks by Madagascans.

[14] Jules Charles-Roux, *Exposition Universelle de 1900. Les Colonies Françaises. L'Organisation et le Fonctionnement de l'Exposition des Colonies et Pays de Protectorat. Rapport Général* (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1902), 169-175. The "Société anonyme du Panorama de Madagascar," a joint stock group based in Paris, hoped to benefit from interest in this newly conquered colony by offering the public a panorama showing the seizure of Tananarive, dioramic views of Madagascar, and short films of life in the colony. In an uncommon move, the head administrators responsible for the section issued the company space for the panorama within the government's Madagascar pavilion. After the first few weeks of operation, the president of the Société expressed optimism over the success of the Panorama, but by the end of the exposition in November, the company filed a grievance citing a series of technical problems that it blamed on the general admnistration of the exposition. The Société hoped to receive compensation for 96,189 francs in lost revenue, but lost its case in arbitration. See AN-F12/4357.

[15] *Colonies et pays de protectorat. Le Madagascar,* 12.

[16] Jules Charles-Roux, *Exposition Universelle de 1900. Rapport général* (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1902), 239.

[17] Ibid., 240.

[18] *Spahis* are native cavalry troops.

[19] Charles-Roux, *Rapport général,* 240.

[20] Ibid., 218.

[21] Charles-Roux, *Les colonies françaises,* 32-37.

[22] Jules Charles-Roux, *Les colonies françaises. Introduction générale* (Paris: Challamel, 1901), 37 (footnote).

[23] See especially Schneider's *An Africa for the Masses.*

[24] Charles-Roux, *Rapport général,* 159-61.

[25] J-L. Brunet, *Dahomey et Dépendances: Historique Général, Organisation, Administration, Ethnographie, Productions, Agriculture, Commerce* (Paris: Challamel, 1900), 524-25.

[26] Charles-Roux, *Rapport général,* 242.

[27] Charles-Roux, *Les Colonies françaises. Introduction générale,* 23 (footnote).

[28] Charles-Roux, *Rapport général,* 221.

[29] William Schneider found that the French popular press portrayed the morally "dark" Africa image and an image of an Africa ripe for commercial exploitation.

[30] Scellier de Gisors designed this building as well as several other structures, including the Congo pavilion. See Alfred Picard, *Exposition Universelle International de 1900, Rapport général administratif et technique,* vol. 4 (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1903), 328.

[31] Charles-Roux, *Rapport général,* 201.

[32] The cora is a West African stringed harp.

[33] Charles-Roux, *Rapport général,* 220-21.

[34] Ibid., 218. Collonge attributed this expression to the French colonists.

[35] Lucien-Marie Famechon, *Notice sur la Guinée Française* (Paris: Alcan-Lévy, 1900), 174 and 176.

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[36] J-L. Brunet, *Dahomey et Dépendances* (Paris: Challamel, 1900), 255-58.

[37] Famechon, 182-83.

[38] Jean Fonssagrives, *Les Colonies françaises. Le Dahomey* (Paris: Alcan-Lévy, 1900), 393-94.

[39] Marcel Guillemot, ed., *Notice sur le Congo français* (Paris: J. André, 1900), 68-73.

[40] Famechon, 177-79.

[41] Lasnet and others, *Une Mission au Sénégal* (Paris: Challamel, 1900), 22-23.

[42] Ibid., 74.

[43] Ibid., 122.

[44] Guillemot, 65.

[45] Ministère des Colonies, *Les Colonies françaises. Madagascar* (Paris: Alcan-Lévy, 1900), 55-60.

[46] Ibid., 60.

[47] Ibid., 54.

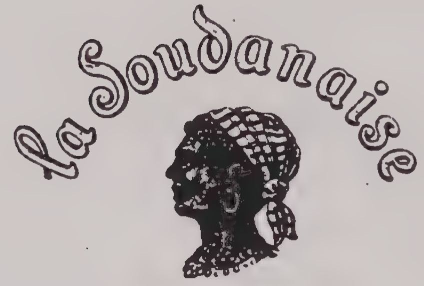
[48] Ibid., 61.

[49] Brunet, 257-58.

[50] Abdul K. JanMohamed presents these ideas in "The Economy of Manichean Allegory: The Function of Racial Difference in Colonialist Literature," in *"Race," Writing, and Difference* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1986).

[51] JanMohamed analyzes the function of Manicheanism in colonial literature in *Manichean Aesthetics: The Politics of Literature in Colonial Africa* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1983).

139993



139994

“Soudanais”

139993 et 139994. — M. p. désigner des voitures, vélocipèdes, automobiles et accessoires, jeux et jouets, bateaux, ballons, aéroplanes, pièces détachées et accessoires, déposées le 18 septembre 1912, à 10 h., au greffe du tribunal de commerce de la Seine, par M. *Soudan* (*Claude-Henri*), 40, rue de Turbigo, à Paris.

Ces marques s'appliquent en creux, en relief et en toutes couleurs.

Fig. 1

128267

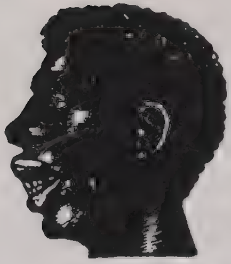
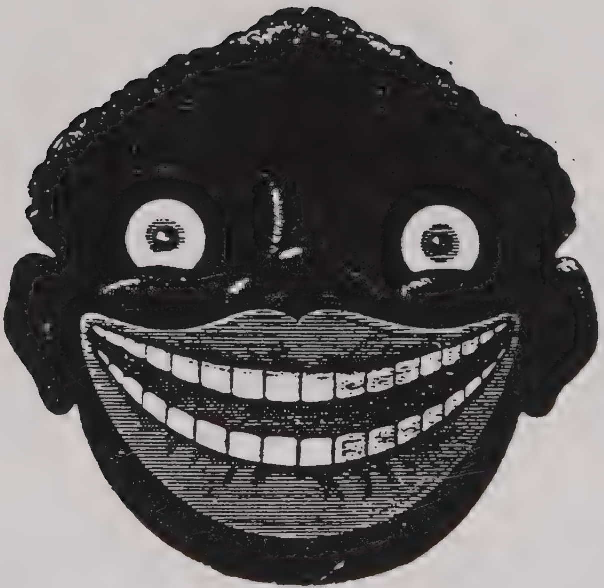
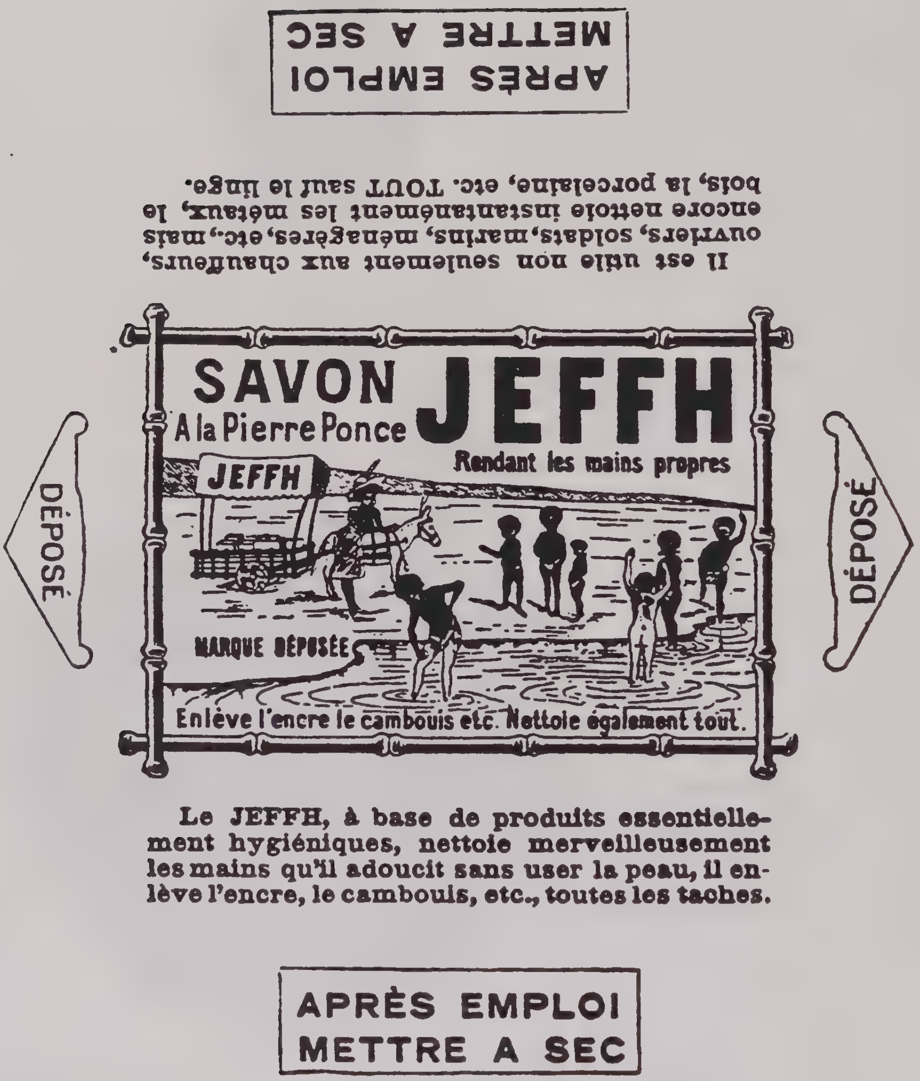


Fig. 2



32846. — M. p. désigner des goudrons, résines et gommes à l'état brut, caoutchouc, huiles, essences et graisses non comestibles, pétroles, électricité (appareils et accessoires), machines et appareils divers et leurs organes, charronnerie, carrosserie, maréchalerie, automobiles et vélocipèdes, pneumatiques, porcelaines, faïences, poteries, déposée le 26 juillet 1922, à 15 h., au greffe du tribunal de commerce de la Seine (n° 211499), par la *Société Générale des Huiles et Fournitures Industrielles «L'Oléo »*, 30, rue Perrier, Levallois-Perret (Seine) (C. V.).

Fig. 3



APRÈS EMPLOI
METTRE A SEC

Il est utile non seulement aux chauffeurs, ouvriers, soldats, marins, ménagères, etc., mais encore nettoie instantanément les métaux, le bois, la porcelaine, etc. TOUT sauf le linge.

SAVON
A la Pierre Ponce
JEFFH
Rendant les mains propres
JEFFH
MARQUE DÉPOSÉE
Enlève l'encre le cambouis etc. Nettoie également tout.
DÉPOSÉ
DÉPOSÉ

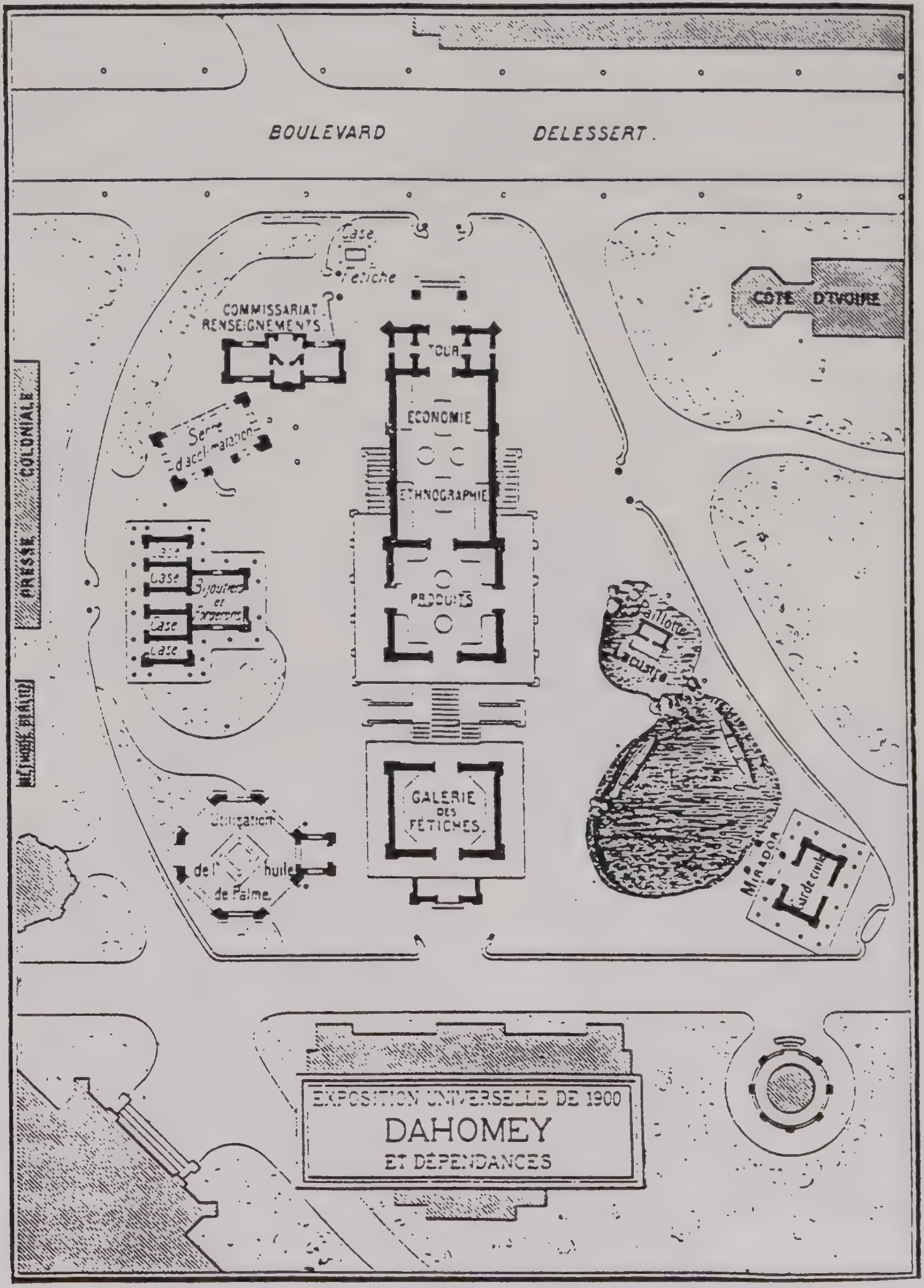
Le JEFFH, à base de produits essentiellement hygiéniques, nettoie merveilleusement les mains qu'il adoucit sans user la peau, il enlève l'encre, le cambouis, etc., toutes les taches.

APRÈS EMPLOI
METTRE A SEC

125562. — M. p. désigner un savon à la pierre ponce pour la toilett déposée le 14 janvier 1911, à 3 h. 35, au greffe du tribunal de com merce de la Seine, par M. *Déprez (Léon)*, 86, rue de la Folie-Méricour à Paris.

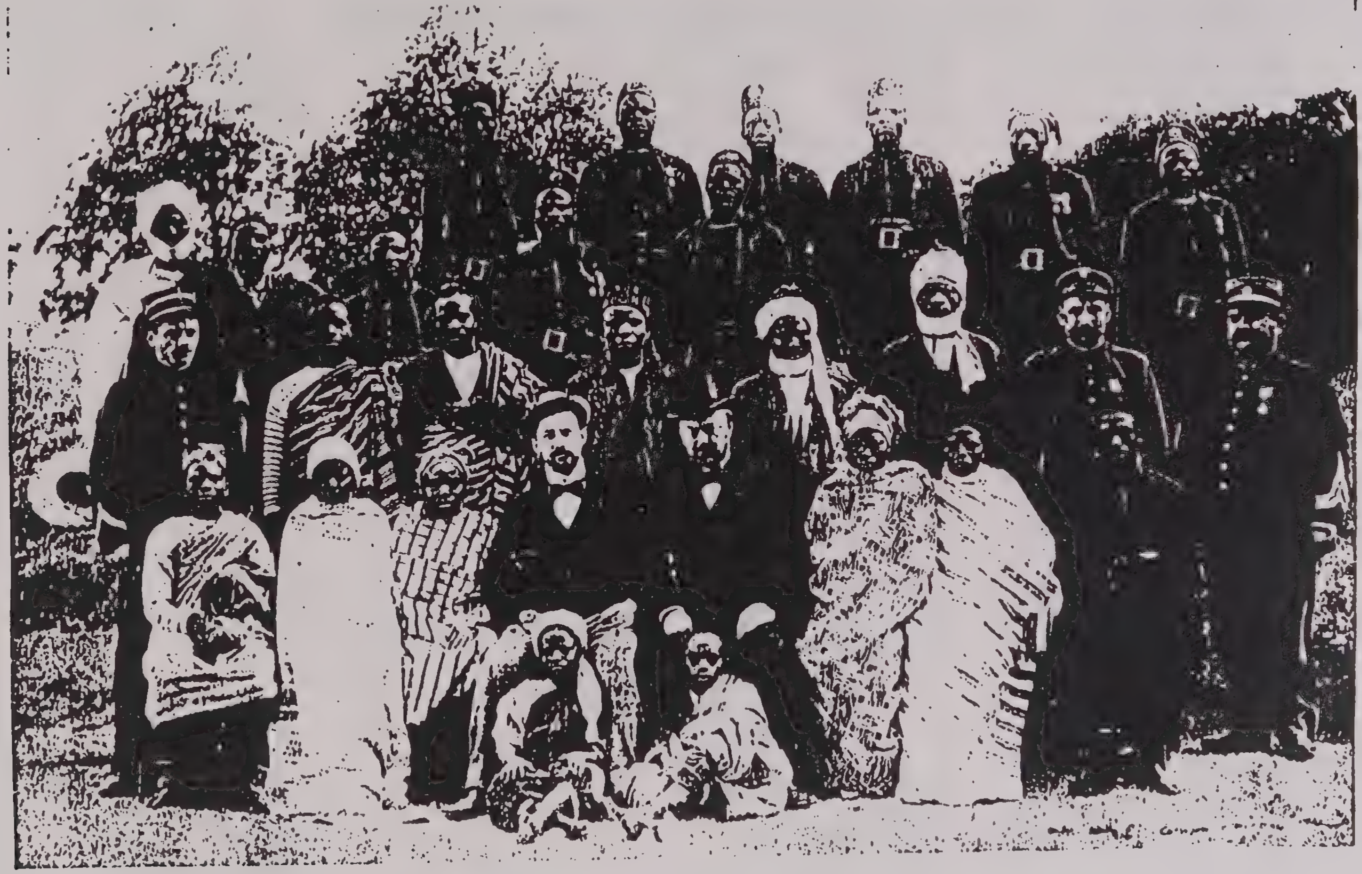
Cette marque est de couleurs variables.

Fig. 4


BOULEVARD DELESSERT.
Case Fétiche
COMMISSARIAT RENSEIGNEMENTS
TOUR
ÉCONOMIE
ETHNOGRAPHIE
PRODUITS
GALERIE DES FÉTICHES
Serre d'acclimatation
Case
Case
Case
Case
Bijoutiers et Forgerons
PRESSE COLONIALE
MÉTHODE BERLITZ
Utilisation de l'huile de Palme
Paillotte lacustre
MIRADOR
Garde civile
CÔTE D'IVOIRE
EXPOSITION UNIVERSELLE DE 1900
DAHOMEY
ET DÉPENDANCES

Plan général de l'Exposition du Dahomey.

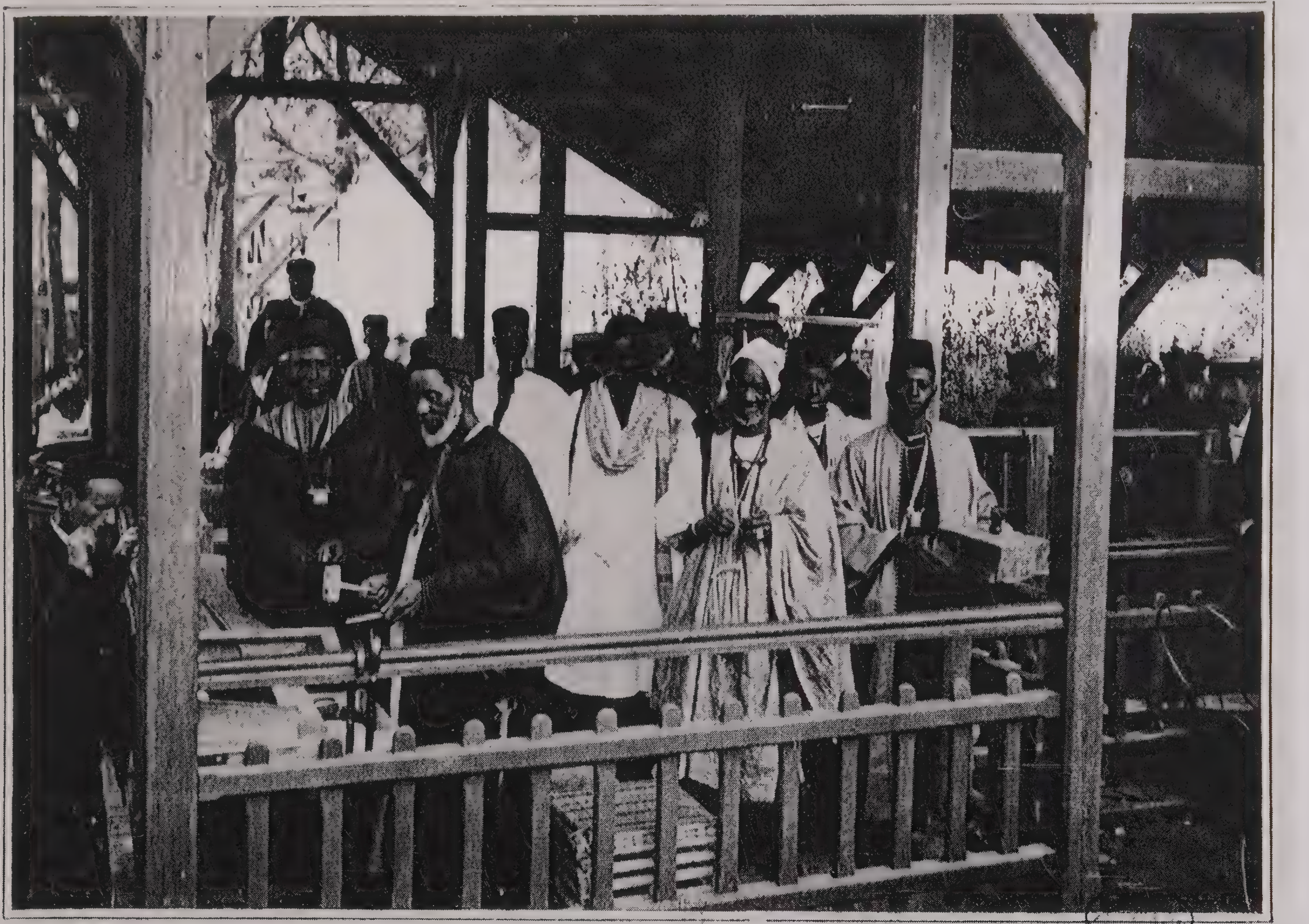
Fig. 27



M. L. Brunet. Dr E. Biset. Phot. J. Beau.

Groupe de Dahoméens à l'Exposition Universelle de 1900.

Fig. 28



L'ATELIER DES BIJOUTIERS SÉNÉGALAIS

Figure 29

PART EIGHT

THE AFRICAN DIASPORA
IN
CUBA AND PUERTO RICO

The perception of the 1912 uprising [in Cuba] as a race war took hold immediately, and has held on since. It has persisted as one of the enduring truths of the historiography of the early republic....Race was indeed an issue. A decade after independence, Afro-Cubans found their position in the republic no better than their first place in the colony. Nothing had changed - a condition to which blacks were not reconciled.

Louis A. Perez, Jr.

The number of people of African descent in the Americas is unknown (and perhaps unknowable). For instance, the number in Latin America varies between 130 and 170 million. Significantly, many of these persons may not even consider themselves members of a transnational Diasporic community. We must realize that the very concept is porous, with perhaps more people passing out of the orbit of Diaspora-consciousness than are entering it. Blackness in the Americas is contested and negotiated and, to some extent, molded by the constraints imposed by dominant Euro-American elites from colonial times onward.

Ibrahim K. Sundiata

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Two Puerto Rican Soldiers at Fort Benning, Georgia during World War II
Immigrants All...Americans All

POLITICS, PEASANTS AND PEOPLE OF COLOR: THE 1912 "RACE WAR" IN CUBA RECONSIDERED

by

Louis A. Perez, Jr.

It was known at the time as "la guerra de razas" and "la guerra racista." It still is. White Cubans had been dreading it for almost a century. Its probability had been long presumed, contemplated with a mixture of apprehension and readiness. It was a specter that loomed large over the then colony. It did not diminish in the early republic. In 1912, white Cubans' worst fears were confirmed: blacks rose up in armed rebellion. The long-dreaded race war arrived-or so it seemed.

The perception of the 1912 uprising as a race war took hold immediately, and had held on since. It has persisted as one of the enduring truths of the historiography of the early republic. Inside Cuba and out, before the revolution and after, the historiography had displayed a remarkable adherence to lines first drawn in 1912.[1] The conventional historiographical wisdom concerning 1912 is not without some basis in fact. Race was indeed an issue. A decade after independence, Afro-Cubans found their position in the republic no better that their first place in the colony. Nothing had changed—a condition to which blacks were not reconciled. Having sought unsuccessfully to obtain redress through the political system, black leaders rebelled against the political system. The central tenets of the historiography have not, hence, entirely misrendered the events of 1912. The causes of rebellion were indeed racial and political. The sources of the rebellion, however, were social and economic.

The prospects of independence had filled black Cubans with hope. For countless tens of thousands of people of color, the struggle for self-determination involved more than a striving for self-government. It implied a new society, and a new status in that society. This was the promise of the republic, and Afro-Cubans did not hesitate. A movement dedicated to the establishment of a new country became a force devoted to shaping a new society.

Afro-Cubans responded to the separatist summons in vast numbers and with great expectations. "To arms for liberty!" Antonio Maceo exhorted black Cubans. "Drive out of Cuba the government that exploits you in order to tyrannize your race. Yes, expel those enemies of black humanity who are the cause of your misfortune."[2]

"When independence comes," Jose Marti vowed, "every individual will be free in the sanctity of the native home. Merit, the tangible, cumulative of culture, and the inexorable play of economic forces will ultimately unite all men. There is much greatness in Cuba, in both blacks and whites."[3] "No one will be excluded from public positions for reasons of color," one official of the Cuban Revolutionary party vowed in 1896.[4]

Afro-Cubans distinguished themselves in the war of independence. They advanced rapidly within separatist organizations. In every sector of the revolutionary politity, on the island and abroad, in the party and in the provisional government, as soldiers and as civilians, Cubans of color occupied positions of prominence, prestige, and power. The Afro-Cuban presence made up almost half the enlisted ranks and an estimated 40 percent of the senior commissioned ranks.[5]

Peace changed everything. Gains made during the war were annulled. The expatriate juntas disbanded, the provisional government dissolved; and the Liberation Army demobilized. Suddenly, all the institutional expressions of *Cuba Libre* in which Afro-Cubans had registered important gains disappeared, and with them the political positions, military ranks, and public offices held by thousands of blacks.

These developments were hardly noticed in 1899, for Cubans were then preoccupied with matters of greater urgency. The war was over, and all Cubans who had survived the conflict, participants, and *pacificos* alike, were anxious to resume their lives. Vast numbers returned to their origins: the land. And for the vast majority of Afro-Cuban veterans, the land of their origins was Oriente Province.

Generations of Cubans of color had found hope and haven in the eastern province. Oriente offered improvement for the impoverished, opportunity for the oppressed. It also offered land to the landless and livelihood to the unemployed. The lure was irresistible. Fugitive slaves and freed slave,[6] after emancipation in 1866 former slaves and after 1898 former soldiers, migrated eastward. Between 1887 and 1899, years during which all of Cuba suffered a 10 percent population decline, Oriente experienced a 20 percent population increase: from 272,379 residents to 327,716.[7] In the years following emancipation, thousands of landless former slaves migrated east, in search of work and land. Between 1887 and 1899, the total population of color in the three western provinces declined by 16.6 percent; the number of colored males diminished by 25.7 percent. During these same years, the total population of color in Oriente increased by 22.4 percent, while the number of colored males grew by 23.6 percent.[8]

Oriente was a place of parity and proportion, of equity and equality. The sex ratio was exactly 50/50: 163,845 males, 163,870 females-the only province in Cuba where the number of women actually exceeded the number of men. Cubans of color constituted almost as large a portion of the population of native whites, and nowhere in Cuba was it higher: 44.7 percent to 51.2 percent.[9] Greater diversity of agriculture persisted in Oriente than elsewhere, and this diversity guaranteed a greater variety of land-tenure forms. Sugar was only one of the many products cultivated in the east. Oriente enjoyed an agrarian economy that was remarkable for its variation and versatility. *Ingenios* coexisted with *cafetales*, *cacao fincas*, banana plantations, fruit orchards and coconut groves, vegetable farms, tobacco vegas, and cattle ranches.[10]

The effects of this diversity in land use were striking. Whereas the sugar latifunido emerged as the principle agricultural form in the west, mixed farms persisted as the prevalent form of land tenure in the east. No other province had a lower population ratio per finca than Oriente: Oriente, 15.2 persons per farm, followed by Pinar del Rio with 16.6, Santa Clara, 22.1, Camaguey 37.0, Mantanzas 49.5, and Havana 68.9. The 1899 census data underscored the contrast between the west and the east. Not including Camguey province, where land was given extensively to cattle grazing, Matanzas had the smallest number of farms (4,083) with the largest average acreage (247 acres). Havana followed with 6,159 farms at 135 acres. Oriente, at the opposite end, contained the largest number of farms with the smallest average acreage. Only .05 percent of the farms in Oriente were over 330 acres, comprising only 26.9 percent of the total area of land under cultivation. The average size of the 21,550 farms in 1899 was approximately 80 acres:[11]

Oriente claimed not only the highest number of individual landowners, but also the highest number of renters, a total of 43,721 But it was not only that more land was worked by more people. Striking, too, was the social character of land tenure. Nowhere else in Cuba did tenure patters reflect as accurately the racial composition of the island in Oriente. Afro-Cuban managers, both as owners and renters, operated 41 percent of the farms. This was almost numerical parity with white proprietors. A somewhat less striking, but no less noteworthy, aspect of tenure in Oriente was that 26 percent of the total land in use was under

Afro-Cuban cultivation. Set against the total acreage under Afro-Cuban management elsewhere on the island, the percentage in Oriente was nothing short of remarkable. Pinar del Rio was the second highest, with Afro-Cubans working 11.4 percent of the land, followed by Santa Clara (6.7 percent), Camguey (4.5 percent), Matanzas (3.8 percent), and Havana (3 percent). Oriente was also well above the total of 10.8 percent. Put another way, almost 75 percent of the total land owned outright by blacks in Cuba and nearly 50 percent of land worked by Afro-Cubans as renters were located in Oriente.[12] The distribution of the total number of farms in Oriente was as follows:

Tenure form	Total number of farms	Cultivated area (acres)	Percentage of total number	Percentage of total cultivated area
White owners	3,855	76,155	17.9	37.3
White renters	7,633	62,465	35.4	30.6
Colored owners	2,411	17,970	11.2	8.8
Colored renters	6,372	35,007	29.6	17.2
Other	1,279	12,317	5.9	6.1
Total	21,550	203,914	100.0	100.0

The pattern repeated itself in the size and number of the 5,218 *ingenios* in Oriente. Not including Camaguey, Oriente had the smallest average acreage, among the largest number of sugar estates, and the largest number of white and colored owners and renters farming the smallest tracts of land:[13]

Tenure form	Total number	Available acreage
White owners	1,021	39.0
White renters	2,044	9.2
Colored owners	301	4.2
Colored renters	1,407	2.7
Other	455	12.1
Total	5,218	13.2

Tobacco vegas in Oriente displayed similar features:[14]

Tenure form	Total number	Available acreage
White renters	330	1.8
Colored owners	26	1.7
Colored renters	167	1.8
White owners	85	1.9
Other	60	1.0
Total	668	1.7

One other aspect of agriculture in Oriente displayed a significant feature. In the production of coffee and cacao, among the principle crops of the small farmer, colored cultivators constituted a decisive majority:[15]

Coffee and Cacao Cultivation in "Cordeles" (1 "cordel" = 1/10 acre)

Tenure form	Coffee Area	Percentage	Area	Cacao Percentage
White owners	23,704	25.3	30,865	26.1
White renters	14,101	15.2	14,488	12.3
Colored owners	32,970	35.1	40,199	34.0
Colored renters	22,006	23.4	29,866	25.2
Other	1,106	1.0	2,798	2.4
Total	93,797	100	118,216	100

Similar patterns prevailed in other small-scale agriculture, where 47 percent of the total malanga acreage was cultivated by Cubans of color. So was 42 percent of rice and 42 percent of yams (*names*).

Traditional land tenure systems survived in the east, and the opportunities for all Cubans, white and black, were nowhere greater. But there was more. One other important feature distinguished the east from the west. It was not only the adaptability of land tenure, it was the availability of land: nowhere else was more land available. This was in large measure the principle source of attraction for migration to the east. As late as the 1870s, official maps of the island described vast areas of the province as "waste and uninhabited mountains" and "uncultivated and unexplored regions."[16] In 1899, only 22 percent of the total area of the province was in the possession of private farms, and only 11 percent of this total (203,914 acres) was under cultivation.[17] Large parts of Oriente remained underdeveloped and unowned. Indeed, the full dimensions of these lands was itself unknown. What was known, however, was that it was huge. Long after public lands had ceased to exist in Pinar del Rio, Havana, and Matanzas, vast expanses of land in Oriente remained in the public domain. Fully more than twice the area under cultivation in 1899, approximately 500,000 acres, was held in the form of public lands. Much of this land was forests and woodlands, located in the remote and inaccessible interior regions of the province. Boundary lines were vague and often ill defined, and in many instances detailed surveys of state lands had never been completed. Thus estimates of the total area of public land were only approximate, and many believed the actual size of the state patrimony to be far in excess of official calculation.[18]

In 1899, Oriente was still a land of opportunity, and most of all it was an opportunity of land. And the opportunity appeared almost limitless. Oriente was the place for Cubans to start anew. For decades tens of thousands of Cubans migrated to Oriente in search of new occupations and new land. This was the promise that lured thousands to the province, from the desperate to the deserters, the displaced and dispossessed, soldiers, settlers, and squatters from all regions of Cuba. They were not disappointed. That had always been the promise of the east: a place of new beginnings, but most of all, a new freedom. The attraction of Oriente continued after the war. Indeed after the war, the attraction increased. The postwar surge of population in Oriente was nothing short of spectacular. By 1907, the province neared the half million mark, increasing more than 127,000-almost a 40 percent increase, from 327,716 in 1899 to 455,086 in 1907, and almost a 70 percent increase in two decades since 1887.[19]

The Changing Face of Oriente

It was not only that there were more people arriving to Oriente. Numbers were not a problem. Purpose was. Cubans were not the only ones to recognize the promise of Oriente. North Americans, too, saw the opportunities in the province, and their presence was at once ubiquitous and overwhelming. They arrived first in 1898 in the form of an army of conquest and a government of occupation. They arrived later as brokers and vendors, homesteaders and settlers, speculators and investors, and they all came for the same thing: land. They arrived with capital resources well out of proportion to their numbers, and with an equally disproportionate advantage in an impoverished economic environment. They possessed the capital to buy up what land was available, and the political connections to make available what land could not be bought. Vast expanses of land passed under control of foreigners. And in this new order of things, it was not entirely clear what place Cubans would occupy-what place they could occupy. The signs boded ill. Impressionistic observations at the time tended both to confirm these developments and foresee their consequences. Remarked a North American traveler to Cuba in 1911: "Foreigners own ninety percent of all the land in Cuba that is worth working, and, since this is the case, the more foreign capital that comes in, the better for the country. In other words, the only outlook for the Cuban is to serve as a hired man."[20]

Transactions and transfer of land in the east proceeded rapidly during the first decade of independence. The form of land tenure was changing, so was the character of land tenants-all at once, from public to private, from minifundio to latifundio, from communal to corporate, from Cuban to foreign. And it happened quickly. Railroad construction proceeded apace, and served to accelerate at once the transfer of land and the transformation of land use. The expansion of transportation facilities set in motion a succession of interrelated developments. The Cuba Company line connected Santiago with Santa Clara in 1900. Two years later, Santiago was connected directly to Havana, completing the rail linkage of all six provinces. Provincial railroad expansion followed quickly thereafter. In 1905, Alto Cedro was connected to Nipe Bay, giving rise to the new port city of Antilla. A year later, a rail link joined Cacocun with Hoguin. Rail service was also established between Marti in Camaguey east through the Cauto Valley to Bayamo, Palma Soriano and San Luis. Shortly thereafter, Bayamo was linked with Manzanillo.[21]

The process thrived on its own success. The expansion of railroads made other developments possible. Sugar estates expanded rapidly during these years. So did mining. Real estate speculators and land developers acquired some of the most productive land in Cuba, and everywhere in Oriente North American colonization schemes were in full development.

An inexorable, and fateful, cycle ensued. Across Oriente, farmers and peasants were losing control of the land. It was especially pronounced in the southeast. Land passed under the control of railroad companies-for terminals, for construction zones, for town and despot sites, and for rights of way. Mining companies expanded.[22] During the early 1900s, North American settlers established 12 agricultural colonies in Oriente, accounting for tens of thousands of acres. The Cuban Agriculture and Development Company alone acquired 135,000 acres in Guantanamo. But most of all land passed under the control of the sugar latifundios. It mattered little whether it was in the form of corporate-owned land (administered cane) or *colono*-owned estates. The results were the same. Farmers and peasants were displaced, pushed deeper onto the interior sabanas or higher into the foothill regions of the northern and southern mountain chains.

All forms of peasant land tenure were subject to usurpation, but none more than the *hacienda comunera*, a system of joint ownership distributed in allotments and held in the form of shares (*pesos de posesion*). At the turn of the century, the *hacienda comunera* was one of the principal forms of land tenure in eastern Cuba. *Pesos de posesion* guaranteed an owner (*comunero*) title to a certain portion of the tract, but not a good and clear title to any specified part of the land. *Pesos de posesion* provided a right to the land, to some of it somewhere within the larger boundaries of the tract. The land itself was not divided; rather, *comuneros* obtained a right to work the land in direct proportion to the number of *pesos de posesion* owned. Rights to the land multiplied in the course of time, and ownership was often hopelessly confused and continuously contested, inevitably creating a chaotic web of ownership and occupancy. Tracts of land were rarley surveyed and boundaries were inexact, unofficial, and not easily verifiable. Boundaries consisted typically of a forest, hill, stream, marsh, or other natural features or arbitrary points mutally agreed on. A cut in a tree or fallen log or a small creek often served as boundary points. And just as often when the tree with the mark was felled, or the log rotted away, or when the creek changed course, all traces of landmarks disappeared. Sometimes boundaries were known only in traditions, in the collective memory of the community. In one litigation in 1909, when farmers were asked how they recognized the boundary of their finca, one *comunero* responded: "the line has been there from time immemorial and has been respected by the co-owners."[23]

It was precisely this type of ambiguity that made peasant lands susceptible to usurpation. To the already confused conditions of ownership and boundary demarcations, the war of independence-fought the longest in the eastern province-contributed even further. Deeds and titles had disappeared during the war. Vast numbers of titles were hopelessly tied up in uncertain ownership and unclear possession, and every uncertain claim was vulnerable to litigation.

These conditions favored the large and powerful over the small and powerless. Real estate speculators, railroad companies, and sugar corporations were quick to challenge local ownership. For the large numbers whose titles were imperfect, incomplete, or otherwise flawed, the adjudication process was usually the first step toward dislodgement and displacement. The procedures required completion of a judicial survey (*deslinde*) by a court-appointed tribunal in which the validity of the *pesos de posesion* was examined. Expensive judicial surveys, commissioned by the plaintiff, fixed new and detailed boundaries. Attorneys and surveyors petitioned courts to ratify new boundaries and sanction new titles of ownership. The outcome was usually a foregone conclusion. Wrote sociologist Lowry Nelson after several years of fieldwork in rural Cuba:

> The sugar companies purchased land form the peasants where the latter could show a title, but where titles were in question-as so many of them were-recourse was had to the courts. There can be no doubt that the contest in the courts was one-sided affairs in which the companies had overwhelming advantage. They could employ the best lawyer who knew the loopholes in Cuban land law. They could if necessary corrupt the officials, high and low with bribes.[24]

The loss of land occurred at the same time as a dramatic increase in population. The pressure would eventually affect all Oriente, but it was experienced first in the southeastern region of the province, in the cluster of the five continuous municipios of Alto Songo, El Caney, Guantanamo, San Luis, and Santiago. The southeast had long served as a place of refuge-in the late nineteenth century for runaway slaves before emancipation and freed slaves afterwards. In the early twentieth century, it became refuge for the veterans of the war as well as for the victims of the war. In fact, outcasts of all social types over three generations had found opportunity in the southeast. The municipios were located largely within the impenetrable high country, within or near the foothills and valleys of the Sierra Maestra mountain range- "a terra incognita," wrote one geographer in 1907, "unexplored, undescribed, and unmapped."[25] It was broken land, irregular, a succession of rising terraces, traversed and intersected by countless small valleys. It was also fertile land, bountiful and productive, without rival anywhere else in Cuba.

The southeastern municipios were different in one other respect. In no other region of Cuba was the total percentage of the Afro-Cuban population as high. Over the two census cycles of 1899 and 1907, people of color constituted a distinct population majority:[26]

Percentage of Population

Municipio	1899	1907
Alto Songo	74.9	71.8
El Caney	52.8	53.1
Guantanamo	68.0	67.5
San Luis	70.6	68.9
Santiago	57.9	55.6

The population surge in Oriente between 1899 and 1907 was especially pronounced in the southeast. Three of the five municipios registered a population growth significantly above the 40 percent increase in the province. Alto Songo rose from 12,770 (2,814 families) to 20,553 (3,963 families), a 61 percent increase in population. In several towns and villages within the municipio, specifically Jarahueca, Loma del Gato, Socorro, and La Maya, the principle coffee and cacao zones in Alto Songo, the population almost doubled in size. The population of El Caney increased 78 percent, from 9,126 (1,743 families) to 16,215 (3,147 families). Guantanamo experienced a 54 percent increase, from 28,063 (6,596 families) to 43,300 (9,804 families). Even higher increases were recorded within the municipality, including Palma de San Juan (351 percent increase), Indios (279 percent), Isleta (208 percent), Sigual (180 percent), Bano (162 percent), and Caridad (123 percent). Only in San Luis and Santiago de Cuba did the population growth fail to surpass the overall provincial increase, the former increasing by 22 percent, from 11,681 (2,344 families) to 14,212 (2,990 families) and the latter 18 percent, from 45,478 (10,292 families) to 53,614 (12,163 families).[27]

Several developments appeared to be occurring at once in the southeast. After several years of declining fertility, the region experienced a sudden and spectacular increase in the birth rate. Stability and security returned to the lives of *orientales* after the war of independence. The women were released from reconcentration camps. The men returned from the army. This was occurring everywhere in Cuba, of course, but it had particular significance in Oriente. Most of the soldiers returning to civilian life were originally from the east, and it was to the east they returned. Oriente had contributed heavily to the liberation of the island. An estimated 80 percent of the men of Alto Songo had joined the Army of Liberation, comprising nearly half of the original invading force.[28] At the same time, the majority of Cuban army units disbanded between 1898 and 1899 were located in the eastern half of the island. The First Army Corps was stationed in Santiago, the Second Corps was located in Manzillo, the Third Corps in Camaguey, and the Fourth

Corps in Santa Clara. Approximately 35,000 officers and soldiers out of 50,000 were disbanded in the three eastern provinces.[29] After the war, married soldiers returned to their wives, single soldiers returned to marry.

That so much of the war had been fought in the east, moreover, and that so many of the soldiers from the east had served away from home during the war, combined to make the number of marriages and the rate of births in Oriente the lowest in all Cuba:[30]

	Marriages	Births
1894	565	3,481
1895	368	2,144
1896	212	1,269
1897	126	811
1898	142	974

The return of the soldiers had a sudden and dramatic impact on the rate of marriage and fertility in the province. A population surge followed almost immediately. In 1899 alone, the number of marriages in Oriente increased to 471, while births reached 2,829.[31]

Fertility increased everywhere in Cuba. Between 1899 and 1907, the total population under five years of age increased 162 percent, from 130,876 to 342,652. Oriente province registered a slightly higher increase of 164 percent, from 32,156 to 84,788. The increase in the southeastern region was also significant, with three of the municipios well above the national and provincial average:[32]

	1899	1907	Percentage
Alto Songo	1,348	4,145	207.5
El Caney	644	2,793	333.6
Guantanamo	2,349	7,101	202.3
San Luis	1,115	2,824	153.3
Santiago	3,017	7,249	140.3

These developments had one further implication. The population increase in Oriente occurred through a combination of both high fertility and low mortality. Between 1907 and 1916, Oriente province had the lowest death rate in all of Cuba at 10.07 per 1,000.[33] The most significant increases were registered within the dependent age population, specifically groups under the age of 15 years and over 65 years. The 1907 census indicated that 40 percent of the total population (185,270 out of 455,086) was under 15 years of age, with another, 10,598 over the age of 65.[34] Within the population of color, further, more than 41 percent was less than 15 (81,177 out of 196,092), and 5,669 were over 65.

The estimated increases by 1912 were even more telling. The average annual increase in the *oriental* population was approaching 16,500, while the annual death rate for these years averaged to approximately 5,000. By 1912, the percentage of the total population under 15 years of age had reached almost 50 percent (302,265 out of 608,078). A similar ratio was registered within the population of color, with 112,000 out of 225,000 under the age of 15. The high postwar fertility produced a total population with a large proportion of persons below the normal work age, thereby creating a high number of dependents-per adult.

The burgeoning postwar population added new pressures on limited resources, but most of all pressure on the land. By 1907, the population density of southeastern Oriente was among the highest in Cuba. With the exception of Guantanamo, all the municipios were above the national average of 18 inhabitants per square kilometer, San Luis 29, Alto Songo 22, and El Caney 21.[35]

Only Guantanamo stood below the national average, with eight inhabitants per square kilometer. But developments of another kind were transforming the largest southeastern municipio, and were themselves suggestive of trends elsewhere in Oriente. Everywhere in Guantanamo small farms and family lands were disappearing. Sugar production increased and land concentration expanded. More and more land passed under fewer and fewer owners. Across the Guantanamo valley the sugar estates consolidated control over the land. By 1912, the valley was dominated by ten sugar mills, all foreign. The "Sloedad," "Isabel," and "Los Canos" were owned by the Guantanamo Sugar Company. Guantanamo Sugar was incorporated in 1905 in New Jersey and owned outright an estimated 55,000 acres of land in the municipio, as well as the majority of stock of the Guantanamo Railroad. The "Santa Cecilia" estate was the property of the Santa Cecilia Sugar Company, an enterprise incorporated in Maine in 1904 and owning more than 12,000 acres in Guantanamo. Other estates included the "Santa Maria," owned by the Santa Maria Sugar Company (United States); "San Miguel," owned by S.E. Montlue (France); "Confluente," property of Confluente Sugar Company (Spain); and "Romelie," owned by Brooks and Company (England).[36]

Sugar cultivation expanded elsewhere in the southeast. In San Luis older mills "Union" and "Santa Anna" and a new mill "Borjita" increased production. In Alto Songo, the "Almeida" estate expanded cultivation. The expansion of the sugar system foretold the extinction of small fincas and the expulsion of farmers. It was occurring in varying degrees everywhere in Oriente, but it was happening especially fast in the southeast and happening concurrently with the fastest rate of population growth in Cuba. The data are incomplete and imperfect, but they suggest the magnitude of the collapse of independent farms in Oriente. Between 1899 and 1905, the total number of fincas in Oriente diminished by almost half, from 21,500 to 10,854. In the southeast, the demise of the small farm was particularly acute:[37]

Number of fincas

Municipio	1899	1905
Alto Songo	1,516	477
El Caney	611	518
Guantanamo	1,262	1,154
San Luis	1,289	100
Santiago	286	124

Between 1905 and 1911, further, the number of fincas in Guantanamo declined from 1,154 to 419.[38]

The increasing population density told a similar story from another perspective, and the signs were no less ominous. The increase of the population together with the increase of the number and size of families placed new demands on the land. The rise in the population was occurring simultaneously with the decline of available land. The peasant population was increasing as the land available for subsistence agriculture was decreasing. The number of peasant households without adequate land multiplied. The land was passing into sugar cultivation in the form of the latifundio, reducing both the number of small farms and the amount of available land. A vicious cycle ensued, one of land hunger, rising prices, and usurious debts. More and more people were crowding onto less and less land. It was not only an increase of population-it was this concurrent with a decrease of resources, prinicpally in the form of diminishing land supply.

Every parcel of land converted to sugar production meant a corresponding loss of land available for subsistence agriculture. But expansion of sugar into Oriente during the early 1900s displayed one another notable feature: the introduction of cheap contract labor from Haiti and Jamaica. The timing was portentous. Sugar producers had experienced difficulty in completing the 1911 harvest, complaining of insufficient labor for the cane fields. Producers freely predicted ruin for the next year. Three new sugar complexes prepared to commence operations with the *zafra* of 1912: "Moron" in Camaguey, "Delicias" in Puerto Padre, and "Manati" in Las Tunas, creating an estimated demand for an additional 10,000 cane cutters. This did not include new operations launched by several smaller mills including "Rio Cauto" (Bayamo), "Ermita" (Guantanamo), "Borjita" (San Luis), and "America" (Plama Soriano), requiring another estimated 3,500 field hands. The year 1912 registered the first significant migration of West Indian labor into Oriente. A total of some 2,000 Jamaicans and Haitians were known to have entered Santiago de Cuba to work the expanding cane fields.[41]

This was a legally sanctioned and properly processed influx of contract laborers. In fact, however, the number of West Indian workers was generally believed to be considerably greater. No one knew precisely how many West Indians were entering eastern Cuba unlawfully. What was known was that illegal immigration had assumed serious proportions and the population of illegal immigrants had reached a significant size. Unlike regulated contract labor arrangements, whereby workers returned to their homes after completing the harvest in Cuba, illegal migrants usually remained in Cuba permanently. In fact, Cuban authorities were losing control over the eastern coasts, and no one knew quite what to do about it. Only days before the outbreak of large-scaled disturbances in late May 1912, Antonio Masferrer, the chief administrator of Santiago customs, had publicly warned about the uncontrolled and illegal migration of West Indian workers into Oriente province. "The coasts of Oriente are in a state of abandon," Masferrer complained. "This lack of vigilance has permitted clandestine immigration, some 10,000 individuals of color from Jamaica, Santo Domingo, and Haiti."[42]

Foreigners in large numbers were arriving, and were displacing Cubans from the fields, the farms, and factories. In the mines of El Caney, on the sugar estates of Guantanamo, along the railroads, and in the mills, cheap foreign workers glutted the local labor market and depressed local wages. An estimated 11 percent of 85,044 agriculturists in Oriente were foreigners; so were 26 percent of the 7,328 day laborers. Almost 96 percent of the 1,603 miners were foreigners.[43]

Cuban unemployment was on the rise, in some instances dramatically. By 1907, more than 20 percent of the total male population over the age of 17 years was classified as unemployed (*sin ocupacion lucrativa*). This included 16.7 percent in El Caney, 18.0 percent in San Luis, 19.2 percent in Alto Songo, 20.6 in Guantanamo, and a staggering 35.1 percent in Santiago.[44]

Other telling trends provided additional insight into the developing rural crisis. Between 1899 and 1907, the percentage of Afro-Cuban men engaged in agriculture declined from 40 percent to 35 percent, while the number of Afro-Cuban women decreased by more than half. Both developments suggest the decline of family agriculture as the number of small fincas diminished. At the same time, wage employment increased. These years recorded an increase in the proportion of Afro-Cuban men in manufacturing and Afro-Cuban women in domestic services.[45]

Hardship was not confined to those who lost their land. Depression occurred simultaneously with dispossession. The value of the small farmers' principal cash crops, coffee and cacao, was in decline. The international depression in the coffee market between 1900 and 1910 plunged Cuban growers into crisis. Low prices for cash crops reduced the ability of small farmers to meet past financial obligations or contract new ones. Many simply could not make it, and many failed. By 1911, Cuban coffee production had declined to the point where it could only meet between one-forth of the local demand, the balance provided by the imports from Puerto Rico.[46] The following year witnessed the lowest production of coffee at the lowest prices in a decade.[47] In the space of two years between 1904 and 1906, the number of *cafetales* declined from 1,220 to 1,029.[48] Although coffee prices increased again, by 1919 the total number of coffee fincas had dwindled to less than 200.[49]

These developments were occurring at a time of rising consumer prices. Farmers' earnings were diminishing, and the value of diminished earning was decreasing. By 1912, the price of basic foodstuff had reached an eight-year high, increasing an average of nearly 33 percent since 1904:[50]

Commodity	1904	1912	Percent increase
Rice	$ 3.00	$ 4.70	56.6
Lard	10.50	17.85	70.0
Salt	1.94	2.63	35.5
Flour	6.88	7.67	11.4
Chickpeas	7.86	8.60	9.4
Beans	3.85	4.75	23.3
Peas	4.80	5.55	15.6
Olive Oil	8.00	12.50	56.2
Vermicelli	4.50	5.25	16.6

The income on which heads of households were required to maintain a family was becoming increasingly inadequate. Despair stalked rural households, as men failed to discharge their responsibilities as providers.[51]

There was neither enough land on which to subsist nor sufficient work with which to survive. The size of peasant plots were dwindling and family lands were disappearing. The implications were clear: the next generation would be landless. Cubans of color, especially, faced the grim prospect of ending in worse conditions than their parents began. The loss of self-sufficiency portended the default of promise, and more: it denied Afro-Cubans all possibility of promise. Generations of Afro-Cubans had found land and livelihood in the east. They had gone to Oriente as both a place of first choice and last resort. They were now facing the collapse of their world, and they had nowhere else to go.

The Race Issue in Republican Politics

Developments in Oriente were simultaneous with mounting discontent elsewhere. The deteriorating condition of people of color in Oriente was not dissimilar to those experienced by Afro-Cubans everywhere on the island. Cubans of color had not fared well in the republic. For many, in fact, conditions had actually deteriorated. Their contribution to the cause of *Cuba Libre* had been on a scale well out of proportion to their numbers. Their compensation from free Cuba was well below the proportion to their numbers. They had been promised political equality and social justice. They received neither. "During the colonial days of Spain," Arthur A. Schomburg wrote during a visit to Cuba in 1905, "the Negroes were better treated, enjoyed a greater measure of freedom and happiness than they do to-day." Schomburg continued:

> Many Cuban Negroes curse the dawn of the Republic. Negroes were welcome in the time of oppression, in the time of hardship, during the days of the revolution, but in the days of peace...they are deprived of positions, ostracized and made political outcasts. The Negro has done much for Cuba. Cuba has done nothing for the Negro.[52]

"After the war ended," ex-slave Esteban Montejo later recalled, "the arguments began about whether the Negroes had fought or not. I know that ninety-five percent of the blacks fought in the war, but they started saying it was only seventy-five percent. Well, no one got up and told them they were lying, and the result was the Negroes found themselves out in the streets-men brave as lions, out in the street. It was unjust, but that's what happened."[53]

The condition of Afro-Cubans in the early years of the republic was exacerbated by the vast flow of immigration, particularly Spaniards. Between 1902 and 1912, and estimated 250,000 Spaniards emigrated to Cuba.[54] Competition for employment on this scale served at once to expel blacks from the labor market and to increase the urgency to accommodate Afro-Cubans within the expanding state bureaucracy. In fact, however, white Cubans were facing similar pressures, and showed little disposition to share public revenues with black Cubans.

The effects were striking. Afro-Cubans were underrepresented in elected office, in appointed positions, in the armed forces, and in the civil service. Cubans of color made up 30 percent of the total population, approximately 610,000 out of 2 million. Census information in 1907 offers only suggestive data concerning the status of Afro-Cubans in the public positions were teachers, soldiers and policeman, and "government functionaries" (*funcionarios de gobierno*). Cubans of color were underrepresented in each:[55]

	Whites	Cubans of Color
Teachers	5,524	?
Soldiers and Policemen	6,520	?
Government functionaries	194	11

A profound sense of betrayal settled over the Afro-Cuban community. Black political leaders had initially joined the established political parties. Apart from the success of a small number of individual Afro-Cuban politicians, however, conditions did not improve for blacks. Appeals to white political leaders and elected officials fell on deaf ears. As early as 1902, Afro-Cuban political leaders met withPresident Tomas Estrada Palma to protest the shabby treatment of blacks in the new republican government. Liberal party leader Generoso Campos Marquetti complained that the meager numbers of blacks in the rural guard and police, and the discrimination against blacks by the civil departments of government, underscored the neglect "towards a race that had valiantly spilled its blood in defense of the Cuban cause." The truth is, Mr. President," Campos Marquetti protested, "this is not what we expected from the Revolution and things can not continue like this."[56]

In 1907, many black political leaders took the first step toward a portentous political realignment. They withdrew from the established political parties to organize a new movement, first in the form of the Agrupacion Independiente de Color and later into a full fledged political party, the Partido Independiente de Color. The new party advocated honest government, improved working conditions, and free university education. Its principal concerns, however, centered on issues of race, specifically demands for increased representation of Afro-Cubans in elected office and public postions, including the armed forces, the diplomatic corps, the judiciary, and all civic departments of government.[57]

The organization of the Partido Independiente de Color challenged the existing parties for control of the black vote. This challenge was particularly serious to the ruling Liberal party, for its status as a majority party was dependent directly upon the vital margin of support provided by the Afro-Cuban electorate. The Liberal administration of Jose Miguel Gomez (1908-1912) did not hesitate. In 1910, the Afro-Cuban Liberal leader of the Senate, Matin Morua Delgado, introduced legislation to proscribe the new party. The passage of the Morua law prohibited the organization of political parties along racial lines. By 1912, Cuban politics had polarized around the issue of race.

The formation of the Partido Independiente de Color served to direct attention to a wide range of injustices-to the fact that the color of Cubans was as much an unsettled issue in the republic as it had been in the colony. But Afro-Cuban political objectives found little endorsement and less enthusiasm among vast numbers of people of color in Oriente. Efforts at political organization in Oriente were unsuccessful. Most of the 200,000 people of color in Oriente (approximately 40 percent of the provincial electorate) looked on indifferently to the party's appeal. Indeed, the *independientes* failed to secure even the minimum number of signatures required to nominate candidates in the 1908 provincial elections.[58]

In fact, the source and substance of Afro-Cuban grievances in the republic were varied, and they were not all the same for all people of color. Significant social distinctions existed within the population of color. The new Partido Independiente de Color tended to represent the interests of Afro-Cuban politicians, former ranking officers of the Liberation Army, professionals, and intellectuals, generally representatives of black petite bourgeoisie-those Cubans who aspired to gain entree into the expanding state bureaucracy, through either elected positions or appointed posts. The *independientes* directed their attention to institutional racism, to the formal practice of racial discrimination that obstructed their participation in the public life of the republic they had contributed to creating. The party charter addressed itself almost exclusively to matters political: it addressed grievances to government authorities and the leaders of the ruling political parties.

These were issues of only marginal interest to Afro-Cuban farmers, peasants, and rural workers in Oriente, who were, in any case, at the time of the party's formation, in serious crisis and preoccupied with urgent matters of subsistence and survival. It was not that they were unsympathetic with the political purpose of the new party. Rather, they were essentially unconcerned with political matters in the republic. Their lives were in disarray, their communities were in despair.

Southeastern Oriente was in the throes of social unrest. Lawlessness was on the increase, announcing the onset of disintegration and disruption. "There exists at Guantanamo, and the surrounding country," reported the United States consul at Santiago, Ross E. Holaday, "a state of lawlessness that is calculated to cause considerable apprehension among the good citizens." Traveling through Guantanamo in 1910, Holaday learned that resident foreign businessmen had "received letters demanding money, and threatening to burn their property, or take their lives, or that of some member of their family, if they refused to comply with the demands of the unknown writer."[59]

The accumulating ills were compounded by immediate ones. Disorders in May 1912 coincided with the onset of the *tiempo muerto*, and the immediate sources of the disturbances were no less compelling than the long term ones. In a very real sense, they were one and the same. The peasants and farmers were losing their sources of livelihood even as they lost the claims on the land. With every passing year the crisis deepened. Tiempo muerto had always brought on hard times, but times became harder as the opportunities for subsistence agriculture became fewer. "The result is," United States Minister John B. Jackson reported fully two years before the uprising, "that when the crop is over there are many idle persons left in the country districts with practically no means of support. The majority of these are improvident negroes, not well to do at any time, but especially 'hard-up' this year." Jackson warned in concluded: "It seems certain that there will be a good deal of real destitution during the coming summer. All this will contribute to a general discontent."[60]

Frustration ran deep and wide among the dissident Afro-Cuban politicians, and rebellion offered one last desperate recourse for a movement apparently doomed to defeat and disintegration. The Independent Party of Color had not fared well in the arena of electoral politics. Established Afro-Cuban Liberals and Conservatives publicly repudiated racial politics. At the same time, mainstream black politicians seized the *independiente* challenge to the ruling party to further their own political fortunes. They effectively parlayed the threat of racial polarization into sinecures and patronage for their Afro-Cuban constituencies. Not without some irony, the *independiente* movement did indeed produce political opportunities for blacks, but in a fashion calculated to counteract the appeal of the new party of color. Then, too, the Morua law was having the desired effects. In municipal and provincial elections, the independientes were systematically barred from seeking office; but the lack of recorded popular protest revealed they were without significant political support, even in precincts with predominantly Afro-Cuban electorates.

The Rebellion

The uprising began as an organized political protest, an armed movement designed to force the Gomez administration to repeal the Morua law. However, the purpose of the independiente leadership was never clearly defined or well publicized. In a published newspaper interview in late May, party leaders Evaristo Estenoz and Pedro Ivonet announced their intention to provoke United States intervention as a means of toppling the Liberal government if the Gomez administration refused to abrogate the Morua law. "They want equal rights with whites," the correspondent concluded tersely, "or they will put an end to the Republic."[61]

The rebellion appeared organized around a plan for separate but coordinated simultaneous uprisings centered in Pinar del Rio, Matanzas, Las Villas, and Oriente. Everywhere outside Oriente province, however, the movement was either stillborn or short-lived. Mass arrests of party leaders and suspected sympathizers in Pinar del Rio, Matanzas, and Santa Clara ended all prospects for a coordinated national rebellion. Scattered armed bands took to the field in some western zones, largely in Las Villas province around Cienfuegos, Sagua la Grande, and Cruces, but these were early and easily defeated by government forces.[62]

It was different in Oriente. Disorders in the east broke out sometime in early or mid-May. Newspaper accounts were not clear, possibly because the kind of desultory lawlessness that announced the onset of rebellion had for so long been part of the recurring daily disorders in the east.[63] What was certain, however, was that by the end of the month conditions had intensified, by which time it was also apparent that disorders were no longer sporadic and scattered incidents of individual discontent but something akin more to a spontaneous and sustained outburst of collective rage.

In Oriente, the original independiente movement quickly became something larger. Political grievances ignited social protest. They were not unrelated, but they were separate. Afro-Cuban politicians demanded a place in the republic, and mobility. Afro-Cuban peasants demanded a place on the land, and permanence. Not for unrelated reasons, they were failing at both. But the origins of these grievances in 1912 were sufficiently distinct and markedly different.

The uprising in the east spread swiftly-spontaneously it seemed. Disturbances were extensive in Oriente, and particularly intensive in southeastern Oriente. The example of rebellion spread rapidly by word of mouth, from town to town, without the separate bands concerting a common policy or coordinating a common action. Many of the original insurgents were the party functionaries and the rank and file.[64] Their political grievances were real, and by 1912 despair and frustration ran deep and wide among the local *independientes*. But party members were not the only participants.

In fact, it is not certain that they were the majority. The uprising baffled observers: no pronouncements, no proclamations, no palpable purpose. "It [is] highly improbable," commented United States Minister Arthur M. Beaupre in late May, "that the negroes at the head of the Independiente Colored Party would be capable of engineering a movement of this scale. The negroes now in revolt are of a very ignorant class.[65] Several weeks later, Beaupre wrote again: "I can only say that the entire situation is surrounded by a pronounced element of a mystery. It is quite impossible to determine who is responsible for the present movement, what are the intentions of the negro leaders or what danger there is of disturbance in Havana and other provinces."[66]

It soon became apparent that this was no simple political disorder. Something more was stirring. One North American military observer discerned an important distinction between the independientes in arms and other Afro-Cubans in the field. The disturbances in Alto Songo, Major Henry C. Davis reported in June, was caused "by small bands of men whom it appears difficult to identify as revolutionists; they are acting rather as outlaws and I am of the opinion they are nothing but bands organized to steal."[67] The United States consul in Santiago had a better understanding of the character of the uprising and its implications. Wrote Ross E. Holaday:

> That there is much danger to be apprehended on account of the present disturbed political conditions admits of no doubt because, however good may have been the intentions of the leaders of this movement not to destroy or take life, the mere fact that their thousands irresponsible followers are continually obliged to live by pillaging and to continually evade authorities of the law will, if allowed to continue, result in anarchy and a complete overthrow and derogation of organized society under the law throughout the province. The leaders will not be able to control them or their actions for any considerable period of time and they will not hesitate in a short time to destroy property.[68]

What occurred in eastern Cuba in 1912 was only marginally related to the armed movement organized by the Partido Independiente de Color. The *independiente* protest set in motion a larger protest. The political spark ignited the social conflagration, and the countryside was set ablaze. Disorders quickly assumed the proportions of a peasant jacquerie: an outburst of rage and the release of a powerful destructive fury directed generally at the sources and symbols of oppression. As is often the case with peasant movements, the uprising possessed a formless and desultory character. It was a popular outburst, born of social distress and directed not at government but at local social groups and specific conditions of abuse. It was without a program of reform, without commitment to a formal leadership.[69] The protest gave expression to collective rage, and for all its spontaneity and ambiguity, it was not without method and meaning. As an outcry against injustice, it sought at once to destroy the dispossessor and expel the expropriator in one surge of violence and destruction. The protesters attacked property, they plundered and pillaged mostly foreign property, and mostly sugar property, and together these activities served to define the essential character of the uprising. The yearning for the old ways served as the source for the destruction of the new ones.

These were veterans of the war of liberation: they had once before waged war with fire. Arson was a weapon of rural protest long familiar to the farmers and peasants of Oriente, and they used it to great effect. "It is daily becoming more apparent," reported the United States consul in Santiago, "that those in revolt are not insurgents but incendiaries who may destroy in an hour property representing millions of dollars in value and that has taken years to construct."[70] And most especially the target of insurgent incendiarism was the cane fields and the sugar mills. The destruction of sugar property was the most common insurgent gesture. Everywhere company stores were sacked and livestock stolen. All principle sugar mills in Guantanamo reported damages. Nearly 100,000 dollars worth of standing cane on the "Esperanza" estate was destroyed. The "Santa Cecilia" mill reported extensive damage to the company railroad lines. The "Limones" estate was torched and 2,500 tons of cane went up in smoke. The "Romelie" mill was attack several times. Several buildings of the "Confluente" mill complex were destroyed. The manager of Fidelity Commercial and Trading Company in Guantanamo reported that the insurgents were "burning up our cane, buildings, stealing our horses and cattle and sacking three of our stores."[71]

Property was attacked everywhere. Railroads made easy targets. Tracks were destroyed, rail bridges were burned, railroad stations were razed.[72] Trains were halted and held up. On a number of occasions they were derailed, and then held up. The larger coffee fincas were destroyed. The "Olimpo" *cafetal* in Alto Songo was torched.[73]

Country stores, the bodegas and cantinas, largely Spanish-owned, suffered high losses. Spaniards were the merchants and shopkeepers, and collectively these rural retailers were party to transactions that took in 70 percent of the wages paid to local laborers. Shopowners served as local financial agents, lending money and providing credit. They also frequently charged usurious rates of interest, and moved easily into the role of villain as mounting indebtedness pushed peasants and workers ineluctably into diligence. "They are money-lenders in the small districts," wrote one traveler of Spanish merchants in 1911, "and furnish the farmers, at exorbitant rates of interest, with the means of raising and marketing their crops."[74] Perceived as one more source and symbol of oppression, the rural bodegas and cantinas were plundered everywhere, freely and frequently. Shops and stores were sacked, in Guantanamo, San Luis, Santiago, and Holguin. The attackers made off with money, machetes, tools, arms and ammunition, clothing, supplies, and food. The shops were looted, and then razed.[75]

The insurrectionary torch was also applied to towns and villages. The towns of La Maya and Jarahueca in Alto Songo were all but totally destroyed. Insurgents sacked Caney del Sitito in the municipio of Palma Soriano, razing a good part of the village and making off with an estimated 100,000 dollars in money and merchandise. The town of Palma Soriano was threatened more than once; so were San Luis and El Cobre.[76]

The attacks against the towns were not solely for plunder. An even more important purpose impelled the insurgents toward urban centers. Farmers and peasants had lost their lands in litigation and in the courts, they were bested by documents and depositions, and the new order of things was duly recorded and ratified in municipal registries and records offices. Hence, every successful incursion into municipal centers resulted in the destruction of the local archives and records offices. The insurgents fell on public records purposefully, and not as wanton acts of destruction. At every opportunity, public buildings were razed. It was a particular type of destruction, and taken together the acts suggest method and meaning. The gesture was at once symbolic and substantive, and instrumental act designed to destroy the documents that had ratified the despoliation of their lands. The first building destroyed in La Maya was the land registry office. The archives of Tacamara, San Juan and Bijaru in the municipio of Holguin were destroyed. The records of San Ramon de las Yaguas in El Caney were saved only because a local judge had removed the documents before the destruction of the registry office.[77]

Reports from the disaffected regions underscored the socioeconomic sources of the disturbances. "Whatever may have been the immediate object of the threatened uprising of the blacks," reported one North American naval officer, "its real cause was due to the existing conditions of the blacks."[78] One marine brigade commander arrived at a similar conclusion, if in slightly different terms: "So called rebels [are] malcontents and men out of employment, fighting in order to loot and riot without cause or justification."[79]

An estimated 10,000 Afro-Cubans participated in the uprising, largely in southeastern Oriente province. The assault was against property, not persons. The Cuban press, for all the lurid accounts of the "race war," attributed few deaths to insurgents. Rebels did not engage government troops. On the contrary, they sought to avoid all contact with the army. The insurgents, *La Lucha* editorialized as late as June 27, "have limited themselves to fleeing every time they see a glimpse of the yellow [army] uniform, without offering even one serious battle."[80] At another point, *La Lucha* accurately if unwittingly underscored the character of disorders:

> Robbery, looting, and fire are the weapons with which they fight; that is to say that it is a war against property and private wealth, not a war for a political ideal nor to overturn a government...: everywhere, rural shops and stores sacked and burned, bridges destroyed, and sugar mills under the power of the torch of the rebels who exact money under the threat of death and destruction.[81]

The extent of the popular support given locally to the insurgents is not clear. Not a few observers believed they enjoyed widespread sympathy from the noncombatant population.[82] The United States minister reported learning that "many of the so-called peaceful elements are in more or less open sympathy with the rebels and may at times join forces with them."[83] "Given the enormous extension of the vast zone," *La Lucha* editorialized in June, "the most dangerous insurgents are not those in the woods, but those who are pacific in the villages, who by day gather intelligence concerning the movement of the armed forces, pass it on to the insurgents, and by night join them to plunder and pillage."[84] The Cuban army command apparently concurred, and in early June the government suspended constitutional guarantees for all of Oriente and ordered all noncombatants out of disaffected zones.[85] Reconcentration camps reappeared in Oriente. For the second time in as many decades, thousands of peasant families were forcefully removed from the countryside and contending forces laid siege on the productive capabilities of the land.

Order was restored at a terrible cost. In late May, the United States landed marines in Oriente province to protect North American property. Released from the responsibility of garrison duty, the Cuban armed forces undertook a ruthless and grisly pacification. The armed forces killed indiscriminately: by decapitation, by hanging, and by firing squads. Unknown numbers were killed, allegedly while "trying to escape." Military authorities let it be known, one observer in Palma Soriano reported, that the army "was cutting off heads, pretty much without discrimination, of all negroes found outside the town limits."[86] "They have lopped off the head of probably some six thousand negroes in this province," reported one North American resident in Guantanamo, "and the rest as a whole have had the fear of God drilled into their souls."[87] It is reported by parties coming from San Luis, "cabled the United States consul in Antilla, "that prisoners falling into the hands of the government forces are shot down or beheaded unmercifully without any form of trial, my information being that not a single prisoner was allowed to escape alive at that place."[88] One naval officer later reported:

> Since the withdrawal of the constitutional guarantees several negroes ...have been hanged, presumably by the soldiers, but no one believes that these negroes were really rebels. As a rule the bodies are left hanging to the trees, or left lying by the roadside, no effort being madeto burying them or to fix the responsibility for the executions. The execution of innocent negroes may have served the purpose of intimidating the disaffected ones.[89]

When it was all over, the final casualties revealed the magnitude of the carnage: murder, massacres, and mass graves everywhere in Oriente. Race and gender converged in deadly combination: black men were killed summarily.[90] Nor were security forces inclined to make distinctions between black Cubans and black foreigners. Scores of Haitian contract workers fell victim to government repression.[91] Few prisoners were taken, and only in the larger provincial towns. The government reported modest casualties: two rural guards dead, a few wounded.[92] By the end of the summer, peace returned to Oriente. "The movement fell away," wrote a slightly baffled Hugh Thomas 60 years later, "almost as mysteriously as it had begun."[93] Just in time too, for preparations for the 1912-13 *zafra* were about to begin.

The events of 1912 were portents, stirrings of discontent everywhere on the increase. They announced the approaching end of a way of life, not only for Afro-Cuban peasants in Oriente, but for all peasants in Oriente. A decade after independence, eastern Cuba was undergoing rapid social and economic change. It was not occurring everywhere at once. A variety of diverse agricultural activities survived into the twentieth century, and although the sugar latifundio had expanded its control over land, traditional tenure forms persisted. Coffee fincas, cacao farms, tobacco vegas, ranches, banana fields, fruit and vegetable farms, and forests flourished in different regions of the province. So did family renters, owners, and squatters. Yet all this was changing, gradually, but steadily. The events of 1912 suggested that change had affected some districts and some Cubans more adversely than others.

The southeast, and especially Guantanamo, had been particularly hard hit. To be sure, in 1912 grievances were not clearly articulated, only acted out, with the inevitable result that the meaning of those actions was left to others to explain. Not unexpectedly, nor perhaps even with the intention to deceive and dissimulate, the explanations advanced at the time, as well as subsequently, failed either to appreciate adequately the source of rebellion or interpret correctly its significance. The issue of race blurred the meaning of the uprising and obscured the implications of the protest. The uprising of 1912 was seen as one in a series of many political protests in the early republic. Class was subordinated to race, the social was eclipsed by the political. Even sympathetic renderings of 1912 did little more than to put a more favorable light on the same story line.

The emphasis on race had one effect, if not function. The portrayal of the uprising at the time as the work of disgruntled black politicians and, concomitantly and as the inevitable corollary, the view that the protest was a race war, served to divide the peasantry along racial lines. It was clear that the rebels were mainly black, but it was not clear that the source of the rebellion was entirely racial. Not that the issue of race was unimportant. On the contrary, the independientes' protest underscored the other attribute that many of growing numbers of dispossessed peasants shared in common: race. And, indeed, with the preponderance of the population in southeastern Oriente facing indigence made up of people of color, it was not at all unreasonable for many to perceive race as the source of their plight. It also offered a basis of unity for black peasants. But what served to unite black peasants contributed to dividing the *oriental* peasantry. Cuban authorities had compelling motive to represent the uprising as a race war. The construct served to unify the white majority in Oriente, and this unity tended to cut across class lines. It set black peasants apart from white peasants. It served as the basis of repression - more, it facilitated repression. The conditions that drove black peasants to rebellion in 1912 were present everywhere in Oriente. The rendering of the protest as a "*guerra de razas*" directed by the Partido Independiente de Color, however, allowed white peasants to interpret the dispute as a political one and the cause a racial one-neither one of which had very much to do with them. Far-reaching changes were overtaking eastern Cuba. Although it was not immediately apparent, 1912 was the first collective response to those changes.

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1. This includes materials spanning from contemporary accounts of recent works: Rafael Conte and Jose M. Capmany, *Guerra de razas (Negros contra blancos en Cuba)* (Havana, 1912); James B. Clarke, "The Cuban Revolution," *The Crisis*, 4 (Oct. 1912), 301-302;Carlos de Velasco, "El problema negro," *Cuba Contemporanea*, 1:2 (Feb. 1913), 73-79; Alberto Arredondo, *El negro en Cuba: Ensayo* (Havana, 1939); Pascual B. Marcos Verguer, *El negro en Cuba* (Havana, 1955); Serafin Portuondo Linares, Los *independientes de color: Historia del Partido Independiente de Color* (Havana, 1950); Rafael Fermoselle, *Politica y color en Cuba; Las guerrita de 1912* (Montevideo, 1974); Hugh Thomas, *Cuba: The Pursuit of Freedom* (New York, 1971), pp. 522-524; Thomas Tondee Orum, "The Politics of Color: The Racial Dimension of Cuban Politics During the Early Republican Years, 1900-1912" (unpublished Ph.D. diss., New York University, 1975). Nor have the recent writings in socialist Cuba departed significantly from these central themes. See Teresita Yglesia Martinez, *El segundo ensayo de republica* (Havana, 1980), pp. 328-373; *Direccion Politica de las F.A.R., Historia de Cuba*, 3rd ed. (Havana, 1971), pp. 561-566; Julio LeRiverend, *La republica: Dependencia y revolucion*, 3rd ed. (Havana, 1971), pp. 122-126; Sergio Aguirre, "El cincuentenario de un gran crimen," *Cuba Socialista*, 2:16 (Dec. 1962), 33-51; Martha Veronica Alvarez Mola and Pedro Martinez Pirez, "Algo acerca del problema negro en Cuba hasta 1912,"*Universidad de La Habana*, 179 (May-June, 1966), 79-93; Leopold Horrego Estuch, "El alzamiento del doce," *Bohemia*, 59:25 (June 26, 1967), 18-22; and Felipe Ruiz, "La matanza de negros en 1912," *Juventud Rebelde*, May 22, 1973, p.2.

2.Antonio Maceo, "A los cubanos de la raza negra," n.d., Fondo Donativos y Remisiones, leg. 525, no. 13, Archivo Nacional de Cuba, Havana, Cuba (hereafter ANC).

3.Jose Marti, "Mi raza," Apr. 1893, in Jose Marti, *Obras completas*, Jorge Quintana ed., 5 vols. (Caracas, 1964), II, 488. For further discussion of Marti on race, see Armando Guerra, *Marti y los negros* (Havana, 1947) and John M. Kirk, *Jose Marti: Mentor of the Cuban Nation* (Gainsville, 1983), pp. 106-112.

4.Rafael Maria Merchan, *Cuba: Justificacion de sus guerras de independencia*, (Havana, 1961), p. 41.

5.See Matias Duque, Nuestra patria (Havana, 1923). P. 143; Donna M. Wolf, "The Cuban 'Gente de Color' and the Independence Movement, 1879-1895," *Revista/Review Interamericana*, 5 (Fall 1975), 403-421; Fermoselle, Politica y color en Cuba, p. 26; and Orum, "The Politics of Color," pp.31-49. For biographical profiles of some of the most prominent Afro-Cuban leaders of the independence movement, see Juan F. Risquet, *Rectificacaiones. La cuestion politico-social en la isla de Cuba* (Havana, 1900).

6.The town of Palenque in Alto Songo traced its origins to settlements of runaway slaves. See Richard B. Rouseet, *Historial de Cuba*, 3 vols. (Havana, 1918), III, 124. For a general discussion of fugitive slaves settlements in Oriente, see Jose Luciano Franco, *Los palenques de los negros cimarrones* (Havana, 1973), pp. 102-116.

7.United States War Department (hereafter USWD), Office of Director of Census (hereafter ODC), *Informe sobre el censo de Cuba, 1899* (Washington, DC, 1900), pp.78-79, 189. See also *Centro de Estudios Demograficos, La poblacion de Cuba* (Havana, 1976), 99, 126-129, 139-140.

8.See Secretario, Gobierno de las Isla de Cuba, "Memoria: Censo de la poblacion de la Isla de Cuba, 1877," Nov. 12, 1899, Fondo Miscelanea, leg. 4041, no. 900, ANC, USWD, *Informe*, pp. 78-79; Kenneth F. Kiple, *Blacks in Colonial Cuba, 1774-1899* (Gainsville, 1976), pp. 98-99. The designation of race and color in Cuba census categories is, of course, often untrustworthy and always uncorroberated. The censuses used in this essay employed such terms as "metizo," "mulato," and "de color" interchangebly and without consistent distinction. In some cases, Asians were no doubt included. In most instances, the designation "de color" or "blanco" depended wholly on the impressions of Cuban enumerators, whose judgements were in turn shaped by cultural norms, regional distinctions, and local conventions. Hence, a person designated "blanco" in Oriente could have been just as easily deemed "de color" in Pinar del Rio. In a larger sense, Cuban census data must be approached with no small amount of circumspection. The imformation is frequently inexact if not incorrect. For all their imperfections, however, the censuses provide a vast corpus of otherwise unobtainable information. Used with care, they can be made to yield vital insights into the nature of Cuban society.

9.USWD, OCD, *Informe*, pp. 204-212.

10.See Rafael Gutierrez Fernandez, *Oriente heroico* (Santiago de Cuba, 1915), pp. 103-104; Levi Marrero, *Geografia de Cuba* (Havana, 1951), pp. 634-636.

11.USWD, ODC, *Informe*, pp. 554, 567-568.

12.Ibid., pp. 556-568-569.

13.Ibid.

14.Ibid. See also Fe Iglesisa, "Algunos aspectos de la distribucion de la tierra en 1899," *Santiago*, 40 (Dec. 1980), 170-171.

15.USWD, ODC, *Informe*, p. 571.

16.Antonio Carlo Napoleone Gallenga, *The Pearl of the Antilles* (London, 1873), p. 53.

17.Adolfo Saenz Yanez, secretary of industries, commerce, and public works, "Answers to the Questions Proposed to this Department by the Honorable John R. Brooke, Military Governor," Nov. 9, 1899 file 1899/2594, Records of the Military Government of Cuba, Record Group 140, National Archives, Washington, DC (hereafter MGC/RG 140); Frank Steinhart, "Annual Report: Fiscal Year Ending June, 1903, "General Records of the Department of State, Record Group 59, National Archives, Washington, DC (hereafter DS/RC 59); and Leonard Wood et al., *Opportunities in the Colonies and Cuba* (New York, 1902), pp. 182-186.

18.F. de P. Portuondo to secretary of agriculture, Aug. 15, 1899, in John R. Brooke, *Civil Report of Major-General John R. Brooke, U.S. Army, Military Governor, Island of Cuba* (Washington, DC, 1900), pp. 311-314. For data on individual municipios, see USWD, OCD, *Informe*, pp. 198-200; Cuba, Under the Provisional Government of the United States, *Censo de la Republica de Cuba*, 1907 (Washington, DC, 1908), pp. 306-308; Cuba, Provincia de Oriente, *Memoria sobre el estado de la provinica y sobre los trabajos realizados pro el gobierno y el consejo provinciales durante el ano fiscal de 1904 a 1905* (Havana, 1906), pp. 555-558.

19.*Censo de la Republica de Cuba*, 1907, p. 339.

20.Charles Harcourt Ainslie Forbes-Lindsay, *Cuba and Her People of To-Day* (Boston, 1911), pp. 122-123.

21.Cuba, *Memoria sobre el estado de la provincia*, p. 497.

22.See "Rollo de recurso de apelacion establecido por el Ferrocarrid de Guantanamo en las diligencias que ha promovido contra los esposos Sanchez Toca, sobre expropriacion forzosa de una parcela de terreno del Ingenio 'Confluente,'" Apr. 20, 1908, Fondo Audiencia de Santiago de Cuba, leg. 6, no. 5, ANC; "Rollo de recurso de apelacion establecido por Richard H. Beathie y otros, en el expediente de expropiacion forzosa promovido por The Cuban Eastern Rail Road Company de una faja de terreno de la Estancia 'MacKinly,'" Sept. 8, 1906, Fondo Audiencia de Santiago de Cuba, leg. 17, no. 10, ANC; "Rollo de recurso de apleacion establecido por la 'Jurgua Iron Company' en el expediente que tiene promovido sobre expropriacion de una faja de terreno de la finca 'Justisi,'" Sept. 3, 1910, Fondo Audiencia de Santiago de Cuba, leg. 11, no. 5, ANC.

23."Rollo de recurso de apleacion establecido por Pedro R. Rodriguez, sindico de la hacienda 'El Canal' contra el sindico y representante de la hacienda 'Cabezuela,' Sres. Jose Galvez y Antonio Avila, en incidente de impugnacion al plano de dicha hacienda 'El Canal,' June 21, 1909, Fondo Audiencia de Santiago de Cuba, leg. 11, no. 5, ANC.

24.Lowry Nelson, *Rural Cuba* (Minneapolis, 1950), p. 97. See also Rogelio de Armas y Herrera, *Esutido sobre dislindes* (Baracoa, 1913).

25.B.E. Fernow, "The High Sierra Maestra," *Bulletin of the American Geographical Society*, 39 (1907), 257.

26.USWD, ODC, *Informe*, p. 212; *Censo de la Republica de Cuba*, 1907, p. 215.

27.USWD, ODC, *Informe*, p. 212; *Censo de la Republica de Cuba*, 1907, p. 584; and Regino Eladio *Boti y Barrreiro, Guantanamo* (Guantanamo, 1912), p. 59.

28.Rousset, *Historial de* Cuba, III, 118.

29.See George H. Chadwick to Adna R. Chaffee, May 26, 1899, file 1899/2020, MGC/RG 140.

30.USWD, OCD, *Informe*, pp. 736-737, 742, 744.

31.Ibid., pp. 742, 744.

32.USWD, OCD, *Informe*, p. 215; *Censo de la Republica de Cuba*, 1907, p. 322.

33.Oriente was followed by Camaguey at 10.93 per 1,000; Pinar del Rio, 12.27; Santa Clara, 14.81; Mantazas, 16.59; and Havana, 18.18. See Cuba, Bureau of the Census, *Census of the Republic of Cuba*, 1919 (Havana, 1921), p. 254.

34.*Censo de la Republica de Cuba*, 1907, p. 376.

35.Ibid., p. 199.

36.See Irene A. Wright, "The Guantanamo Valley," *The Cuba Magazine*, 2 (Mar. 1911), 15-22; *The Times of Cuba*, June 1917, pp. 68,76; John Moody, *Moody's Analysis of Investments: Public Utilities and Industrials*, 1917 (New York, 1917), pp. 997, 1174.

37.USWD, ODC, *Informe*, p. 566; Cuba, *Memoria sobre el estado del provinicia*, p. 167.

38.Data derived from Cuba, *Memoria sobre el estado de la provincia*, p. 167 and "Expediente realtivo a los estados que dispone el Articulo 310 de la Ley Hipotecaria y que elevan los Registradores de la Propiedad en abril de cada ano y que had de ser elevados al la seccion de los regostros y ddel notario, segun dispone el Articulo 310 de dicha Ley," 1911, Fondo Audiencia de Santiago de Cuba, leg. 3, no. 17, ANC.

41.See Republica de Cuba, Secretaria de Hacienda, Seccion de Estadistica, *Immigration y movimiento de pasajeros en el ano 1912* (Havana, 1912), pp. 10, 12, 19. See also Mats Lundahl, "A Note on Haitian Migration to Cuba, 1890-1934," Cuban Studies/Estudios Cubanos, 12:2 (July 1981), 21-36.

42.*La Lucha*, May 14, 1912.

43.See *Censo de la Republica de Cuba*, 1907, p. 577.

44.Ibid., pp. 322, 512.

45.USWD, OCD, Informe, p. 447 and *Censo de la Republica de Cuba*, 1907 p. 524.

46.Great Britian, Foreign Office, Diplomatic and Consular Reports, Annual Series (hereafter GBFO/DCR/AS), *Cuba 1911* (London, 1912), p. 8.

47.Francisco Perez de la Riva, *El cafe: Historia de su cultivo y explotacion en Cuba* (Havana, 1944), 99. 214-215.

48.Robert B. Hoernel, "Sugar and Social Change in Oriente, Cuba, 1898-1946," *Journal of Latin American Studies*, 8:2 (Nov. 1976), 230; GBFO/DCR/AS, *Cuba 1907* (London, 1909), p. 7.

49.Cuba, Bureau of the Census, *Census of the Republic of Cuba, 1919* (Havana, 1919),p. 58.

50.*The Cuban Review*, 10 (Oct. 1912), 16.

51.For a discusssion of the importance of male support of the rural household see Stephen Gudeman, *The Demise of a Rural Economy: From Subsistence to Capitalism in a Latin American Village* (London, 1978), pp. 41-42.

52.Arthur A. Schomburg, "General Evaristo Estenoz," *The Crisis*, 4 (July 1912), pp. 143-144.

53.Esteban Montejo, *The Autobiography of a Runaway Slave*, Miguel Barnet, ed., Jocasta Innes, trans. (London, 1968), p. 216.

54.Data compiled from *Censo de la Republica de Cuba, 1907*, p. 61 and *Census of the Republic of Cuba*, 1919, p. 183.

55.*Censo de la Republica de Cuba, 1907*, pp. 545-546. See also Arredondo, *El negro en Cuba*, p. 183.

56.*La Lucha*, June 9, 1910.

57.For an excellent account of these developments, see Orum, "The Politics of Color," pp. 158-212. See also Fermoselle, *Politica y color en Cuba*, pp. 101-149.

58.Orum, "The Politics of Color," pp. 153, 155; Mario Riera Hernandez, *Cincuenta y dos anos de politica: Oriente, 1900-1952* (Havana, 1953), pp. 105-113, 119-138.

59.Ross E. Holaday to John B. Jackson, May 2, 1910, 837.00/380, DS/RG 59.

60.John B. Jackson to secretary of state, Apr. 26, 1910, 837.00/377, DS/RG 59.

61.*La Lucha*, May 28, 1912.

62.This information is drawn largely from *La Lucha* and *Diario de la Marina* (Havana) for the period May 18-May 23, 1912.

63.See La Lucha, May 1912.

64."Expediente referente a los alzamientos de negros, dirigidos por el Partido Independiente de Color, encabezados por Evaristo Estenoz y Pedro Ivonet," April-June, 1912, Fondo Secretaria de la Presidencia, leg. 110, no. 2, ANC.

65.Arthur M. Beaupre to secretary of state, May 24, 1912, 837.00/637, DS/RG 59.

66.Arthru M. Beaupre to secretary of state, June 4, 1912, 837.00/713, DS/RG 59.

67.Major Henry C. Davis, United States Marine Corps, Guantanamo, to Captain Harry Law, June 25, 1912, 837.00/884, DS/RG 59.

68.Ross E. Holdady to United States Legion, Havana, May 25, 1912, 837.00/622, DS/RG 59.

69.More typically, Henry A. Landsberger suggests, jacqueries are "peasant uprisings in which the prime motive is reputed to be to gain immediate relief from pent-up frustations through destruction of property and the commission of violence against persons." Landsberger, "Peasant Unrest: Themes and Variations," in *Rural Protest: Peasant Movements and Social Change*, Henry A. Landsberger, ed. (New York, 1973), p. 21. Chalmers Johnson characterizes the jacquerie as a "simple rebellion," motivated by the "belief that the system had been betrayed by its elite; violence wsa invoked to purge the system of its violators, and, so to speak, to set it back on the tracks." Johnson, *Revolutionary Change* 2nd ed. (Stanford, 1982), pp. 123-124. See also Ekkart Zimmerman, *Political Violence, Crises, and Revolutions: Theories and Research* (Boston, 1983), pp. 339, 374, 546; *Preconditions of Revolution in Early Modern Europe*, Robert Forester and Jack P. Green, eds. (Baltimore, 1970), pp. 2, 5-6. Developments in Oriente in 1912 conform also to the theoretical propositions linking rebellion with deprivation. "Men... are angered over the loss of what they once had or thought they could have," Ted Robert Gurr wrote. And, indeed, the Afro-Cuban communities of southeastern Oriente were not experiencing disappointment of unrealized hopes, but deprivation of achieved expectations and the loss of expectations. "Men who are frustrated," Gurr added, "have an innate dispostion to do violence to its source in proportion to the intensity of their frustration." And bearing directly on the events in 1912: "Aggressive responses tend to occur only when they are evoked by an external cue, that is, when the angered person sees an attackable object or person that he associates with the source of frustarion... An angered person is not likely to strike out at any object in his enviroment, but only at the targets he thinks are responsible." Gurr, *Why Men Rebel* (Princeton, 1970), pp. 34, 37, 46.

70.Ross E. Holaday to Arthur M. Beaupre, June 13, 1912, 837.00/763, DS/RG 59.

71.C. B. Goodrich to Ross E. Holaday, Oct. 10, 1913, Santiago de Cuba, file 350/1913, Records of the Foreign Service Posts of the Department of State, Record Group 84, National Archives, Washington, D.C. For accounts of the assault against property see G.C. Peterson, general manager, Guantanmo and Western Railroad, to M.H. Lewis, June 14, 1912, 837.00/834, DS/RG 59; Arthur M. Beaupre to secretary of state, May 27, 1912, 837.00/623, and May 30, 1912, 837.00/642, DS/RG 59.

72.*La Lucha*, May 25, June 10, 1912.

73.*La Lucha*, May 22, June 4, 1912.

74.Lindsay, *Cuba and Her People*, p. 111.

75.For accounts of these attacks see *La Lucha*, May 22, 27, 28, 1912; *Diario de la Marina*, May 27, June 1, 8, 1912; Orum, "The Politics of Color," p. 248; Arthur M. Beaupre to secretary of state, May 27, 1912, 837.00/623, DS/RG 59.

76.*La Lucha*, May 24, June 3, 4, 1912.

77.Diario de la Marina, May 22, 28, 1912; La Lucha, May 23, 29, 1912: Jose A. Garcia y Castaneda, *La municipalidad holgueniera* (*Comentario historico*) 1898-1988 (Holguin, 1955), p. 37.

78.Commanding officer, "U.S.S. Petrel," to secretary of the navy, July 17, 1912, 837.00/908, DS/RG 59.

79.Lincoln Karmany, brigade commander, Guantanamo Bay, to commander, Fourth Division, June 10, 1912, 837.00/799, DS/RG 59.

80.*La Lucha*, June 27, 1912.

81.*La Lucha*, May 28, 1912.

82.See *La Lucha*, June 11, 1912.

83.Arthur M. Beaupre to secretary of state, June 4, 1912, 837.00/713, DS/RG 59.

84.*La Lucha*, June 11, 1912.

85.*Diario de la Marina*, June 8, 1912.

86.Charles Ham to Ross E. Holaday, June 25, 1912, 837.00/877, DS/RG 59.

87.C. B. Goodrich to M.H. Lewis, July 20, 1912, 837.00/827, DS/RG 59.

88.George Bayliss to Arthur M. Beaupre, June 15, 1912, 837.00/827, DS/RG 59.

89.Commanding officer, "U.S.S. Petre," to secretary of the navy, July 17, 1912, 837.00/908, DS/RG 59.

90.For estimates of the number of Cubans of color killed, see Juan Jerez Villarreal, *Oriente (Biografia de una provincia)* (Havana, 1960), p. 306 and Fermoselle, *Politica y color en Cuba*, pp. 158-159, 166-167. Some estimates were as high as 35,000 deaths. See Marianne Masferrer and Carmelo Mesa-Lago, "The Gradual Intergration of the Black in Cuba: Under the Colony, the Republic, and the Revolution," in *Slavery and Race Relations in Latin America*, Robert Brent Topin, ed. (Westport, CT, 1974), p. 360.

91.see C.V. Carvalho to R. Manduley, May 27, 1912, Fondo Secretaria de la Presidencia, leg. 110, no. 2, ANC.

92.Captain Frank Parker, "Final Report as Instructed to Rural Guard of Cuba, 1909-1919," Feb. 4, 1919, file no. 5586-19, Records of the War Department General and Special Staffs, Record Group 165, National Archives, Washington, DC.

93.Thomas, *Cuba, the Pursuit of Freedom*, p. 523.

PUERTO RICO AND AFRICA:
THE AMBIGUITY OF DIASPORA

by

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The Atlantic Slave Trade Museum in Liverpool, England has among its vast collection of artifacts a Spanish certificate of indemnification to a slave owner in Puerto Rico. The document sits alone and largely unexplained. Likewise, the island from which it comes sits largely outside discussions of the African Diaspora and only peripherally enters discussions on the slave traffic itself. Yet the 1873 certificate for someone's black slaves raises questions. Where do we place those faceless laborers freed by this piece of paper? In what ways were they and their descendants part of the African Diaspora? Indeed, what is the meaning of the term African Diaspora. What is its extent? What is its future? Although the term Diaspora has long been used, little attention has been devoted to delimiting its boundaries. From the fifteenth century onward, over ten million forced migrants left the African continent to people both of the Americas and islands of the Caribbean. The number of people of African descent in the Americas is unknown (and perhaps, unknowable). For instance the number in Latin America varies between 130 and 170 million.[1] Significantly, many of these persons may not even consider themselves members of a transnational Diasporic community. We must realize that the very concept is porous, with perhaps more people passing out of the orbit of Diaspora-consciousness than are entering it. Blackness in the Americas is contested and negotiated and, to some extent, molded by the constraints imposed by dominant Euro-American elites from colonial times onward. Hybridity and resistance have involved both culture and people; any examination must note the conjunctions and disjunctions between the two in all their configurations. The Diaspora is both race/ethnicity and culture, sometimes found together, sometimes not. Because of this African and Latin Puerto Rico is in some sense a transfrontier society, one which has moved from one Diaspora to another.

It is Latin America which best problemetizes and contests the notion of the Diaspora as race and/or culture. It is estimated that the population of the region that is of African descent is today between 130 million and 170 million, or approximately one-third of the region's 450 million people.[2] The Hispanophone Caribbean is the one area of Latin America in which this population is most obvious. For Cuba the minimum and maximum numbers for the black population are 3.6 million (34 percent) and 6.5 million (62 percent). For the Dominican Republic the figures vary widely—from a minimum of 847,000 (11 percent) to a maximum of 2.4 million (70 percent). The same can be said of Puerto Rico , where from 23 to 70 percent of the population is estimated to be Afro-Latin American .[3]

Puerto Rico is an ideal location for the study of the boundaries and meaning of the Black Diaspora. Politically, the island, which in the early nineteenth century was blacker than many U.S. territories, is tied to the United States, home of the most self-conscious black population in the Diaspora. Culturally it is aligned with Latin America, those congeries of people stretches from the Rio Grande to Tierra del Fuego. What the islanders primary identification should be has been contested from at least the mid-nineteenth century to the present.

Writing in the late 1980s on identity in Puerto Rico, Peter Hulme observed: There is an *official* tripartite synthesis: the stamp of the Institute of Puerto Rican Culture shows a black and an Amerindian flanking a Spaniard...there is no suggestion of conflict here - it is just as if the three had combined quite happily to produce *cultura puertorriquena*. [4] The image belies decades of cultural and political jockeying over what culture is central to the Puerto Rican experience. The idea of the *Tres Herencias* (Three Heritages) is today more or less orthodoxy. However, it became so only after a long debate on the role of Africa in the making of the island. The question of identity arises from the very complexity of the island's patterns of settlement and the ideologies which this has generated. As Alfredo Lopez has noted:

> As useful as the term might be, it is potentially confusing to speak of a Puerto Rican culture. For while there are common threads—language, music, folklore, and customs—they did not suddenly appear and were never static. They emerged from the clash among different classes with in Puerto Rican society as it developed and they continued to change and adjust as those classes battled and influenced one another. And, while there was much communality(sic) between the emerging cultures of different classes in Puerto Rico, there were also enormous differences. So, for example, while both speak Spanish, the Spanish spoken by an urban professional in nineteenth century Puerto Rico was different in nuance, rhythm, and colloquialisms from the Spanish spoken by *jornalero* (day laborer). And that continues to be case today. [5]

The three heritages interdigitate with class in a variety of ways. Emphasis on the Spanish imperial heritage, *hispanismo*, was once the social property of the socioeconomic elite, a group with a close identification with Europe and the Iberian past. In the last decades of Spanish rule, the Assimilista Party advocated full identification with the motherland: We desire that the future of Puerto Rico be forever united with that of Spain. We seek equality among all the members who form the great Spanish nation. [6] Jose de Diego, co-founder of the Partido de la Union de Puerto Rico (1904), saw Puerto Rican identity as essentially white, Iberian and Catholic, without any taint of indigenous or African elements.[7] In 1934, Antonio Pedreira the leader of the literary movement "*Insularismo*," also saw the country's backwardness as a result of its black and mulatto population; salvation lay in the *jibaro (*the white yeoman farmer).[8]

San Juan had its first census in 1673; there were 1,791 inhabitants, a figure which included whites, blacks, and free mulattos, but no mention of Native Americans. Nevertheless, *indigenismo* (nativism), the identification with and glorification of Puerto Rico s Amerindian past, is an important strand in the debate over who Puerto Ricans are. It is sometimes opposed to and sometimes works in tandem with Iberian triumphalism: There is...an older and more polite interest in Amerindians—part of that antagonism which has always sat comfortably with a deeply conservative *hispanismo*. [9] The island is often called by its indigenous name, Boriquen and its people celebrated as autochthonous. The writer Juan Antonio Corretjer has asked: "What explains our constant literary evocation of Indian and indigenous themes? Is it just an echo of romanticism?" His answer is no. In fact we are secretly moved by the sacrifice of those who were our last truly free countrymen. Our Indianist yearnings show a nostalgia for freedom. [10] Given the fact that, at least in the last three centuries, settlers have constituted the bulk of the population, lineal descent from the island's Taino autochtons is unlikely for most Puerto Ricans. What antagonism does give is a past freed of both African and colonialist associations.

A third tendency sees Puerto Rico as an example of Afro-Caribbean culture. In the 1930s and 1940s the poet Luis Pales Matos (1903-1963) celebrated the African roots of island culture in his *poesia negroide*. The tradition has continued in various forms. Perhaps most notably in the critical writings of Jose Luis Gonzalez. In his book, *Pais de Cuatro Pisos y Otros Ensayos*, (The Four-Storeyed Country and Other Essays) he argued for the centrality of the *Afro-Mestizo* experience to Puerto Rican culture: These blacks and mulattos, historically speaking, constituted the cement of Puerto Rican nationality because they were the first to feel Puerto Rico as their true home and because they had no roots in or loyalty to Spain, Corsica, the Balearic Islands, or indeed anywhere else.[11]

Slavery

Awilda Orta, a Puerto Rican educator in New York, notes an old Puerto Rican saying to emphasize the African origins of much that is Puerto Rican: "Si no es Dingo es Mandingo - If you are not Dingo, you are *Mandingo* (Mandinka)." [12] The folk saying implies that all islanders have some roots in Africa. The nonwhite population was 56 percent in 1820 and around 50 percent in 1846.[13] The slave population never exceeded fourteen percent of the total, but it did increase rapidly in the period before 1845. This expansion was due to the rapid growth of a plantation economy built on sugar cultivation. In the tumultuous nineteenth century, Spain's attention remained focused on the South Atlantic system—the growth in the Americas of tropical produce with African slave labor. The system was not simply an anachronism in an era of free labor, but a response to new opportunities in a system previously monopolized by others. Philip Curtin has noted that the British feared competition from the modern, slave-run plantations of Cuba and Puerto Rico. [14] According to Francisco Scarano, "Slave labor in sugar was preponderant in Puerto Rico up to 1850 and probably represented about half of the total labor input in the industry in the years immediately preceding abolition in 1873." [15] Between 1830 and 1896, the amount of land devoted to sugar production rose from 17,000 to 62,200 tons...[16] By the end of the century, however, sugar lagged behind coffee. Between 1830 and 1896 the acreage on Puerto Rico devoted to coffee cultivation increased by nearly 600 percent, and by the 1890s coffee production had become the main export. Also by that time, the amount of land devoted to commercial crops (i.e. 41% devoted to coffee production, 15 percent to sugar, 1 percent to tobacco, and 32 percent to subsistence crops).[17]

The growth of the economy was fueled, in part, by the Transatlantic and inter-Caribbean slave trades. Already, in the seventeenth century, the island had received black immigration, both slave and free, from neighboring islands. In 1664, after capturing three enslaved black women and a man who ran away in 1664 from Saint Croix, the Spanish government on Puerto Rico decided to emancipate them and future runaways who reached its shore rather return them. Forty years later there were approximately eighty runaways from the Danish, Dutch, English, and French Caribbean colonies living in Puerto Rico. These and subsequent emancipated runaways were given permission to establish their own community on the outskirts of San Juan which became San Mateo de Cangrejos (later Santurce). By 1791, the community had grown to more than seven hundred inhabitants living in nearly two hundred houses.[18]

The free black immigrants to Puerto Rico lived among slaves imported from elsewhere in the Caribbean. Beginning in 1780, landowners in Puerto Rico were authorized by the Spanish Government to purchase slaves from the French-speaking Caribbean. This practice continued until the Haitian Revolution in 1791. After an interruption during the Napoleonic period, the slave trade with other islands recommenced. Enslaved blacks from Saint Bartholomew, Saint Thomas, and the French Lesser Antilles were sent to plantations in the eastern part of the island; captive labor from St. Thomas and Curacao went primarily to the western end. Slave labor also arrived from Martinique. Alvarez Narzario has identified Yoruba and Ewe peoples from Dahomey as the dominant groups brought to Puerto Rico from Martinique and the other French colonies in the Antilles. Wolof and other peoples from the Senegambia were the second largest concentration to arrive from the French Antilles. It is also possible that Mende people from the French Antilles arrived in Puerto Rico in the nineteenth century.[19] Ponce, on the southern coast, was the greatest center of slave trafficing in nineteenth century Puerto Rico. The trade there in the first half of the century went through three stages, the first two involving slaves from other Caribbean islands. In the first stage, before 1815, slaves were legally imported through San Juan and illegally through foreign colonies (particular Saint Thomas). For instance, in 1806 a San Juan merchant firm, Francisco Sauri Hermanos, brought 44 slaves to Ponce. The slaves had been part of a shipment of 86 Africans brought by a Danish schooner from Saint Thomas. The captives were sold in small lots to individual purchasers, some from as far away as Cabo Fojo at the southwestern tip of the island.[20] This was not an isolated incident. The Danish slave trade, centered on Saint Thomas, was the principal supplier of Puerto Rico through the first decade of the nineteenth century. The Danish islands reexported 26,400 slaves between 1785 and 1807, for a yearly average of 2,200.[21] Many of them went to Puerto Rico.

In Ponce, the second phase of the slave trade, which began around 1815 and ended around the mid-1830s, was characterized by a decrease in the role of San Juan and an increase in direct imports to Ponce from Caribbean distributing centers. French traders from Guadalupe and Martinique dominated the trade in the 1820s, at precisely the time when the overall volume of the Atlantic slave trade was peaking. It is probably correct in his belief that a great portion of the slaves were Yoruba and neighboring peoples. The French consul in San Juan reported in November 1825 that during the preceding six months more than 6,000 slaves had entered the island.[22] According to Francisco Scarano in a typical year at the height of the trade (1821-1834), probably from 300 to 400 slaves were brought into the port of Ponce. [23] The trade with the French declined acutely after 1831, when France granted British antislavery patrols the right to search on the high seas.

Looking at the evolution of the slave trade in Ponce, Scarano detects a concluding stage, from 1835 to 1845, characterized by diminished volume, direct relations with distribution centers in West Africa , and control of the traffic by resident merchants and planters. [24] Planters pooled their resources and attempted to deal directly with African suppliers. An Anglo-Spanish treaty of 1817 had promised to outlaw the Spaniard trade in 1820, but remained largely ineffectual through its first decade and a half. Jose de Moros, officer of a Spanish merchantman, visited the Bights of Benin and Biafra three times in the 1830s and estimated that at least a hundred ships left the area each year bound for the Caribbean.[25] The majority of these ships were *negreros* (slave ships). Such ventures were fraught with danger. A new Anglo-Spanish antislaving treaty in 1835 extended the British right of search, and the number of Spanish slavers captured increased rapidly. From 1830 to 1835 the British West African Squadron had captured only ten *negreros* per annum on average. This average rose to thirty-five from 1835 to 1839.[26] The Court of Mixed Commission in Freetown, Sierra Leone received thirty-five Spanish slavers in 1836; twenty-four were condemned under the terms of the 1835 treaty. The challenge of continued British antislaving measures brought forth a response from the slavers; clandestine bases on the coast kept supplies of equipment and supplies to abet rapid departures. In addition, foreign flags were used by Spanish vessels. Smaller ships were employed and sailed from the Caribbean carrying ballast. They rendezvoused at appointed places on the coast and separated in different directions when the antislaving squadron was sighted.

Some Puerto Rican planters were willing to incur the risk of Transatlantic slaving. One observer, Charles Walker, wrote of the return of an expedition organized by the planters of Guayama in April 1837:

> A few days since a slave ship, that had been fitted out in shares by the planters, here arrived with 292 Africans on board, in a perfect state of nudity & nature. She had been absent nearly a year, when an ordinary voyage to the coast & back is five or six months. Fears were entertained that she was captured, for the English have taken and destroyed over forty vessels this year...at present slaves are so valuable there is little animal suffering and few or no deaths. Here they are landed on plantations and divided into lots, & the shareholders then divide them, & theyare offered for sale like any other animals.[27]

The few years of direct slaving to Puerto Rico coincided with the efflorescence of Spanish activity along the present-day Sierra Leone/Liberia border. The Vai of the region traded the Kpelle and other neighboring groups. In the early 1840s a center of Spanish activity briefly became the Gabon and Cape Lopez regions. In this region the Bantu-speaking Benga people and their Enviko neighbors did a thriving trade, culminating in the proclamation of a Spanish protectorate over the Benga in 1845. The slave trade to Puerto Rico ended around this time due to the failure to secure adequate catchment areas, rising slave prices, the vigilance of the Antislaving Squadron and the increasing willingness of officials in Puerto Rico to carry out the provisions of antislaving legislation and treaties. British attacks on Spaniards engaged in slaving in Africa had also increased. For example, in 1840 they attacked several slaving bases, including the Rio Gallinas factories of Pedro Blanco, a trader from Malaga. The British also struck further south. In November of 1840 they attacked Corisco (near Gabon) and captured Miguel Pons, second factor of the firm of Juan Fales and Company of Matanzas, Cuba. Three years later Britain told Spain that it planned to destroy slaving bases at Cabo Lopez, where Spanish slavers had retreated after the destruction of their Corisco stations. The French proposed an antislaving base farther south at what became Libreville.

Although the slave trade to Puerto Rico had come to an end by 1850, it had an important demographic impact. In some areas it was particularly pronounced. In Ponce the slave population multiplied more than fivefold between 1802 and 1846, while the free population grew by less than half that number. The percentage of slaves in the population went from 12.5 percent in 1802 to more than 23 percent in 1834; it remained at that percentage for the rest of the period, as both the free and slave populations grew at a yearly rate of less than 2 percent. This is significant when it is remembered that slaves were only 11 percent of the total Puerto Rican population when the slave population was at its peak between 1834 and 1846.[28] In Ponce in 1838 a little more than half (53.4 percent) of the rural slaves in the municipality in 1838 were born in Africa. Approximately 40 percent were native-born, and 5 percent were born in other New World locations. On the largest landholding more than two-thirds of the slaves were African and only about one-quarter were island-born. On mid-size plantations, the African - Creole (island-born) ratio resembled more closely that of the total population. On the smallest holdings, Creoles outnumbered Africans three to one.[29]

The impact of the African presence was not only demographic. The increase in the slave and Afro-Mestizo population increased fears of a repetition of the Haitian experience. Indeed, there were several slave revolts, including one at Bayamon in 1822. Spain sought to increase its hold on the island by encouraging white immigration by enacting the Cedula de Gracias in 1815. As one result, 83 agriculturalists came from Louisiana, with slaves and capital in 1815.[30] There was also an influx of Spaniards from Spain's revolting colonies on the mainland, plus the immigration of numbers of Corsicans, Catalans and Spaniards from the Balearics. This influx brought ideological, as well as economic, change. With the influx of new capital—the attitudes of the insular upper class changed during the nineteenth century from an emphasis on the unity of all Puerto Ricans to one of encouraging the growth of a large slave population which should possess few rights and small chance of political integration.[31] After 1815, a discriminatory property law granted white immigrants the right to occupy twice as much land as black or mixed persons. In 1833, blacks were entirely barred from military service and, fifteen years later, following a series of abortive slave revolts, the governor-general promulgated a Black Code (*Banco Negro*). Both freemen and slaves were subject to courts-martial. Plantation owners were empowered to punish their slaves for minor offenses without reference to the civil or military authorities. Under the new code, any act of resistance against a white on the part of a free black was to be punished by cutting off the right hand of the black. A free black who insulted a white was to be sent to prison for five years. In addition, no blacks from the United States, Haiti or the French Caribbean colonies were to be allowed to enter Puerto Rico.

Abolition came later on Puerto Rico than it did in either the French or British Caribbean. When it did in 1873, only five percent of the total population was slave. The 31,635 freed-persons were required to enter into contracts with their former owners for a period of not less than three years. If their owner refused to enter into such contracts, they were to enter into contracts with other persons or with the government. After five years the ex-slaves were to receive political rights. Abolition did not mean the end of black immigration. Hundreds of laborers from the Caribbean continued to work in the expanding plantation acumen of the early twentieth century.

African Culture

Africa functions best in Puerto Rico at the level of folklore and popular culture; while few individuals may identify as part of an African Diaspora, many will accept the continent s contribution to popular culture. The free and enslaved migrants to Puerto Rico had perceivable impact on the island's vernacular. Some of the most used terms of African derivation are: *name, chango, bemba, rumba, malango, mango, guingambo*. Some, like *chango* (mischievous) and *bemba* (thick lips) have given rise to a myriad of derivations: *machango, chanquero, changeria, changuear, bembudo, bembon*. It is in the musical sphere, more than in language that Africa's gift is most readily acknowledged. If Latino history did not begin in Africa,...whose hands are making music on the drum? Who is dancing? What is the origin of the rhythms in the sauce (salsa):[32] Indeed, the music of Puerto Rico, the *bomba, plena, seis, danza*, reflects African influence perhaps more than any other area of popular culture, save religion. For instance, the Puerto Rican bomba, once danced by black slaves there, took directly from African musical tradition the call-and-response pattern of singing, the dialogue between male dancer and solo drummer, and the rhythmic improvisation of one drummer across the basic rhythm provided by another... [33] According to historian Migdalia de Jesus de Garcia these musical forms operated as the newspapers of the illiterate: A chorus would be sung and a principal singer would then take over to tell a recent story about the neighborhood or the landowners. [34] The *plena* developed from the *bomba* and is an excellent example of the complex interplay of cultural forces on the island. The music grew up around the turn of the center in Ponce in poor *barrios* containing black migrants from Nevins, St. Kitts, Jamaica and Barbados. These *ingleses* (literally English people) brought with them their musical styles which merged with those of the native Pocenos. The beat of the *pandereta*, a tambourine-like hand drum, and call and response were characteristic of early plena. The culture critic Juan Flores sees several phases in the development of this Afro-Caribbean music. "Between 1925 and 1950... plena continued to extend its popularity, reaching the salons and ballrooms, gaining intellectual recognition by sectors of the cultural elite, and establishing itself among Puerto Ricans in New York." [35]

African religion has, to various degrees, survived, often in syncretistic forms. In the nineteenth century both the Afro-mestizos of the coast and the jibaros of the mountains saw blacks as being especially adept at what was termed *bujeria*(sorcery). Number of practices, such as the *baquine*, festive funerary rites for dead children, have an African origin. Various Puerto Rican forms of *curanderia* are found, often blended with beliefs of other provenance. As in Cuba, there has emerged in Puerto Rico one variety of Santeria, the Yoruba-based religion with a wide dispersal in Latin America. Among some Puerto Ricans Catholic saints are seen as versions or *caminos* (ways) of the orishas (spirits). These divinities protected their adherents and guided their destinies. In addition elements of Yoruba derivation, Puerto Rican folk religion encompasses a wide range of African and non-African traditions. In some instances European spiritualism has melded with African forms. In other cases, religion has percolated through the filter of other colonial cultures. One example is the spirit called *La madama francesita*. Originally the term probably applied to female adepts of African religion from the island of Martinique. Later it came to refer to a black female spirit within the pantheon of Puerto Rican spiritualism.[36] Likewise, hybridization has been seen, by at least one observer in the presence of a French Creole litany sung by celebrants during the *Fiesta de Cruz* (Festival of the Cross). Manuel Alvarez Nazario maintains that this cultural item arrived in Puerto Rico from the French Antilles in the nineteenth century.[37]

Blancaquimiento

Puerto Rico is different from its Francophone and Anglophone neighbors. The White population experienced rapid growth in the nineteenth century, a process of whitening (blancaquimiento) which continued into the twentieth. The island had acquired a White majority by about 1830 and the whitening process continued into the mid-twentieth century. Specifically, the white/black ratio shifted gradually, but tellingly, in the first half of the nineteenth century. Whites and blacks were 48% and 52% respectively, in 1802. Ten years later the white percentage was 46.8. There was a dip during the period of greatest slave trading in the 1820s and then the percentage rose again: 44.4% (1820); 49.7% (1827); 50.3% (1830). This increase was the product of both metropolitan concern not to let the island become another Haiti and by the exigencies of the labor supply.

The cessation of forced black immigration before the mid-nineteenth century came at a time when the production of sugar was still expanding. The solution to the dearth of black labor was the encouragement of white labor, a development full of cultural and ideological significance. *Agregados* (squatters), free workers who lived illegally on privately-owned land and who worked periodically for the landowners in lieu of paying rent, were already present by the end of the eighteenth century. Gradually more and more lands occupied by impoverished poor whites were taken by those claiming the means to develop them. A governmental and private campaign of evictions and land seizures began to pay off in the 1820s. Between 1824 and 1827 alone, the number of *agregados* increased from 14,327 to 38,906.[38] In 1837 the governor issued the *Banco de Polica y Buen Gobierno* to further the creation and control of squatters. It compelled all unemployed landless peasants to work on local plantations and farms. Workers were forced to register their names on municipal roles under penalty of fines. Twelve years later the law was extended to require agregados to carry pass books (*libretas reglamentarias*). Loss of the pass book was punished by forced labor without pay. Six month's incarceration was the punishment for repeated loss. According to David Turnbull, a British consul, who visited Puerto Rico in 1840, there were about 41,000 free workers in 1835, a number exceeding the slave population by several thousand.[39]

The North American social scientist Sidney Mintz observed that "One result of forced labor legislation [for poor whites] was to lay the groundwork for a long history of remarkable interracial cooperation; out of the twin repressions of slavery and forced labor, there grew a feeling of unity based on the common lot of Puerto Rican landless agricultural labor, regardless of color, which can never be driven by racist appeals... Furthermore, throughout Puerto Rico s history, intermixture between the two racial groupings was common."[40] Unfortunately, interracial sex is a poor indicator of racial harmony. Class and race interdigitated in various ways in both the slave and post-slave periods. Whites occupied the top of the social pyramid and blacks the bottom. As elsewhere in Latin America, race relations were mediated by a belief in the beneficial aspects of mixture and a complex racial taxonomy, which included terms - *jabo, triqueno, prieto, negro, mulatto*, and *grifo* - to describe various degrees of intermixture. *De facto*, but not *de jure*, segregation was the rule and the colonial elite prided itself on its Iberian and Mediterranean antecedents. Hypogamous marriages were frowned upon and, even among the Afro-Mestizo population, whitening *para adelanta la raza* (to improve the race) was highly valued. Individual Afro-Mestizos, like the politician Jose Celso Barbosa (1851-1921), the author of Problemas de Raza, could achieve some social mobility, but were excluded from the inner circle of the island s elite. Class struggles on the island often had a racial coloration and the white agricultural and business elite could, when needed, describe the workers movement as la negrada socialista (i.e., bunch of socialist niggers). The racialization of lower class social antagonisms also took shape from time to time. The light-skinned laborer Jose Maldonado (a,k,a., Aguila Blanca - White Eagle), pursued by US forces across southern portion of the island in 1898, became the hero of some nationalist, in spite of his repeated violent disputes with blacks and mulattoes.[41] In another instance, the newspaper *La Democracia* thundered against one of the political leaders in Ponce, the black laborer Antonio Guilbe (a.k.a, El Negro), calling him "the worst species of vulgar individual," one of the members of "Mayor Guzman's black guard." [42]

Race, Culture and the Mainland

The United States takeover of Puerto Rico in 1898 affected the views of Puerto Ricans towards themselves and towards elements of their African past. This racism of the colonizing nation produced two broad results. First, it gave new meaning to the longstanding quest for whiteness among Puerto Ricans and exacerbated tensions between those who were accepted as white and those who were not. Second, it discouraged Puerto Ricans of African descent from acknowledging or attempting to understand their African and African-American heritage. More than any other factor, the nefarious impact of United States racial attitudes caused Puerto Ricans of obvious African descent to disdain association with the civil rights movement and the quest among African-Americans for self-identity.[43]

After 1898 many North American observers attempted to assure themselves that Puerto Rico had its own form of invisible color line and that there were Spaniards who saw to it "the Castillean (sic) blood of their households was not soiled by an inferior stream." One official was supposedly told by a leading figure in the business world, a true Puerto Rican of pure Spanish origin, that "the percentage (of mixed race people) will slowly diminish because of the tendency of mixed blood to run out... Half-caste children: would disappear as the breeding-out process reduces them in number." [44] Members of the elite, sometimes unaware of the rigidity of

North American racial categories, went to considerable lengths to convince North Americans of their own whiteness. One American, sympathetic to their plight, wrote "Over and over some friend of ours has remarked ruefully trying to smile it off, Can't you make the people of the United States understand that this is a white country not a Negro country? ... When we go to New York or Washington or Europe, and speak of ourselves as Puerto Ricans, we continually meet the surprised remark why, we thought Puerto Ricans were Negroes!." [45] In 1921, an article in the *New York Times* which laid stress on the Negro blood in many Puerto Ricans, was protested by a North American resident, who claimed that "the native Puerto Rican is 100 Percent white and is a descendant either from Spanish or French people." He asked the North Americans not to judge San Juan by the "colored" section of that city.[46] A year later, a white North American woman, who had spent a year with an upper class family, reported that "the better class Puerto Ricans bemoan the general intermingling that has been going on for generations." [47]

Early in the century a North American on the island opined: "The majority of the jíbaros are whites. Mestizos, mulattos, and negroes are numerous also." The writer was "concerned with the jíbaro of European descent only, whose redemption from a degraded condition of existence:..should be specially attended to. [48]

Beyond the passing animad-versions, the acquisition of Puerto Rico by the United States had important repercussions on the legal configuration of race and culture in the colony. Early on the United States Census Bureau was troubled by the implication that the addition of such a large number of Negroes would have for the racial demography of the United States. In 1910, Puerto Rico was 34.5 percent black and Afro-Mestizo, versus a figure of 32.6 percent for Virginia.[49] At the same time, the census insisted on the application of the dichotomous United States racial system in Puerto Rico: "No effort was made to enumerate separately any classes of half-breed...this question is of importance mainly with reference to the two leading races in the United States, the White and Negro. "[50] Significantly, once the United States took possession of the island there was a decline in the Afro-Caribbean population. In 1910, the black and "mulatto" population stood at 34.5 percent; in 1920 it was 27 percent; in 1930 the "Colored'' population (black and mixed) was 25 percent; in 1940, 23 percent. In 1950, the last year for which racial statistics are available, the black population was 20 percent.

United States census policy in Puerto Rico followed the general trend of the Americas, even though this deviated from mainland policy (i.e.,hypodescent—the "One Drop Rule"). Undercounting and reclassification were employed to lessen the numerical impact of what was seen as a 'less" desirable population. The Puerto Rican sociologist Tomas Blanco, using material from field studies conducted by Charles Rogler in the late 1930s, concluded that at least sixty percent of the population had some African ancestry.[51] Blanco, Rogler and subsequent social scientists concluded that North American census policy on the island was one of hyperdescent – persons with a more or less European phenotype were included in the white group for purposes of census enumeration. At the same time, white Puerto Ricans were enrolled in separate Puerto Rican units during the Second World War, in spite of their official whiteness, a move which created considerable ill will.[52]

The Triumph of the Latin Ideal

By the mid-1930s, when Governor Blanton Winship, a Georgian, proposed the introduction of segregation in public accommodations, some members of the Colored classes embraced hispanismo with alacrity. One of its most notable popular proponents was the leader of the Puerto Rican Nationalist Party, Pedro Albizu Campos (1891-1965). Born in Ponce to a Basque *hacendado* father and a black plantation mother, he was a member of that group that had the most to fear from the implantation of North American racial taxonomy. Educated in

Vermont and then at Harvard, he distinguished himself scholastically. He was forced to serve in a Negro unit in World War I, an experience which may have colored his view of the Colossus of the North. Albizu Campos returned to Puerto Rico in the early 1920s and became the leader of the Nationalist Party, a group dedicated to complete independence. In 1932, his one excursion into electoral politics brought his party only 5,000 votes out of 400,000. The Nationalist Party made common cause with plantation strikers in 1934, but failed to make lasting linkages with worker discontent. Albizu Campos boycotted elections and dedicated himself to demonstrations designed to force the United States out. In 1936, he was sentenced to ten years in Atlanta Federal Penitentiary along with eight associates.

The Nationalists and Albizu Campos are of signal importance in the cultural history of Puerto Rico. It was Albizu Campos who took the Hispanophilia of the traditional elite and expanded to include the grandchildren of slaves like himself. The island was within a Diaspora, only it was an Iberian Diaspora. Although he admired the writings of the Mexican racial theorist Jose Vasconcelos, he could not, like Vasconcelos, posit the creation of a synthetic new race in the Americas. To speak of a new people drawn from indigenous, African and European elements would not have confronted the dilemmas posed by the American census: a population which was to any degree African was, ipso facto, Negro. Instead, Albizu Campos emphasized the transcendant power of language, religion and culture: " Race is a perpetuity of characteristic values and institutions. [53] It has nothing to do with biology, nor dusky skin, nor frizzy hair, nor dark eyes... We are distinguished by our culture, our courage, our chivalry, our Catholic sense of civilization. "[54] The Church and its civilizing missions were central, for "All get their spiritual from us [the Iberians]." The "discovery" [of the Americas] by Columbus was "'humanity's' discovering itself, the discovery of man by man...with the Discovery, Spain conquered human unity, gave the world its geographic wholeness, made it a globe." [55] Romanticizing the colonial Iberian past, Albizu Campos referred to the Spanish regime as " the old collective happiness." [56]

Albizu Campos' project was not racist; it was supremely assimilationist. He praised French assimilation policy in Sengal and the elevation of Blaise Diagne. He visited Haiti in 1926 and viewed the Black Republic as part of a greater "Latin" confraternity. Albizu Campos attacked the transfer of land to North American companies, the proselytization of Protestant missionaries and the initiation of sterilization programs for Puerto Rican women. While not attacking racism head on, he denounced what he perceived as a program of genocide against the islanders. In this he was aided by the overt racism of certain U.S. health officials, one of whom wrote, in a letter purloined by the Nationalist: "Puerto Rico would be ideal except for the Puerto Ricans. They are beyond a doubt, the dirtiest, laziest, most degenerate and thievish race of men ever inhabiting this sphere. It makes you sick to inhabit the same island with them." [57] In the view of the doctor, What the island needs is not public health works but a tidal wave or something to totally exterminate the population." In the 1940s a liberal governor, Rexford Tugwell, was ambivalent towards programs of mass sterilization, but only on the grounds that such a policy might be "dysgenic," - that is removing desirable, rather than undesirable elements from the population.[58]

In 1936 Albizu Campos was sentenced to ten years in Atlanta Federal Penitentiary for sedition. Violence ensued in Ponce and the American government attempted to suppress the Nationalist movement. At the same time, the island elite remained ambivalent as to the racial significance of the movement. Several months after the shooting of Nationalists in Ponce in 1937, *El Mundo*, San Juan's main newspaper, opined that bad racial feeling was not occasioned by blacks who knew their place, but "by the quadroons and half-breeds who believe that the only characteristic of race is skin color and, forgetting the perfectly black color of their grandparents and great grandparents, leap over the fence of anthropology and the civil register and fall in the yard of the white man, entering the palace through the kitchen."[59] An anti-Nationalist writer wrote, citing a "white" Puerto Rican patriarch: "Let Albizu and his colored boys get independence for the Island. We'll take it away from him soon enough and hang him higher than Hymen. Then the Spaniards will rule again." [60] The overt expression of such sentiments had declined by the 1950s, by which time elite politicians had to depend upon the votes of the mass of the populace. By the 1950s this populace had almost in its entirety come to define itself within the parameters of hispanismo. "Race" was legally abolished in Puerto Rico after 1950.

Conclusion

Stuart Hall has pointed out that Caribbean cultural identity is more than complex: "We might think of black Caribbean identities as 'framed' by two axes or vectors, simultaneously operative: the vector of similarity and continuity, and the vector of difference and rupture." Europe and perceptions of Europe have made and have their mark. "Difference," he notes, "therefore, persists - in and alongside continuity...Visiting the French Caribbean for the first time, I also saw at once how different Martinique is from, say, Jamaica..." This divergence is "no mere difference of topography and climate. It is profound difference of culture and history." [61] Hall's observation itself calls forth another question: What is "black Caribbean identity"? Jay Kinsbruner has observed that "Puerto Ricans with visible Negroid features routinely declaimed themselves to be 'Latin' (which they are) rather than Negro, African-American or Afro-Puerto Rican (which they also are)."[62] Hybridity in this case confronts "Diaspora" Consciousness.

Consciousness of being part of a Black Diaspora is, in part, the result of being assigned a fixed and immutable place in a racial schema. In 1972 Carl Degler, in his Pulitzer Prize-winning book, *Neither Black nor White*, argued that the bifurcated racial taxonomy of the United States led to an increase in Black Consciousness and that this created a Civil Rights movement.[63] This, in the Deglerian analysis, put African Americans well ahead of blacks in Latin America, who did not constitute a corporate group within their societies. According to Degler, the "Mulatto Escape Hatch" in the South American country of Brazil led, persons who were not phenotypically black to disidentify with persons who were. This, in his view, led to struggles for individual " whitening" and poor articulation of the needs of blacks as a group. In such a situation, the maintenance of a "Diaspora Consciousness" is extremely difficult. Recently, Peter Fry has addressed this issue and argued for the near impossibility of introducing the bifurcated North American model in a "society which has come to see itself as a collection of individuals of various ethnic backgrounds organized along class lines rather than along racial ones." [64] His statement might apply to Puerto Rico as well as Brazil. In such a situation African culture can flourish, but—without a caste hierarchy which would reinforce it as being particularly African. A *santeria* ceremony in Carolina in Puerto Rico may contain more elements of African religion than an African Methodist Episcopal service in North Carolina. What is important is not the specific cultural artifacts found in any particular location, but the construction placed upon them. Puerto Rico presents one of the most "African" sites within the territory of the United States. At the same time, it is a place in which the consciousness of "Africaness" has been subsumed within a dominant "national" culture which valorizes unity over heterogeneity. The retort to this is not the importation of formulate "multi-culturalism." Essentialism and fear of hybridity are as ahistorical in the Puerto Rican context as are the triumphalist fantasies of full-blown *hispanismo*. What is both necessary and simple is to realize "That the past in Puerto Rican culture includes the African, the Amerindian, and the

European. To deny any one of them is to falsify the past and to shortchange the present... "[65]

NOTES

1. [Alan Phillips, ed.], *No Longer Invisible, Afro-Latin Americans Today* (London: Minority Rights Group, 1998), p. viii.
2. Ibid., p.x.
3. Kelvin Santiago-Valles, Puerto Rico, in *No Longer Invisible, Afro-Latin Americans* Today, p. 141.
4. Peter Hulme, Islands of Enchantment: Extracts from a Caribbean Travel Diary, *New Frontiers,* 3 (1987), p.81.
5. Alfredo Lopez, *Dona Licha's Island, Modern Colonialism in Puerto Rico* (Boston, South End Press, 1987), p.19.
6. Adalberto Lopez and James Petras, *Puerto Rico and Puerto Ricans* (New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1974), p.78.
7. Jose Luis Gonzalez, *Puerto Rico: The Four Storyed Country* (New York: Marcus Wiener Publishing, 1993), p.57.
8. Ibid., p.61.
9. Hulme, *Islands of Enchantment,* p.87.
10. Ibid., p. 81, citing Juan Antonio Corretjer, Yerba bruja (San Juan, 1970), pp. 10-11
11. Gonzalez, *Puerto Rico,* p.38.
12. Earl Shorris, *Latinos: A Biography of the People* (New York: W.W. Norton and Company), p. 19.
13. Julian H. Steward, et al., *The People of Puerto Rico, A Study in Social Anthropology* (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1966), p. 51
14. Philip Curtin, *The Image of Africa: British Ideas and Action, 1780-1850* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1964), vol. 2, p.438
15. Francisco Scarano, *Sugar and Slavery in Puerto Rico: The Plantation Economy of Ponce, 1800-1850* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1964), vol. 2, p. 438.
16. Lopez and Petras, *Puerto Rico and Puerto Ricans,* p. 57.
17. Ibid., p. 56.
18. Angela Jorge, La madama francesita: A New World Black Spirit, in *Global Dimensions of the African Diaspora,* Joseph E. Harris, ed. (Washington, D.C.: Howard University Press, 1993), p. 207.
19. ManuelAlavarez Nazario, El elemento afronegroide en espanol de Puerto Rico: Contribucion al estudio del negro en America (San Juan, Instituto de Cultura Puertorriquena, 1974), p.71.
20. Scarano, *Sugar and Slavery,* p. 123.
21. Svend Green-Pedersen, *The History of the Danish Negro Trade, 1733-1807: An Interim Survey Relating in Particular to its Volume, Structure, Profitability and Abolition,:* Revue francaise de histoire d outre-mer, 62, nos. 238 and 227 (1975), pp. 196-220.
22. Luis Gonzales Bales, *Towards a Plantation Economy in Puerto Rico, a Political and Cultural History,* Arturo Morales Carrion, ed. (New York: W.W. Norton and Company, 1983), p. 99.
23. Scarano, *Sugar and Slaves,* p. 137.
24. Ibid., p. 122.
25. Jose de Moros y Morellon and Juan Miguel de los Rios, Memorias sobre las islas africanas de Espana, Fernando Poo y Annobon (Madrid, 1844), pp. 30-31.
26. David Murray, *Odious Commerce: Britain, Spain and the Abolition of the Cuban Slave* Trade (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1980), p. 89.
27. Scarano, *Sugar and Slavery,* p. 131; citing Charles Walker, Charles Walker s Letter to Puerto Rico, 1835-1837, annotated and with an introduction by Kenneth Scott, in Caribbean Studies, vol. 5, no. 1 (April 1965), p. 50.
28. Scarano, *Sugar and Slavery,* p. 13.
29. Ibid., p. 138.
30. Rudolph Van Middeldyk, *The History of Puerto Rico* (New York: Appleton, 1903), p.218.
31. Steward, et al., *The People of Puerto Rico,* p. 496.
32. Shorris, *Latinos,* p. 20.
33. Ronald Segal, *The Black Diaspora: Five Centuries of the Black Experience Outside Africa* (New York: Farrar, Strauss and Griouz, 1995), p. 392.

34. Migdalia de Jesus de Garcia, quoted in Lopez, *Dona Licha s Island*, p. 19.

35. Juan Flores, *Divided Borders: Essays on Puerto Rican Identity*, (Houston, TX: Arte Publica Press, 1993), p. 86.

36. Jorge, La madama francescita, p. 205.

37. Manuel Alvarez Nazario, El elemento afronegroide, p. 48.

38. Lopez and Petras, *Puerto Rico and Puerto Ricans*, p. 63.

39. Ibid., p.77.

40. Sidney Mintz, Canamelar: The Subculture of a Rural Sugar Plantation Proletariat, in *Puerto Rico, A Study in Social Anthropology*, Julian Steward, et al., p. 410

41. Kelvin A. Santiago-Valles, *Subject People and Colonial Discourses: Economic Transformation and Social Disorder in Puerto Rico, 1898-1947* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1944), p. 88.

42. Ibid., p. 104.

43. Jay Kinsburner, *Not of Pure Blood: The Free People of Color and Racial Prejudice in Nineteenth-Century Puerto Rico* (Durham,NC: Duke University Press, 1996), p. 11.

44. Trumball White, *Puerto Rico and Its People* (New York: Frederick A. Stokes Company, 1938), pp. 359-360.

45. Ibid., pp.356-357.

46. Truman Clark, *Puerto Rico and the U.S., 1917-1933* (Pittsburgh, PA: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1975), p. 85; Letters to the Editors, Ralph George Gatell, February 27,

47. Ibid., p. 85, citing Mary Weld Coates, What s the Matter in Puerto Rico? in *Current History*, XVI (April 1922), p. 110.

48. Van Middleldyk, *History of Puerto Rico*, p.196.

49. Tomas Blanco, El prejuicio racial en Puerto Rico (San Juan: Bibliotera de Autores Puertorriquenos, 1948), p.52.

50. United States Bureau of the Census, Supplementary Analysis (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1910), p. 177.

51. Blanco, El Prejuicio racial, p. 59. See Charles Rogler, The Morality of Race Mixing in Puerto Rico, *Social Forces*, vol. 25, no. 1 (October 1946), pp. 77-81.

52. Rexford Tugwell, *The Stricken Land: The Story of Puerto Rico* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday and Company, Inc. 1946), p. 365; Steward, et al., The People of Puerto Rico, p. 139

53. Federico Ribes Tovar, *Albizu Campos: Puerto Rican Revolutionary* (New York: Plus Ultra Educational Publishers, c. 1971), p. 17.

54. Pedro Albizu Campos, *The Concept of Race* (1935), in Iris Zavala and Rafael Rodriguez, eds., The Intellectual Roots of Independence: An anthology of Puerto Rican Political Essays (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1980), p.181.

55. Ibid., p. 182.

56. Gonzales, *Puerto Rico: The Four Storeyed Country*, p.7.

57. White, *Puerto Rico and Its People*, pp. 206-207.

58. Tugwell, *The Stricken Land*, p. 36.

59. Blanco, El prejuicio racial, p. 43, citing El Orgullo de la Piel in El Mundo, San Juan, May 16, 1937.

60. Wenzell Brown, *Dynamite on Our Doorstep* (New York: Greenberg Press, 1945), pp. 61, 63.

61. Stuart Hall, Cultural Identity and Diaspora, in *Identity, Community, Differences*, Jonathan Rutherford, ed. (London: Lawrence and Wishart, 1990), pp. 226-227.

62 Kinsbruner, *Not of Pure Blood*, p. 11.

63. Carl Degler, *Neither Black nor White: Slavery and Race relations in Brazil and the United States* (New York: MacMillan, 1971.

64. Peter Fry, *Why Brazil is Different*, (London) Times Literary Supplement, December 8, 1995, p. 7.

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PART NINE

WOMEN IN THE AFRICAN DIASPORA

In further determining the paradigm, I challenge the definition of the African diaspora. Traditionally scholars refer to Africans sent away from the continent as those who became part of the diaspora. In this definition, diaspora excludes Africa, but includes areas of the world where large numbers of Africans were forcibly dispersed. Among these are jurisdictions in North and South America, in the Caribbean, in Europe, and in the Indian sub-continent. In lesser degrees, Africans were enslaved and sent to other areas of the world including regions in Asia, in the Middle East, and in Central America. I propose broadening the definition of the African diaspora for analyzing enslaved women's experiences. It seems to me that limiting the diaspora to areas outside the continent of Africa is valid for the study of African men, but not for women, because during the height of the trans-Atlantic slave trade - from the seventeenth into the first decade of the nineteenth century - the majority of African women enslaved were dispersed throughout the continent of Africa.

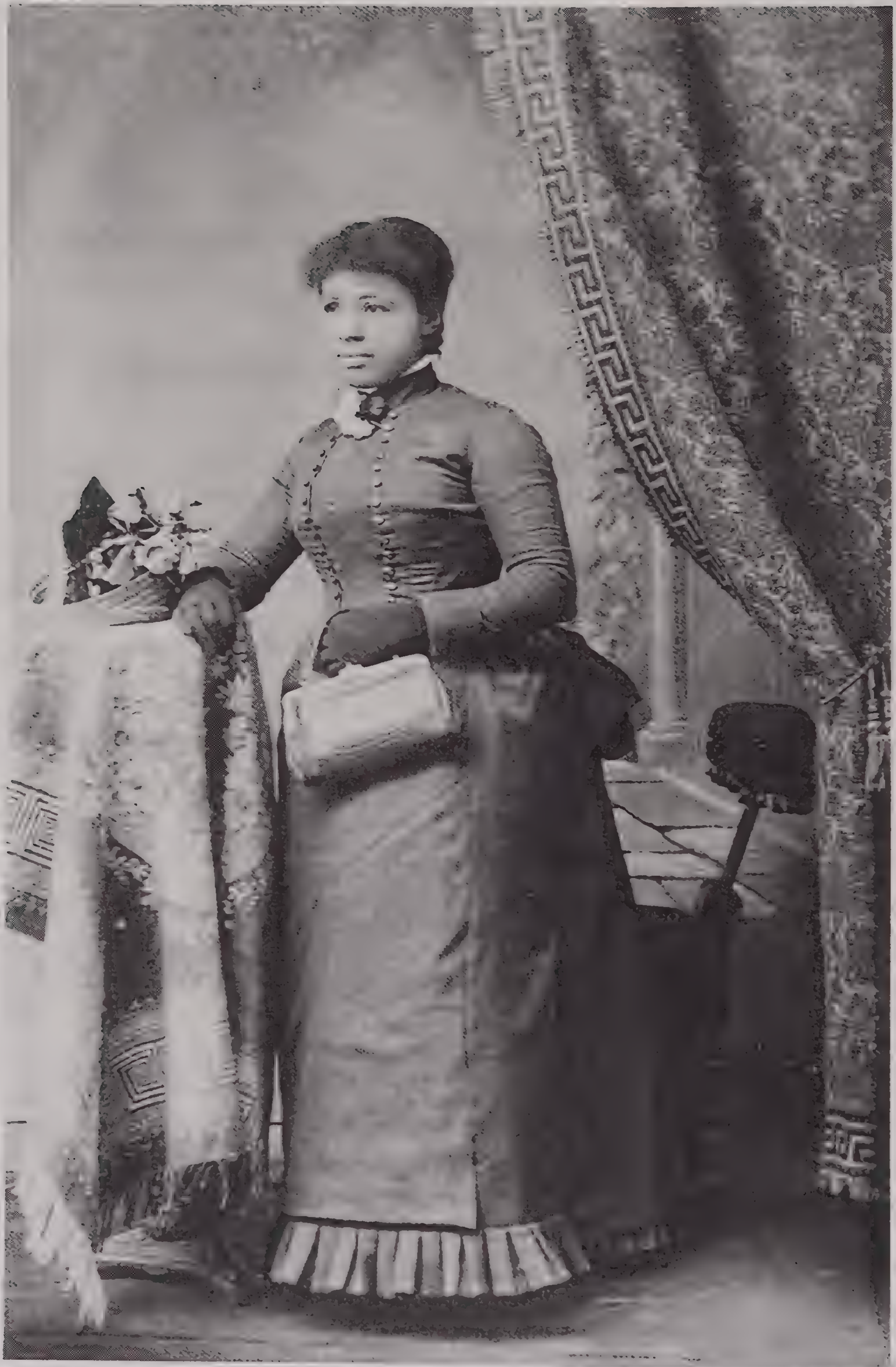
Rosalyn Terborg Penn

The lesson that the Black women were trying to impart was that color, class, or the experience of slavery did not nullify the moral strength of true womanhood....Black activists attempted to push American consciousness beyond the class and race prejudice that marked Victorian thinking, toward modern ideas and attitudes.

Paula Giddings

For females, the preparation for migration was both distinctive and routine. Migration was a family-regulated, family-timed process. And it was the responsibility of the rural family to reshape the young women whenever kin decided that migration was imminent

Elizabeth Clark Lewis



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Portrait of an African American Woman in New Mexico (1880s)
Museum of New Mexico
Santa Fe, New Mexico

SLAVERY AND WOMEN IN AFRICA AND THE DIASPORA

by

Rosalyn Terborg Penn

The subject is African diaspora women and slavery, a topic of growing interest among scholars, but one which is rarely studied cross-culturally by historians. As a result, paradigms for examining the historical impact of enslaving women of African descent remain in the pioneering stages, even ten years after I first wrote this essay for a 1986 issue of *Sage*.[1] A cross-cultural analysis of slavery and black women belongs in the realm of African Diaspora Studies as an interdisciplinary area of scholarship. A theory for analyzing the history of the enslaved women of the African diaspora, which includes the use of interdisciplinary methods, may still stimulate debate among historians. Nonetheless, such an approach seems quite viable to me, and the interdisciplinary nature of African feminist theory is appropriate to the development of such a paradigm.[2]

In essence, I use the theory to approach the study of enslaved black women's lives cross-culturally, through an analysis of the communities in which they lived and struggled to establish limited cultural autonomy. Beginning with an examination of the values that foster the customs of free women in traditional African societies, I challenge historians to plot how these traits have changes, yet the values remained somewhat the same, as women of African descent were forcibly transported throughout Africa, Europe, and the Western Hemisphere. In researching the lives of enslaved women, I have found two consistent goals valued by women of African descent-developing survival strategies and encouraging self reliance through female networks.[3] This combination has not been proven to be present over time among females in the Western world, but can be traced among women of the African diaspora in New World societies as well as in Africa, where these strategies have been passed down by women to women for generations.

In support of this idea-generations of African-descended women passing culture from generation to generation, I look to Gwendolyn Midio Hall and her study of Africans in eighteenth-century Louisiana. She sees significant connections between creolization of Africans enslaved in Louisiana and in Caribbean colonies like Jamaica. Africans she found in Louisiana who were from the Senegambia region were able to recreate aspects of language and culture that enabled their survival in North America. Edward Braithwaite, she notes, found similar processes for Africanizing Jamaican culture.[4]

In further determining the paradigm, I challenge the definition of the African diaspora. Traditionally scholars refer to Africans sent away from the continent as those who became part of the diaspora.[5] In this definition, diaspora excludes Africa, but includes areas of the world where large numbers of Africans were forcibly dispersed. Among these are jurisdictions in North and South America, in the Caribbean, in Europe, and in the Indian sub-continent. In lesser degrees, Africans were enslaved and sent to other areas of the world including regions in Asia, in the Middle East, and in Central America. I propose broadening the definition of the African diaspora for analyzing enslaved women's experiences. It seems to me that limiting the diaspora to areas outside the continent of Africa is valid for the study of African men, but not for African women, because during the height of the trans-Atlantic slave trade—from the seventeenth century into the first decade of the nineteenth century—the majority of African women enslaved were dispersed throughout the continent of Africa. African women were removed from their local areas and taken to other regions or to nearby areas on the continent. But usually they were taken to places outside of their kinship network, and often they went to societies foreign to them in language, customs, and environment. As a result, the majority of men enslaved during this period were dispersed throughout the Western Hemisphere, while the majority of women enslaved were dispersed throughout the African continent.

Consequently, the disruption and alienation that most men experienced with enslavement throughout the diaspora, women experienced on the continent of Africa.

The enslavement of African women has been a topic of limited interest to North American scholars of the past, be they Africanists, Americanists, or Caribbeanists. The trend to analyze enslaved women of African descent develop in the 1980s, when published anthologies and monographs written in English were distributed in the United States. Scholars of African history took the lead in 1983, notably Claire Robertson and Martin A. Klein, editors of *Women and Slavery in Africa*.[6] Scholars of African-American history followed, notably Deborah Gray White, *Ar'n't I a Woman? Female Slaves in the Plantation South*.[7] However, studies written in English about Latin-American and Caribbean women came later. Although in the mid-1970S Lucille Mathurin Mair published a children's book on women enslaved in the British West Indies, it was available only in the Caribbean until the 1990s. Scholarly monographs distributed in the United States did not appear until about the same period. These included Hilary Beckles, *Natural Rebels: A Social History Of Enslaved Women In Barbados*, first published in the United Kingdom (1989), and Barbara Bush, *Slave Women in Caribbean Society, 1650-1838 (1990)*.[8]

Despite the growing scholarly interest, by 1995 the study of the enslavement of African women and their descendants in New World societies has not achieved frameworks that lead to comparative analysis. A notable exception is British historian James Walvin, whose comparative analysis of slave trading and slavery in the British colonies integrated the study of enslaved women and their victimization with their culture, looking both at the North American and the Caribbean colonies.[9] However, few of the essay anthologized in *Women And Slavery In Africa* treat the networks among enslaved women, or their various survival mechanism, or the development of female slave cultural. Victimization is the theme most emphasized. Although Deborah White's monograph is an excellent beginning, because she spends an entire chapter on female networks and addresses the African continuities among enslaved women in the United States, emphasis is elsewhere, for reasons unique to the racial and sexual politics of the historical profession in the mid-1980s United States. As a result, White first debunks the "Jezebel" and the "Mammy" myths, which in the past have characterized female slaves in the United States falsely. Second, she places emphasis upon comparing the lives of white mistresses with those of female slaves. In addition, victimization is still a significant theme. For African Diaspora Women's History, however, emphasis should be placed upon female slave culture, and demography, which can be compared and contrasted cross-culturally, with victimization themes less dominant in the analysis.

Like Deborah White, Hilary Beckles's focus is upon one nation, enslaved women in Barbados. Although referencing African women, his comparative analysis is primarily between enslaved women and men, with great detail to demographic analysis based on gender. Barbara Bush discusses African culture in her chapters on slave resistance and on the domestic lives of women, with sections focusing upon Africa in each chapter. Nonetheless, her comparative analysis is not based on enslaved women living and working in various Caribbean colonies, but is directed to European peasant women vis-a-vis enslaved women in the Caribbean. Future analysis of African and African-descended folk tales, songs, and literature in the Americas may hold keys to venues for comparative study about enslaved women in North America and in Caribbean states.

Before beginning an introduction to a cross-cultural view of enslaved black women, it is important to look at issues concerning identity formation, especially in relationship to race, color, and ethnicity, because these are markers that define individuals differently in relationship to time and place. Earl Lewis, in his essay, " ...Writing African Americans into a History of Overlapping Diaspora," see "skin color and the circumstances of history" as significant factors for determining slave status in colonial North America.[10] I agree and would extend this view to compare and contrast slavery in North America with slavery in the Caribbean. Race, for example, is really a nineteenth-century concept constructed by Western Europeans, although identification by color and color prejudice can be traced back to antiquity. For example, although prior to independence in various North American colonies, status-servant, slave, free-plus color began to emerge in laws as identity markers in the seventeenth-century, by early nineteenth-century law, people with any "measurable" degree of African ancestry were considered to be black in many states." As a result, since slavery, women of African descent living the United States, regardless of skin color, have been perceived as and often have perceived themselves as "colored," or as "Negro," or as "black." Consequently, critical mass for cultural identity was developing, which was absent in much of the Caribbean.

By contrast, in many Caribbean and South American societies, slave women of African descent vary in colors that determine legal status as well as cultural association.[12] For example, in her study of enslaved women field workers in Jamaica, Lucille Mathurin Mair stratifies enslaved women in terms of occupation and color, noting "black women, and black women only" as being "massively drafted into the assembly line of the field."[13] Mathurin Mair describes the domestic slaves as primarily mulatto women, who were selected for these occupations more because of color rather than because of skill. This analysis clearly establishes identity and the color hierarchy of the Jamaican society, which was well established during the eighteenth century.[14]

Differences in legal and cultural identification by race cause barriers to reconstructing the history of enslaved women in much the same that it does for postslavery studies. Ironically, in Brazil, where the importation of African and slavery as an institution continued into the late nineteenth century, twentieth-century national attempts to wipe away blackness—the vestiges of slavery—have greatly hampered the historical reconstruction process.[15]

The key to historical reconstruction of slavery, or any other similar institution, must then rest first upon questions about identity formation, both on personal and societal levels. In the cross-cultural historical reconstruction of enslaved black women's lives, color and cultural perception should be taken into consideration and questions relating to these factors raised for each society under study. Likewise, questions about the master-class and the female slaves' relationship to it must be considered. What was the numerical relationship between slaves and masters in a given society? What was the role of free women in the master-class? What determined kinship and how did enslaved people fit into the kinship structure of the society? To what extent did enslaved females resist their status? To what extent can we distinguish the voices of the enslaved from those of the dominant group in deciphering the written records we do find? Finally, time must be considered in any comparative study. Comparing colonial slavery in the British Caribbean with early-nineteenth-century slavery in the United States and with late-nineteenth-century slavery in West Africa may result in misleading conclusions, if time periods and changes in the various institutions of slavery are not taken into consideration.

ENSLAVING WOMEN OF AFRICAN DESCENT

To begin this comparative review, let us look at the demographic impact of slavery upon African females over time. Women of African descent were being transported for sale from the mid- seventh century through the early twentieth century. The salve trade began as the trans-Saharan trade on the African continent in about 650. It was supplemented by trade routes to the Red Sea and to East Africa by 800, creating a network that shipped Africans away from the continent. With the colonization of the Western Hemisphere by Europeans in the sixteenth century, the Atlantic slave trade became dominant, pulling Africans from Central and West Africa to the west African coast. The Atlantic trade peaked in the mid-eighteenth century, declined by the early nineteenth century, and ended in the late 1800.[16] By the turn of the twentieth century, vestiges of the trade remained on the African continent, where the largest number of the slaves traded remained and where the largest number of slaves traded throughout the history of slaving had been women. There is evidence that African women were still exchanged as pawns as late as the 1930s. Surprising as it may seem, the demographics of the slave trade in African women reveal a continuous demand for nearly 1300 years, mainly among Africans themselves, who paid more for adult female slaves than for adult male slaves.[17]

Studies written in the mid-1980s about the role of women in the African slave trade astonished Americanists who had assumed that since the majority of slaves brought to New World societies were male, fewer African women were enslaved. Refocusing research about slavery toward women painted a new picture about the dynamics of slavery and the role of African women in the diaspora. Subsequent studies of slavery and women in the Western Hemisphere revised preconceived notions about African women transplanted into the New World.

Africanists have speculated about why more men than women were slated for the Atlantic Slave trade, concluding that women were more valuable as slaves in African societies for both their labor production and their reproductive functions. In most traditional African societies, women produced most of the food consumed by the community. Food producers included free and enslaved women, whose labor freed men to participate in other community activities. In addition, slave women were often used as rewards to free and enslaved males, who sought wives to reproduce and to care for children, expanding the lineage. Because slaves were considered to be kinless people, they remained loyal to their master's lineage. Masters who married slave women did not fear accountability to their slave wives' kin, as they would if they had married a free woman. Slave women had no kin protect them from spousal abuse and no kin to demand a bride price. In addition, it was believed that women could be more easily assimilated into the society of the master-class. Furthermore, in many African societies, free women also benefited from enslaving women, because slaves could increase food consumption and create a greater surplus, profits from which free wives often kept for themselves. In the case of secluded Muslim women, female slaves traded goods in public markets in behalf of their secluded mistresses. All of these factors made the demand for African women, on the continent of Africa greater than the demand for men throughout most of the slave trading period.[18]

The high demand for enslaved women resulted in a lower price for enslaved men, many of whom would have been executed after being captured in wars if there had not been an outlet for their sale to European traders in the Atlantic slave trade. At first Europeans acquired more male slaves, believing a strong young male would work harder than a female. Ironically, when women were enslaved on plantations both in North America and in the Caribbean, the gender division of labor common throughout Africa broke down. New World masters worked female slaves in the fields as hard as they worked male slaves.[19]

Here we see differences in work patterns among African women enslaved on the continent and those enslaved in the Western Hemisphere. Gender determined work assignments in African societies, but not in the same ways in New World societies. Nonetheless, preconceived Western notions about women's work prevented European slave masters from actively seeking women during the first 200 years of the Atlantic trade. One common factor shared among enslaved women in African as well as in New World societies was work associated with child-rearing and domestic duties. Slave women's daily chores included work for the master as well as domestic activities for the family units did not have this universal double workload proscribed upon women.

Consequently, enslaved females survived in communities of slave for forming networks among similarly proscribed women, who often relied upon one another for support with child-rearing and subsistence activities.

Reproducing the slave population is another topic that can be viewed comparatively. In the Caribbean, masters' attempts to reproduce the slave population did not become universal until the last century of the slave trade, as European abolitionists and later capitalists successfully limited, then ended, the slave trade. Access to a continuous, inexpensive stream of fresh slaves to replace those who died ended with the trade. In North America, the slave trade developed about 100 years later than in the Caribbean, yet the preference for males remained until the early seventeenth century. Then American masters sought both mean and women and encouraged slaves to reproduce themselves in family units. [20]

Reproduction as a function of enslaved women remains a controversy especially among African Americanists, when it comes to the issue of enslaved women resisting reproductive functions imposed upon them by masters. Some scholars of African-American history, who look to the prestigious role of the African woman as mother, argue that deliberate attempts to limit reproduction or to abort fetuses by enslave women appears contrary to African values. Nonetheless, the literature about Africa and the United States indicated evidence of abortive practices among slave women, limited though they may have been.[21] Although African Americanists debate about whether abortion was atypical of women enslaved in the United States because African women brought their beliefs about the value of children and motherhood with them, we can now presume that there were two statuses for traditional African women during the height of the African slave trade—free and non-free women who were slaves or pawns. The evidence has yet to reveal how many of the women who were brought to the Western Hemisphere were captured as free women, or were previously enslaved before being shipped to the

Americas. Values about motherhood would have been influenced by previous status.

Enslaved women in both Africa and in the Americas had little control over their offspring, which may have determined women's strategies to limit child bearing. For examples, in Zaire and in the western Sudan, the birth rate among slave women was considerably lower than the birth rate among free women.[22] In the plantation South of the United States, however, slave women bore more children than free white women. Nonetheless, slaves appeared to have limited conception to a later time than hoped for by their masters. Black women were often able to restrict pregnancy for several years after reaching puberty, despite masters' attempts to have them breed as early as their life cycle enabled them.[23]

Several questions still remain about the relation between reproduction and women's enslavement: Did overwork, disease, and poor diet—conditions prevalent among enslaved women universally—lead to miscarriages and spontaneous abortions, or did some slaves practice abortion by use of herbs and roots? Similarly, did victimization leave women little control over their bodies, or did some enslaved women make autonomous choices about bringing children into the master's world, one which women could not control?

COMPARATIVE HISTORICAL RECONSTRUCTION

Earlier in this discussion I looked at several questions about enslaved women and about their relationship to the master-class. Answers to these questions are essential to establish a framework for 240,000. During this period, masters and the colonial government encourages enslaved women to reproduce, and imports of African women increased. Although at this point it is difficult to estimate the number of female slaves in Jamaica, it is clear that blacks were in the majority and that most of them lived on plantations, where their interaction with whites was minimal. As a result, the impact of the master-class culture was less significant than it would be for women enslaved in Bermuda, where whites comprised 52 percent of the population.[24]

In turning to another English-speaking slave society of the time, the United States represented what Graham Irwin calls the "white settler society of the temperate zones."[25] In societies such as this, whites outnumbered Africans significantly and European culture was recreated with modifications. Most of North America and the Spanish-speaking slave societies of Argentina and Chile fell into this category. In these areas, the white population overwhelmed the black; hence, the impact of the master-class culture was significant. Even in areas like the plantation South in the United States, where blacks composed somewhat more than 50 percent of the population, Euro-American culture could not be ignored by slaves. In comparing the culture and self- perception of enslaved black women in New World societies, the impact of the master-class culture must be considered, for mainstream standards of beauty, family, organization, and women's worth often clashed with African standards. Influence variables include not only the percentage of whites to blacks but also the degree to which the master-class attempted to assimilate slaves into the mainstream. In the United States, as in most English speaking societies, the effort was discouraged, whereas, in Spanish-speaking countries such as Argentina and Chile, assimilation was ultimately encouraged. The assimilation of blacks makes it difficult to reconstruct the culture of female slaves, because retaining elements of the African past were not rewarded by the mainstream society.

Other related factors for comparative consideration are the role of free women in the master- class, the extent to which female slaves assimilated into the society of the master-class, and the way female slaves fit into the kinship structure of the society. For these comparisons we can look first to Africa, where free African women often owned and usually supervised the work, the rewards, and the punishment of slave women. The available studies, however, dwell more upon the ways in which mistresses victimized their slaves rather then upon the socialization and assimilation process imposed on slave women by free women.[26] Since female slaves were valued for their ability to become more assimilated into their master's society than male salves, the process must have initiated with the free women who supervised the enslaved women. As wives and concubines, slaves were part of the master's compound, as were his free wives.

Networking for survival was essential to these food producers and child rearers, who may have established fictive kinship relationships. Even if the free wives did not establish support systems with enslaved women, female slaves probably did. Just because a slave woman was considered kinless in the eyes of the master's lineage does not mean that she did not relate to other female the historical reconstructive process cross-culturally. The published data about female slavery in Africa, in the United States, in Latin America, and in the Caribbean can give us only partial answers to these reconstruction processes. One major problem with the published data is how accurately do the sources researched speak for the women themselves. I suspect that the records do not allow us to hear the women's voices. Nonetheless these sources can provide clues to the direction research about black women and slavery should take.

Perceptions about race and color have been established as factors to consider in reconstructing women's attitudes and responses to slavery. The numerical relationship between black slaves and white masters often influenced these perceptions. Data about these numerical relationships are available for New World societies, where unlike Africa, racial rather than ethnic differences were significant, thus influencing identity as well as culture. In the Caribbean, during most of the Atlantic slave trade period, Africans and their descendants outnumbered white masters. A population survey of the British West Indies in 1791, for example, revealed that in ten of the twelve British held islands, blacks outnumbered whites by about 90 percent. In Jamaica, for example, the white population estimate was 30,000 while blacks numbered about 250,000. Of the blacks, 10,000 were believed to be free, leaving a slave population of about slaves, especially those enslaved at the same time as she was, thus experiencing the same initiation into the community of the master.[27]

For the United States, free women of the master-class may have worked closely with slave women if the master owned a small farm and one or two slaves who contributed to the upkeep of the household, including family and surplus food production. However, if the mistress was the wife of a plantation owner, she did no manual labor, but probably supervised household slaves. The slaves a mistress may have inherited from her family became part of her husband's property upon their marriage. Usually, the husband managed the business of the plantation and the mistress gained no individual profit from the labor of any of her slaves. However, like African women slaveholders, white mistresses dispensed rewards and punishments upon male as well as female slaves. Nonetheless, white slaveholding masters held the final word about the treatment of slaves. Assimilation and socialization on plantations were left to the individuals in the slave community, not to the mistresses, who rarely had contact with field slaves who worked in agricultural production. On many plantations in the United States, young female slaves entering puberty often worked in squads of slave women in the fields. The squads were called "trash gangs" and were composed of pregnant women and older women who could not do the work-intensive labor other female slaves and male slaves performed. In the "trash gangs," younger slave women learned from the elders about work, plantation survival, male-female relations, motherhood, and networking. [28] Kinship included blood relations and fictive kin. Both provided the extended kinship relationships (the concept of which originated for African Americans in Africa) whose practices were adapted to the realities of New World slavery. Most studies about plantation slavery in the United States, however, deal with the antebellum period or the first half of the nineteenth century, when the sex ratio among the slaves was nearly equal. Here the use of a time perspective is important to determine what types of kinship and assimilation practices occurred during the eighteenth century and earlier.

The emphasis upon lineage among Africans, who distinguished slaves as kinless people, appears totally different form family structure in New World societies. Yet slaves throughout the diaspora —whether in alien environments on the African continent or in the Western Hemisphere—constructed survival mechanisms, including modified kinship structures, which retained values and elements of African family life.[29]

The final factor is female resistance to slavery or slave status. Both on the African continent and in New World societies there is evidence of both covert and overt female resistance. Abortion and the refusal to conceive children is a covert form previously discussed. Overt resistance took the form of running away or of open revolt. African women enslaved on the continent escaped and protested slave status of higher authorities.[30] On slave ships crossing the Atlantic from Africa, African women were known to assist in slave revolts.[31] In the Caribbean, slave women participated in Maroon communities of runaways, where resistance to re-enslavement was an ever-present threat." In the United States, slave women participated in the Underground Railroad and in open rebellion.

Women such as these were revered for their wisdom, leadership, and courage. The memory of their deeds has been passed down by women during slavery into the postslavery eras. Studies about female slave resistance and protest against slave status provide views of women's choices about the acceptance or the rejection of victimization.[33]

Much has to be done to prepare the theoretical framework, to select the factors for historical reconstruction, but most important, to collect the data needed for the various diaspora societies to be studied. For some areas, much of the ground work has been established, but for others, especially key countries like Brazil, very little scholarly work has been published by historians in either Portuguese or English.

Scholars have choices about using a female perspective or not. Remember, writing about women does not guarantee a female or a feminist interpretation, especially in this case, when the focus avoids the interaction among slave women themselves or upon the survival mechanism that female slaves adopted and implemented. For the Western Hemisphere and Africa, the use of slave testimony by women, though few and far between, is developing a bank of data that can be used for cross-cultural analysis. Although there are always questions researchers must raise about whose voices we are hearing in the literature, especially "narratives" about enslaved women who are illiterate.[34] Slave testimonies by women are not readily available for Latin America and for the Caribbean, but should be sought out, whether written in English or other languages of the diaspora.[35] Finally, challenges that redefine or reverse previous interpretations about women in African, Latin American, Caribbean, and African-American histories are important when the research has been carefully and thoroughly conducted and evaluated.

NOTES

1. This is a revised and expanded essay based on the original, "Women and Slavery in the African Diaspora: A Cross-Cultural Approach to Historical Analysis," *Sage*, III, no. 2 (Fall 1986): 11-15.

2. Filomina Chioma Steady, ed., *The Black Woman Cross-Culturally* (Cambridge, Mass.: Schenkman Publishers, 1981), overview.

3. See the introduction to Filomina Chioma Steady, ed., *The Black Women Cross-Culturally.*

4. Gwendolyn Midio Hall, *Africans in Colonial Louisiana: The Development Of Afro-Creole Culture in the Eighteenth Century* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1992), 158-59.

5. Joseph E. Harris, ed., *Global Dimensions* (Washington, D.C.: Howard University Press, 1983), introduction.

6. Claire Robertson and Martin Klein, eds., *Women And Slavery In Africa* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1983).

7. Deborah Gray White, *A'r'nt I A Women* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1985).

8. Hilary Beckles, *Natural Rebels* (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1989); Barbara Bush, *Slave Women In Caribbean Society* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1990).

9. James Walvin, *Black Ivory: A History Of British Slavery* (Washington, D.C.: Howard University Press, 1994), chapters III and IV.

10. Earl Lewis, "To Turn as on a Pivot: Writing African Americans into a History of Overlapping Diaspora," *American Historical Review* 1 00, no. 3 (June 1995): 774.

11. In Maryland, debates about the legal status of children born of "mixed" parentage continually stimulated changes in legislation during the colonial period, beginning in 1664, when the status of children born in the colony was determined by the legal condition of the father, later changed to that of the mother. Historians such as Willie Lee Rose interpreted the changing position of the Maryland House of Assembly to be motivated during these early years primarily by desires to have a large, exploitable labor force, more so than by issues of race. Willie Lee Rose, ed., A *Documentary History Of Slavery In North American* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1976), 24. However, Benjamin Quarles concluded that by 1 800, race as a concept had become universal in Maryland and throughout the southern region of the United States. Benjamin Quarles, "Freedom Fettered: Blacks in the Constitutional Era in Maryland, 1776-1810 -- An Introduction," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 84 (Winter 1989): 299-300.

12. See Louise Spencer-Strachan, *Confronting The Colour Crisis In The Afrikan Diaspora, Emphasis On Jamaica* (New York: Afrikan World Infosystems, 1992).

13. Lucille Mathurin Mair, "Women Field Workers in Jamaica during Slavery," *The 1986 Elsa Goveia Memorial Lecture* (Kingston, Jamaica: Department of History, University of the West Indies, Mona, 1986), 5-6.

14. Ibid., 4.
15. Abdias do Nascimento, *Brazil Mixture Or Massacre? Essays In The Genocide Of A Black People* (Dover, Mass.: Majority Press, 1989), 59-66. Nascimento, a black Brazilian living in exile in the United States, argues that the Brazilian myth of a racial democracy is in reality the propagation of white supremacy through spiritual and physical genocide of

African Descended people beginning in slavery, but systematically enforced since abolition in 1888.

16. Paul Lovejoy, *Transformations in Slavery* (Cambridge: Oxford University Press, 1983), 25-27.

17. Herbert S. Klein, "African Women in the Atlantic Slave Trade," *Women and Slavery in Africa*, 29- 39.

18. Ibid., 34-37, 45-46; Martin A. Klein, "Women in Slavery in the Western Sudan," *Women And Slavery In Africa*, 68-77.

19. Claire C. Robertson and Martin A. Klein, "Women's Importance in African Slave Systems," *Women and Slavery In Africa* 1 0; Mathurin Mair, 2-4.

20. White, 67-69.

21. Herbert G. Gutman, *The Black Family In Slavery And Freedom*, 1750-1925 (New York: Pantheon Books, 1976), 60 fl; Robert Harms, "Sustaining the System: Trading Towns along the Middle *Zaire," Women and Slavery in Africa*, 105-09, White, 85-88; Cassandra R. Costley, "in the Tradition: The African Roots of Some African American Birth Control Practices," (Baltimore, Md.,: M.A. Thesis, Morgan State University, 1993), chapters 3 and 4.

22. Martin Klein, 73; Harms, 105.

23. White, 97-99.

24. Brayan Edwards, *The History, Civil And Commercial, Of The British Colonies Of The West Indies* (3d ed., 3 Vols.; London: Stockdale, 1801), 2:1-2, excerpted in Africans Abroad, ed. by Graham Irwin (New York: Columbia University Press, 1977), 202-03.
25. Graham Irwin, African Abroad, 185. 26. Martin Klein, 84-86; Harms, 100-02.
27. Marcia Wright, "Bwanikwa: Consciousness and Protest among Slave Women in Central Africa, 1886-191 I," *in Women And Slavery In Africa*, 255-58.

28. White, 95.

29. Harriette Pipes McAdoo and Miriam K. Were, "Extended Family Involvement and Roles of Urban Kenyan Women," in *Women In Africa And The African Diaspora*, ed. Rosalyn Terborg-Penn et al. (Washington, D.C.: Howard University Press, 1987), 135-36.

30. Wright, 250-66.

31. White, 62-64; Hall, 91.

32. Kenneth Bilby and Filomina Chioma Steady. "Black Women and Survival: A Maroon Case." in *The Black Woman Cross-Culturally*, ed. Filomina Chioma Steady (Cambridge, Mass.: Schenkman Publishing, 1981), 451-67.

33. Rosalyn Terborg-Penn, "Black Women in Resistance: A Cross-Cultural Perspective," in *In Resistance: Studies In African, Caribbean, And Afro-American History*, ed., Gary Y. Okihiro (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1986), 188-209.

34. Edward A. Alpers, "The Story of Swema: Female Vulnerability in Nineteenth Century East Africa," *in Women In Slavery In Africa*, 185-200; Wright, 246-270; Margaret Washington, ed. *Narrative Of Sojourner Truth* (New York: Vintage Books, 1993); Elizabeth Keckley, *Behind The Scenes: Thirty Years A Slave And Four Years In The White House* (New York: Arno Press and the New York Times, 1968); Harriet A. Jacobs, *Incidents In The Life Of A Slave Girl, Written By Herself* ed. Jean Fagan Yellin (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1987).

35. There is the narrative, *The History Of Mary Prince, A West Indian Slave, Related By Herself*, edited by Moira Ferguson (London: Pandora, 1987), which was first published by an abolitionist in 1831.

"TO BE A WOMAN, SUBLIME": THE IDEAS OF THE NATIONAL BLACK WOMEN'S CLUB MOVEMENT

by

Paula Giddings

Lifting As We Climb

The organization of the NACW [National Association of Colored Women] was a watershed in the history of Black women. They were not participating in a women's auxiliary of a like-minded men's group, as had happened with the social uplift and abolitionist associations of the past. "Our woman's movement is a woman's movement in that it is led and directed by women," announced Josephine St. Pierre Ruffin at the Boston national convention. Nor would they be forced to be a minority in White women's groups. "We are not alienating or withdrawing," Ruffin continued. "We are only coming to the front."[1]

This movement was also distinguished by its scope. Even twenty years before, observed Fannie Barrier Williams, few women "beyond the small circles . . . who could read and were public spirited" would have responded to the call to activism. By contrast, in less than twenty years after its founding, the NACW represented 50,000 women in 28 federations and over 1,000 clubs.

The Black women's club movement did have a number of things in common with the White club movement that preceded it. In some ways, as Fannie Barrier Williams noted, Black women were indeed inspired by the success of the White movement. The two groups were organized in much the same way; the General Federation of Women's Clubs was the White equivalent to the NACW; the membership of both organizations consisted mostly of middle class educated women who were steeped in the Protestant ethic. Neither group questioned the superiority of middle class values or way of life, or had any romantic notions of the inherent nobility of the poor, uneducated masses; education and material progress were values that Black and White women shared. Both also believed in the importance of the home and the woman's moral influence within it. Black and White women saw the family as a microcosm and cornerstone of society. In the broadest sense, this idea imbued all female reformers with a new self-awareness and a stronger sense of importance.

"If the fifteenth century discovered America to the Old World," said Frances Ellen Harper, "the nineteenth century is discovering woman herself."[2] To the reformers, that discovery made progress possible in the home, in the country and even beyond: "The world can not move without woman's sharing in the movement,"[3] Harper declared. "China compressed the feet of her women and thereby retarded the steps of her men."[4] The "world needed to hear her voice," concurred the Black educator Anna Julia Cooper. That women were "daring to think and move and speak" was "merely completing the circle of the world's vision," she said.[5] This era, female reformers believed, belonged to them: "We are living," Fannie Barrier Williams concluded, "in what may be called a woman's age."[6] Such convictions inevitably led to feminist ideas. "The old notion that woman was intended by the Almighty to do only those things that men thought they ought to do is fast passing away," Williams said. "In our day and in this country, a woman's sphere is just as large as she can make it and still be true to her finer qualities of soul" [7]

Nevertheless there were distinct differences between the White and Black organizations and the perspective of the women within them. Although there was a mutual concern for the recognition of women as a distinct social and political force, Black women had a more difficult time of it. For them the club movement had become a vehicle for that recognition. "If within thirty-five years [Black women] have become sufficiently important to be studied apart from the general race problem," stated Fannie Barrier Williams, "that fact is gratifying evidence of real progress." Despite the similarity of their roles, Black women felt a special calling. "To be a woman of the race, and to be able to grasp the significance of the possibilities . . . was a heritage . . unique in the ages," Anna Julia Cooper wrote.[9] That uniqueness made them the "most interesting women in the country," Williams said. It also gave reformers an added sense of exhilaration. "To be alive at such an epoch is a privilege," Cooper believed; "to be a woman, sublime."[10]

High on both organizational agendas were reform, aid to the poor, and fulfilling what psychiatrists call self actualization. But with these things, too, the difference between the women's organizations was immediately apparent. As early as 1894, Williams stressed: " believe that it is possible for us to work out, define, and pursue a kind of club work that will be original, peculiarly suitable to our peculiar needs and that will distinguish our work essentially from white women's clubs."[11] Those needs, combined with the beliefs that had molded Black women's thinking, made the mission of Black clubs quite different.

One of the earliest White women's clubs was founded in response to the exclusion of women journalists from the New York Press Club in 1868. After helping to organize a dinner honoring Charles Dickens, the women were put out when they were denied tickets to attend the affair. The consequent founding of the Sorosis Women's Club set a general pattern for these organizations. They were created by women who were frustrated by their exclusion from occupations and other activities for which their education and background had prepared them. They had little concern for women who were forced to work, with the exception of "the middle class spinster, widow, or woman whose marriage had failed, or was doing teaching, doing office work, or in some instances training herself for a profession," as a feminist historian noted.[12]

It was not that these groups entirely ignored the plight of the poor. There were salutary efforts toward improving living and working conditions for the less fortunate. However those efforts were often motivated by upperclass frustration. For women, helping the poor was one of the few socially sanctioned activities that could be performed outside the home.

Black women, many of them "cramped for lack of opportunity," had frustrations too. But theirs were based on the problems of the race rather than those of their particular class. The Black women activists did not have to be altruistic to have this perspective. The fact was, they understood that their fate was bound with that of the masses. As Mary Church Terrell, one of the wealthiest and best educated Black women of the time, declared: "Self-preservation demands that [Black women] go among the lowly, illiterate and even the vicious, to whom they are bound by ties of race and sex . . . to reclaim them." [13] Unlike the social uplift organizations of the past, Black women of the late nineteenth century knew that for them, "Progress included a great deal more than what is generally meant by the terms culture, education, and contact," as Fannie Barrier Williams observed.[14] One reason why "progress" meant that much more to them was that all Black women were perceived in the light of those who had the fewest resources and the least opportunity. In commenting on the NACW's motto, "Lifting As We Climb," Terrell wrote that the club's members "have determined to come into the closest possible touch with the masses of our women, through whom the womanhood of our people is always judged."[15]

The differing missions of the Black and White movements were evident in the people each group chose to serve. "The club movement among colored women reaches into the subsocial condition of the entire race," Williams wrote. "Among colored women the club is the effort of the few competent in behalf of the many incompetent. . . . Among white women the club is the onward movement of the already uplifted."[16] The motive for forming the Black women's clubs was quite "simple and direct," Williams explained. They were organized by women concerned with "how to help and protect some defenseless and tempted young woman; how to aid some poor boy to complete a much coveted education; how to lengthen the short school term in some impoverished school district; how to instruct deficient mothers in the difficulties of child training."[17]

Although some among them were concerned about their own class, the Black clubwomen as a group had a different attitude toward class and the poor than did the society in general. In many instances, the lessons of their own lives had taught them that it was opportunity and environment— not circumstances of birth or previous experience — that separated them from the masses. Therefore their job was to help by word and by deed— to create that opportunity and environment for all Black women. Josephine St. Pierre Ruffin had this in mind when, in her opening address to the Boston conference, she said that the movement was not only "created for the sake of fine, cultured women," but for "the thousands of self-sacrificing young women teaching and preaching in lonely southern backwoods, for the noble army of mothers who have given birth to these girls, mothers whose intelligence is only limited by their opportunity to get at books." [18]

For these Black women, character was judged by where a woman wanted to go rather than by where she was. "Womanliness is an attribute and not a condition," The Woman's Era counseled. "It is not supplied or withdrawn by surroundings." The middle class Black activists had their elitism, but it was based on "morals first, and then education, and finally means," in the words of Josephine Bruce, wife of Blanche K. Bruce, the Reconstruction U.S. senator from Mississippi.[19]

Black women were as deeply concerned about such things as was the society at large. However, their views about morality, education, and means also reflected their pragmatic racial concerns. Moral women were the cornerstone of "good" homes, and it was only through the home "that a people can become really good and great," said Mary Church Terrell. "More homes, better homes, purer homes is the text upon which sermons have and will be preached."[20] Olivia Davidson, Booker T. Washington's second wife, who was instrumental in the development of Tuskegee, reiterated Terrell's theme: "We cannot too seriously consider the question of the moral uplifting of our women," she said, "for it is of national importance to us. It is with our women that the purity and safety of our families rest, and what the families are, the race will be." Fannie Barrier Williams extended this idea to the political fortunes of Blacks:

> It took the colored people a long time to realize that . . . to be a citizen of the United States was serious business, and that a seat in Congress was an insecure prominence unless supported by good women, noble mothers, family integrity and pure homes. It was not until the Negro race began to have some consciousness of these primary things that the women of the race became objects of interest and study.[22]

These views were based on some very urgent concerns. Health conditions among large numbers of Blacks was so perilous that an 1899 conference at Atlanta University concluded that if conditions weren't improved, the race could actually be destroyed. "Go into the shanties and hovels in town and country . . . and you have all about you the generators of disease," remarked Olivia Davidson before the Alabama Teacher's Association.[23] She had seen numerous examples of "insufficiency, if not actual want"; families did not eat properly, and were ignorant about health, she said. It was the duty of persons like themselves, she told the teachers, to inspire women to "have better homes and care for their bodies."[24] Much of what has been interpreted as mere imitation of White values among middle class Black women was a race conscious mission. They saw themselves not just as messengers but as living examples. "The mother in the home, as the teacher in the schoolroom, and the woman in the church set the standards for the multitude, " as Josephine Bruce observed. [25]

The role of mothers was also important, of course. The philosophy of the clubwomen concerning motherhood reflected the new realities they faced in the late nineteenth century. In the 1830's, Maria Stewart told Black mothers it was their duty to "cultivate a pure heart" and the "thirst for knowledge" in their children. By nurturing these noble qualities, Stewart believed, "the hissing and reproach" toward the race would cease. More than half a century later, Black women leaders believed that those same qualities were to be taught so that children could endure that inevitable reproach. "We believe," said Terrell, "we can build the foundation of the next generation upon such a rock of morality, intelligence and strength, that the floods of proscription, prejudice and persecution may descend upon it in torrents and yet it will not be moved."[26] Josephine Bruce supported that view: "The Negro home," she said, "is rapidly assuming the position designated for it. It is distinctly becoming the center of social and intellectual life; it is building up strength and righteousness in its sons and daughters, and equipping them for the inevitable battles of life which grow Out of the struggle for existence."[27] For these Black women the home was not so much a refuge from the outside world as a bulwark to secure one's passage through it.

Black activists knew, however, that their sisters were under tremendous strain, the kind of strain that made proper child rearing difficult. "Three fourths of the colored women are overworked and underfed," observed Olivia Davidson, "and are suffering to a greater or lesser degree from sheer physical exhaustion."[28] Realizing children "could be made maimed for life . . . because of the treatment received during their helpless infancy," as Terrell noted, they became the focus of club attention.[29] The NACW urged their clubs to establish day nurseries, and many of them set up committees specifically for this purpose. Officers of the NACW raised money to send out a "kindergarten organizer" whose duties were to "arouse the conscience of our women and to establish kindergartens wherever means therefore can be secured." [30]

Although other reformers were also concerned with child care, it was such a compelling issue for Black women that they were especially prominent in this area. In 1898, for example, Anna Evans Murray, who headed the kindergarten committee of the Colored Women's League in Washington, D.C., led a successful lobbying effort to get a $12,000 federal appropriation to establish kindergarten classes in the District's public schools. As always, the actions of the club movement had distinct racial overtones. "The real solution of the race problem lies in the children," Terrell asserted, " both so far as we who are oppressed and those who oppress us are concerned."[31]

The establishment of kindergartens was consistent with the club movement's emphasis on education. Going to school was considered important for both men and women, and essential for the latter. After the Civil War, Anna Julia Cooper said, "our girls as well as our boys flocked in [the schools] and battled for an education."[32] No matter what their thirst for knowledge, it was particularly important for women to get an education because the majority of them had to work. Since their occupations were limited to "teaching in colored schools or domestic service," as Fannie Barrier Williams observed, an education not only had a dramatic impact on their status and quality of life, but often shielded women from the sexual harassment that many of them confronted in White homes. The stark choice between these two occupations was a verity of American life until the World War I years.

The great desire for education, combined with the status of teaching, provided an escape from the limitations that the society imposed on women. As educator Jeanne Noble wrote in her study of Black women's education, "The social system of the Negro rewarded the enterprising, clever, ambitious woman. Later, when attitudes challenging a woman's right to college education emerged, missionaries and earlier college founders were able to overcome these attitudes partly because of the need for teachers to educate masses of ignorant Negroes. Negro women were needed to teach."[33] This attitude provided an additional impetus for Black women, such as Lucy C. Laney, Nannie Helen Burroughs, Charlotte Hawkins Brown, and Mary McLeod Bethune, to found schools. Although the curricula of these schools included academic subjects, there were large doses of industrial arts courses, particularly homemaking, and an environment that enforced codes of morality and thrift. There was a general attitude, says Noble, that "Negro women should be trained to teach in order to uplift the masses."[34]

Of course the training aspect of Black education for women fell in line with the Booker T. Washington philosophy, which was ascendant in this period. Funds for Black schools were easier to come by if one's curricular "buckets" were cast in the Washingtonian mold. But there was also a very pragmatic concern about the relationship among training, the purity of the home, and economic survival. Terrell, for example, saw the "professionalization" of domestic work as doing more "toward solving the labor question than by using any other means it is in our power to employ." She explained that women contributed as much support to the family income as men, and when they were out of a job, the whole family suffered. [35]

Probably the most vociferous on this score was Nannie Helen Burroughs. In 1900 the Washington born Burroughs became secretary of the Women's Auxiliary of the National Colored Baptist Convention, among the largest of the Black denominations. She was also the founder of the National Training School for Girls in Washington, D.C., whose curriculum included liberal arts courses as well as those which reflected her staunch belief that domestic work should not be disdained but should be made into a science. Mindful of the influx of poor European immigrants in the period, she felt that "the women who earn their living as cooks should take training and become professionals. Household engineers— if you please. The field is still open— but if Negro women do not learn the art, they will surely lose out in another occupation (we have lost several) that, in the world of tomorrow, will be highly paid, standardized professions."[36] Additionally, the domestic arts, as she called them, should be learned to ensure a healthy, wholesome homelife. In her view, lack of such knowledge made women "social and moral liabilities."

Morals and education were also deemed necessary if Blacks were to emerge from the pit of poverty. Rising out of poverty would in turn benefit the entire race. "Race progress is the direct outgrowth of individual success in life," Rosa Bowser wrote in The Woman's Era. "The race rises as individuals rise . . . and individuals rise with the race," she concluded.[37] "A man with money can do more for his country, his race, and himself than one without this necessary adjunct," counseled another article in the Era. "Get wisdom, but with all our getting get wealth."[38]

Whatever their views about social sanctions, one reason for the emphasis on morality was that lack of it could be impoverishing. Behavior that "menaced the integrity of the home," Addie Hunton warned, was not good for the pocketbook: "Immorality and thrift," she said, "do not mate very well." So, a good part of the philosophy of uplift had to do with lifting the burdens of "ignorance and immoraity," Lucy C. Laney wrote, with "true culture and character, linked with cash."

Booker T. Washington and the Club Movement

The Black club movement coincided with the rise of Booker T. Washington to fame and power. Although Black women leaders were influenced by his formidable presence, they never became captives of the famed Washington machine. In 1895, Washington, then principal of Tuskegee Institute, delivered one of the opening speeches at the Atlanta Cotton States and International Exposition. His "homespun eloquence," remarked Benjamin Quarles, combined with a message of compromise, drew national acclaim that Washington masterfully transformed into influence.[39] In the subsequent twenty years, the Washington machine dominated Black higher education, business, the press, and political patronage. Booker T. Washington's pipeline to the White House during the Roosevelt, Taft, and McKinley administrations, as well as to such philanthropists as Andrew Carnegie (who gave Tuskegee Institute $600,000 in 1903), assured that dominance until his death in 1915.

From the very beginning of Washington's national acclaim, Black clubwomen expressed conditional praise for his achievement. "How proud we have all felt over the achievement of our great orator, Mr. Booker T. Washington, whose address at the opening of the Cotton States exposition excited more comment than any other of the day," wrote clubwoman Cora Smith for *The Woman's Era*. "Being a typical Negro, his great qualifications cannot be attributed to his Caucasian ancestors," continued Smith, who was herself lightskinned.". . . Of course some of us do not agree altogether with some of his utterances, but every man has a right to his convictions."[40]

Beyond such reservations, the clubwomen must have had ambivalent attitudes toward Washington. On the one hand, they deeply believed in his philosophy of Black self help, mutual aid, and racial pride. Many of them, particularly the school founders and educators, were not opposed to Washington's ideas of industrial education. "I believe in industrial education with all my heart," announced Anna Julia Cooper. "We can't all be professional people. We must have a backbone to the race."[41] For school founders like Charlotte Hawkins Brown and Mary McLeod Bethune, the idea of industrial education may have echoed their own convictions, and was certainly essential for the economic survival of their schools. "Before making gifts to Negro colleges," Benjamin Quarles writes, "prospective white donors sought Washington's assurance that their monies would be earmarked for this kind of education. Struggling Black colleges were only too anxious to add trades to the curriculum in order to get badly needed funds."[42] Even projects not directly linked to education but requiring foundation support felt the power of Washington's hand. His silence on a proposal was condemnation enough for a prospective recipient.

Booker T. Washington's National Negro Business League, founded in 1900, was another potential source of the Black leader's power over clubwomen. A number of them, like Madame C. J. Walker, the hairdressing magnate, and Maggie L.

Walker (no relation), president of the St. Luke's Bank in Richmond, were business women themselves. By 1915 the league became a Black Chamber of Commerce which had six hundred state and local branches.

Finally, Washington's political pull also had potential significance for many of the club leaders. Terrell and Wells Barnett had husbands whose political future could be undermined by the "Wizard of Tuskegee," as Washington was called. "I enclose you a list of the principal Negro appointments, and you might ask Booker T. Washington as to their character," ran a memo from President Theodore Roosevelt to a political aide.[43] Actually, most Black federal appointments originated with Booker T. Washington, Quarles reports. Roosevelt, and to a lesser extent Presidents William McKinley and William H. Taft, made him the Black broker both for appointments and for general matters regarding Afro-Americans.

With his views about self help, and his access to the purse strings as well as the "heart of the white race," as Black sociologist Kelley Miller put it, it is not surprising that there would be links between the machine and the club movement. The connection was personified by Margaret Murray Washington, the Tuskegeean's third wife. From the beginning of the club movement, Mrs. Washington had been a high-ranking officer and served as NACW president from 1912 to 1916. For a number of years she also edited and subsidized the official organ of the NACW, National Notes, which took the place of Aloe Woman's Era when the Boston group headed by Ruffin could no longer publish it.

These connecting links did not mean that the movement was hostage to the most powerful Black leader in the country. Though in many instances there was accommodation to Washington's ideas—and power—Black women also operated independently of his influence. The educators, for example, believed in industrial education, but they also believed that Blacks should attain the highest academic level possible. One foot was in Booker T. Washington's camp on this issue, the other with W.E.B. Du Bois, who supported the concept of the "talented tenth," a well educated cadre of Black leaders. Anna Julia Cooper, for example, may have believed in industrial education with all her heart, but as an educator, and principal of Washington, D.C.'s The M Street School, she was best known for her success in channeling Black students into the most prestigious universities in the country. In fact, her insistence on an academic curriculum drew charges of in subordination from the Washington, D.C., school board, and was probably a reason she was not rehired in 1906. After retiring at the age of sixty seven, Cooper herself earned a Ph.D. in Latin from the Sorbonne in Paris. Mary Church Terrell may have written wonderful tributes to the accomplishments of Tuskegee, but as a Greek scholar she must have found ironic Booker T. Washington's complaint that the "black boy is studying Greek, while the Greek boy is blacking shoes."[44] Mary McLeod Bethune advocated "domestic science," but she also confronted (successfully) her White board members who wanted to maintain her school's curriculum below university status.

But it was Washington's philosophy of eschewing equal political and social rights that the clubwomen rebelled against most vehemently. Whatever their views on interracial relationships, for example, clubwomen took a stand against the prohibition of interracial marriage. Their position was that such laws made Black women all the more vulnerable to sexual exploitation. Even more an issue of contention was Booker T. Washington's conciliatory attitude when Black rights were violated. Josephine St. Pierre Ruffin must have been disturbed when she and other clubwomen asked for his intervention after she was refused admission to the Milwaukee Convention of the General Federation of Women's Clubs in 1900. Puffin, who was a member of both a predominantly White women's club and the Black New Era Club, was told that she could participate as a member of the White club, but not as a representative of the Black one. Insisting on being admitted as representative of the New Era Club, she was excluded from the proceedings; and despite numerous appeals, Booker T. Washington refused to use his influence in her behalf or to take any stand on the matter.

Even Washington's closest ally among the NACW's leaders, Mary Church Terrell, finally broke with him, though it took some time for her to do so. Booker T. Washington was responsible for the appointment of her husband, Robert Terrell, to a municipal judgeship in the District of Columbia. When the battle between Washington and W.E.B. Du Bois flared into the open, Mary Church Terrell's loyalties were quite clear. As a member of the Washington, D.C., school board she used her influence to assure the appointment of a "Bookerite" over Du Bois as assistant superintendent of the schools. She was also active in T. Thomas Fortune's Afro-American Council after it had been infiltrated by Washington's men and molded to the Tuskegeean's political viewpoint. Ida Wells Barnett consequently resigned her post as head of the Council's antilynching bureau, and it was Terrell who took her place.

The Washington Du Bois rivalry was also probably reflected, at least in part, in the 1899 NACW convention in Chicago where a political struggle ensued over the reelection of Mary Church Terrell as president. The NACW constitution stipulated that a president could serve no more than two terms and Terrell had already been elected twice. She and her allies argued, however, that the first term shouldn't have been counted, since it preceded the writing of the constitution. The battle was a bitter one. Although the convention was held in Chicago, Wells Barnett's bailiwick, Terrell kept her from having an influential hand in the proceedings. Terrell's forces eventually triumphed, but not without a price. According to Wells Barnett, the fight "killed" Terrell's influence among the women, and her "selfish ambition" destroyed the opportunity she had once had to lead the organization to even greater heights.

However, Terrell's loyalty to Booker T. Washington perceptibly weakened by 1903—a year in which she spoke at Atlanta University at the behest of W.E.B. Du Bois, and two days later spoke at a luncheon hosted by Washington. But it was the Tuskegeean's stand on the "Brownsville riot" in August of 1906 that strained the relationship with Washington to the breaking point. Brownsville, Texas, was the scene of a bitter race riot involving three companies of the all Black Twenty-fifth Regiment and the White citizens of the town. Before the shooting stopped, one White was killed, another wounded, and the chief of police injured. The Blacks were accused of shooting up the town, and a full scale race war was on the verge of boiling over. On the basis of an inspector's report, President Theodore Roosevelt dismissed the entire regiment with a dishonorable discharge and disqualified the soldiers from further military or civil service. Roosevelt's actions, undertaken without the semblance of due process, were attacked even by Whites in Congress. Senator Joseph Foraker of Ohio pushed for a full Senate investigation, which eventually resulted, as one historian observed, in "the most pointed and signal defeat of the Roosevelt administration."[45]

Needless to say, Blacks, especially those who remembered the bravery of Black soldiers commanded by Roosevelt in the Spanish-American War, were beside themselves with outrage. But Booker T. Washington hedged on the issue. He went so far as to make apologies for Roosevelt's action. It was at this juncture that Mary Church Terrell became so openly critical of Washington that a "Bookerite" recommended to her husband that she be "muzzled."[46] Undeterred, Terrell planned to accept an invitation to the 1909 founding conference of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, an organization hostile to Washington and his policies. When Washington got word of Terrell's intentions he wrote her husband that her "embarrassing affiliation" with the NAACP, which was likely to attack the new President, William H. Taft, could make it difficult for him to secure the judge's reappointment to the bench. "Of course I am not seeking to control anyone's actions," Washington told him, "but I simply want to know where we stand."[47]

Mary Church Terrell responded to the threat by becoming a member of the NAACP's executive committee, and organizing a Washington, D.C., branch, of which she was elected vice president. Another woman present at the NAACP founding conference was Terrell's adversary, Ida Wells Barnett. Of course, her politics and those of the Wizard of Tuskegee were as oil is to water. Yet even she had once had good words for him.

In 1890, Wells wrote to Booker T. Washington praising him for an article of his in the Detroit Plaindealer. In that uncharacteristic piece, Washington condemned the corruption of the Black clergy, a subject on which the muckraking Wells was an expert. But that would be one of the last good words she would have to say about him. Wells Barnett became one of the worst banes of Booker T. Washington's conciliatory existence. Wells, especially, fought his tightening control over the Afro-American Council and took every opportunity to proselytize for Du Bois's and her own views concerning education and equality. Washington's penchant for subversion was indicated by his response to Wells Barnett. A letter to Charles W. Anderson, one of his political henchmen, documented his attempt to remove her husband, Ferdinand Barnett, from his post as assistant state's attorney for Cook County in Illinois. "We must defeat Barnett if possible," Washington wrote in 1904. "He is a regular sneak. During the first two years of the President's campaign he and his wife spent their time and effort in stirring up the colored people and embittering them against the President."[48] In subsequent years, as the Washington machine grew more powerful, Wells Barnett would also become alienated from the NACW after a failed attempt to change the editorship of National Notes, controlled by Margaret Murray Washington, into an elective position. So, despite some of the interlocking cogs of the NACW and the Washington machine, the clubwomen were too diverse and much too independent to be its captive.

Personal Politics

A profile of 108 of the first generation of clubwomen revealed that most had been born in the South between 1860 and 1885 and had moved north before the mass migration of the late nineteenth century.[49] Historian Carter G. Woodson observed that the group of Blacks who left the South in the earlier period were among the most talented. Many of the clubwomen had been reared to respect discipline, thrift, and piety—values that were confirmed by their teachers, in many instances imbued with New England missionary zeal. About 67 percent of the clubwomen were teachers themselves. Other occupations represented were clerk, hairdresser, businesswoman, and there was one bank president. Three quarters of them were married, and almost three quarters of them worked outside the home. Only a fourth of the women had children. The career oriented clubwomen seemed to have no ambivalence concerning their right to work, whether necessity dictated it or not. Richmond educator Josephine Turpin Washington said that Black women claimed "the right o] admission in varied fields of employment."[50] Anna Julia Cooper believed that all married women should earn a livelihood because I, "renders woman less dependent on the marriage relation for physical support (which, by the way, does not always accompany it)."[51]

Undoubtedly another reason for the importance to them of self support was that they believed women should not be forced into traditional roles. In 1894, The Woman's Era offered the opinion that "not all women are intended for mothers. Some of us have not the temperament for family life.... Clubs will make women think seriously of their future lives, and not make girls think their only alternative is to marry."[52] A woman like Cooper no doubt agreed there were other means of self-actualization. Women, she said, were not "compelled to look to sexual love as the one sensation capable of giving tone and relish, movement and vim to the life she leads. Her horizon is extended."[53]

Nevertheless, their ideas about marital relations could be quite traditional. Although few felt that women should be subservient, Josephine Turpin Washington cautioned that "the true woman takes her place by the side of the man, as his companion, his coworker, his helpmate, his equal, but she never forgets that she is a woman and not a man."[54] That women should not supersede their men seemed also to be on Olivia Davidson's mind when, in speaking about the need for women to become "stronger intellectually," she demurred, "I would not have you think, especially you, my brother teachers, that we are asking to find out how we can produce more strong-minded women as that term is used in the objectionable sense."[55] Remembering that one was a woman meant being feminine and not forgetting one's priorities. "The progressive woman of today is modest and womanly," observed Josephine Turpin Washington. "She would never neglect home and husband and children to enter professional life or to further any public cause, however worthy."[56]

Perhaps this belief was responsible for the fact that some of the most active and ambitious clubwomen married relatively late in their lives. Mary Church Terrell, for example, was twenty-eight when she tied the wedding knot; Margaret Murray Washington was thirty-one, and Ida Wells Barnett, thirty-three. All three had had to resolve the conflicts between what they wanted for themselves as women and what middle class society expected of them as women. Terrell experienced great difficulty on that score. Although education was seen as a laudable ambition for Black women, certain kinds of education were not. "It was held by most people that women were unfitted to do their work in the home if they studied Latin, Greek and higher mathematics," Terrell commented. "Many of my friends tried to dissuade me from studying for an A.B. degree."[57] Terrell's father was also unhappy that she chose to work after graduation. "He felt that he was able to support me," she said. "He disinherited me, refused to write to me for a year because I went to Wilberforce to teach. Further I was ridiculed and told that no man would want to marry a woman who studied higher mathematics. I said I'd take a chance and run the risk. "[58] She did marry, of course, and found herself subverting the traditional housewife's role in order to engage in activist pursuits. The choice must have weighed heavily on her mind, especially since she underwent the heart wrenching experience of losing three babies within days of their birth in a span of five years. Against her doctor's advice, she became pregnant a fourth time. This time she went to New York, where she could receive better medical attention than she could in Washington, and this time a daughter, Phyllis (after the poet Phillis Wheatley), survived. Years later, approaching her fortieth birthday, Terrell adopted the daughter of her half brother, Thomas. "But absorbing as motherhood was," notes a biographer, "it never became a full time occupation."[59] In light of Terrell's lecture schedule and organizational work, that seems to be an understatement.

Ida Wells Barnett also wrestled with the idea of activism versus domestic (specifically maternal) roles. She had her first child just before the founding meeting of the NACW. But 1896 was an election year, and soon after the meeting Wells Barnett was asked to campaign through Illinois for the Women's State Central Committee, a Republican political organization. She accepted the invitation on the condition that arrangements be made for a nurse for her six month old son, Charles. The committee agreed to provide someone to take care of him in all the cities where she was scheduled to lecture. "I honestly believe," Wells Barnett recalled, "that I am the only woman in the United States who ever traveled throughout the country with a nursing baby to make political speeches."[60]

A year later she was pregnant again. By this time her husband had been appointed assistant state's attorney, and Wells Barnett decided to sell The Conservator (which she had purchased from her husband), resigned from the presidency of the Ida B. Wells Club, and announced that she was retiring from public life to devote time to her family.

The "retirement" lasted about five months. A brutal lynching in South Carolina compelled her to lobby the President and Congress in Washington, D.C. Again she took a nursing infant along. This was followed by her work for the Black soldiers in the Spanish American War, activities in the Afro-American Council, her continued anti-lynching campaign, and the birth of two more children in 1901 and 1904. After the youngest, Alfreda, was born, Wells Barnett attempted to "retire" once more. The activist must have felt pulled in several different directions. On the one hand, Black men, resentful of her activism, applied pressure to "keep her in her place." Her election as financial secretary of the council elicited this response from the Colored American newspaper:

> . . . we are compelled to regard her election . . . as an extremely unfortunate incident. She is a woman of unusual mental powers but the proprieties would have been observed by giving her an assignment more in keeping with the popular idea of women's work and which would not interfere so disastrously with her domestic duties.

The newspaper suggested that Wells Barnett be made head of a women's auxiliary instead. "The financial secretary of the Afro American Council," it concluded, "should be a man."[61]

On the other hand, Wells Barnett knew that her crusade was important, and that few could do as effective a job as she could. The dilemma was noted by the suffragist Susan B. Anthony, whom she had gotten to know over the years. Anthony, who never married, told her:

> . . . women like you who have a special call for work [should never marry]. I know of no one in all this country better fitted to do the work you had in hand. Since you've gotten married, agitation seems practically to have ceased. Besides, you're trying to help in the formation of this league and your baby needs your attention at home. You're distracted over the thought thee he's not being looked after as he would be if you were there, and that makes for a divided duty.[62]

But Wells Barnett had married. And although, due to her early experiences with her siblings, she did not have "the longing for children that so many other women have,"[63] she was glad that she had themes Not having children, she felt, robbed women "of one of the most glorious advantages in the development of their own womanhood."[64] The dual role of mother and activist may not have been an easy one, but she appeared to strike a balance between the two for the remainder of her life.

For all of the political and social conservatism of Margaret Murray Washington, she, too, had her doubts about the joys of motherhood. Born of an Irish father and a Black mother in Macon, Georgia, she first met Booker T. Washington at Fisk University's commencement ceremonies. She had been a part-time student there for eight years, and boldly approached Washington to ask him to hire her as a teacher at Tuskegee. Margaret Murray was attractive, often described as buxom, and obviously bright. The combination was undoubtedly compelling for the two-time widower and Murray was appointed an English teacher at the institute. Her abilities were immediately apparent and she soon was promoted to "Lady Principal" or Dean of Women at Tuskegee.

It wasn't long before Margaret Murray and Booker T. Washington began courting, and he proposed to her in 1891. However, she had real doubts about the marriage, and especially about children: Her letters to Washington revealed that she didn't like them. "You do not have much sympathy with me because I feel as I do in regard to little folks," she wrote. "I get annoyed at myself but the feeling is there just the same."[65] Not only did she profess little maternal instinct, but she had a particular dislike for Washington's eight year old daughter, Portia. "You have no idea of how I feel because I can not feel toward Portia as I should. And I somehow dread being thrown with her for a lifetime."[66] Telling him that she would understand if he gave her up because of these feelings, she wondered "if it is a wise and Christian thing for me to love you feeling as I do?"[67] Margaret Murray did marry Washington, of course, and in the course of their twenty year long marriage, she seemed to work out her difficulties with Portia.

Of course, Terrell, Wells Barnett, Washington, and others who married men prominent in their own right, had the latitude to make decisions without reference to dire economic need, or concern that they might threaten their husbands' selfworth. It was easier to be a coequal or partner with a man who had himself acquired a certain importance. Clubwomen, at least partially for this reason, counseled both men and women on the virtues of accomplishment. These Black women saw the status of their men as part and parcel of many of the goals they were trying to achieve.

"Colored women will never be properly known and the best of them appreciated, until colored men have become more important in those affairs of life where character and achievements count for more than prejudices and suspicions," wrote Fannie Barrier Williams, who was married to a Chicago attorney. "Every colored man who succeeds in business brings his wife and daughter a little nearer to that sphere of chivalry and protection in which every white woman finds shelter and vindication against hateful presumption.... A beautiful home built by a man is a tribute, not only to his own wife and family, but is also a tribute to womanhood everywhere."[68] In a similar vein, Addie Hunton, in writing an obituary of Sarah Garnet, thought it important to mention that her father was the first Black man to build a home for his family in New York.

Marrying men of achievement was also an integral part of their determination to fulfill themselves as women. "The question," said Anna Julia Cooper, who married a minister but was widowed two years later, "is not now with the woman 'How shall I so cramp, stunt, and simplify and nullify myself as to make me eligible to the honor of being swallowed up into some little man?' but the problem . . . rests with the man as to how he can so develop . . . to reach the ideal of a generation of women who demand the noblest, grandest and best achievements of which he is capable."[69]

That demand went beyond men's material achievements to male perceptions about Black women themselves. Many men, they felt, left something to be desired when it came to seeing their women in the proper light and to protecting their virtue literally as well as figuratively.

It is absurd," said Anna Julia Cooper, "to quote statistics showing the Negro's bank account and rent rolls, to point to the hundreds of newspapers edited by colored men, and lists of lawyers, doctors, professors, D.D.'s, L.L.D's, etc. etc. etc. while the source from which the lifeblood of the race is to flow is subject to the taint and corruption of the enemy's camp." For "a stream," she exhorted, "cannot rise higher than its source."[70] At the turn of the century, Black women still had "no fixt public opinion to which they could appeal," as Fannie Barrier Williams pointed out, "no protection against the libelous attacks on their characters, and no chivalry generous enough to guarantee their safety against man's inhumanity to women."[71] Since she included Black men in this group, Williams challenged: "Is the Colored man brave enough to stand Out and say to all the world, 'This far and no farther in your attempt to insult or degrade our women'?"[72] The question was important. Nannie Helen Burroughs asserted: "Whenever the men of any race defiantly stand up for the protection of their women, . . . the women will . . . be saved from the hands of the most vile."[73] That men had not so stood up made the sharp tongued Burroughs protest: "White men offer more protection to their prostitutes than many Black men offer to their best women."[74]

Apart from their concern about protection from the "vileness" of White men, Black women criticized the attitudes of Black men toward them. In the opinion of the activists, the times demanded that men not treat women as mere quarry. "We need men," Williams said, who can let their interest and gallantry extend outside the circle of their aesthetic appreciation; men who can be Other, brother, a friend to every weak, struggling, unshielded girl."[75] What Black women craved, above all things, continued Williams, was to "be respected and believed in. This is more important than position and opportunities."[76]

In this period Black women saw their sisters as extremely vulnerable, and men often taking advantage of them. Many young women were on the move, traveling to unfamiliar surroundings to find jobs. Lonely, often naive, they could be easy prey. "Thousands of women are . . . in the clutches of men of our race," complained Burroughs, perhaps the most sardonic of the commentators, "who are not worth the cost of their existence. They can dress well, and live on the earnings of servant girls."[77]

An anonymous writer for The Independent had a more direct complaint: "We poor colored women wage earners in the South are fighting a terrible battle," she said. "On the one hand we are assailed by White men, and on the other hand we are assailed by Black men, who should be our natural protectors."[78]

The problem, as Fannie Barrier Williams saw it, was a fundamental lack of respect for Black women as a group. "I believe that as a general thing we hold our girls too cheaply," she said. "Too many colored men entertain very careless, if not contemptible opinions of the colored girls."[79] It was not that Black women were so perfect, said Williams. "It is true we have our trifling girls, and in this respect we are thoroughly human."[80] Her complaint was that Black men too often had the same stereotypical notions about Black women that others did: "We have all too many colored men who hold the degrading opinions of ignorant white men, that all colored girls are alike."[81]

The problem wasn't confined to the lower classes. In her autobiography, Ida Wells Barnett recounted an incident of a minister in Memphis defaming her character because of his prejudice against southern Black women. Wells confronted him with the charges. "I . . . wanted him to know that virtue was not at all a matter of the section in which one lived," she said, "that many a slave woman had fought and died rather than yield to the pressure and temptations to which she was subjected.... I wanted him to know ... at least one southern girl, born and bred, who had tried to keep herself morally clean as my slave mother had taught me."[82]

Williams concluded, "There is something fundamentally wrong within our social instincts and sentiments, if we fail to recognize the ever enlarging difference between the pure and the impure, the upright and degraded of colored women."[83] Despite the evidence of Black women's efforts during this time, despite the evidences of character and determination, Williams was saying, Black men were "apt to look to other races for their types of beauty and character."[84] "What our girls and women have a right to demand from our best men is that they cease to imitate the artificial standards of other people and create a race standard for their own."[85]

Imitating those standards included color consciousness, Nannie Helen Burroughs charged, in a devastating article entitled "Not Color But Character": "There are men right in our own race, and they are legion, who would rather marry a woman for her color than her character," she said.[86] "The white man who crosses the line and leaves an heir is doing a favor for some black man who would marry the most debased woman, whose only stock in trade is her color, in preference to the most royal queen in ebony."[87]

Black men themselves commented on the

phenomenon of their attraction to fair skinned women. "It is generally the case," said the editor T. Thomas Fortune during a debate about Black identity, "that those Black men who clamor most loudly and persistently for the purity of Negro blood have taken themselves mulatto wives."[88]

However, Burroughs did not confine her criticism to men on this score. She also struck out at women who used skin lighteners and hair straighteners. "What every woman who bleaches and straightens out needs, is not her appearance changed, but her mind changed.... If Negro women would use half the time they spend on trying to get white, to get better, the race would move forward apace."[89]

Another problem was the attitude of men who had difficulty accepting the intelligence of women, especially if they were also attractive. The editor of the Black newspaper Indianapolis Freeman once chided Ida B. Wells: "Iola makes the mistake of being pretty as well as smart. She should remember that beauty and genius are not always companions. George Eliot, George Sand, Harriet Beecher Stowe and other bright minds were not paragons by any means."[90]

The patronizing attitude was shared by men who had better intentions than the Freeman editor. The Black leader Alexander Crummell, for one, wrote a book whose purpose was to praise Black women, because, he said, so few had raised a voice in their behalf. He wrote of Black women's "tenderness," "modesty," "sweetness," "humility," and "warm maternity." But for all the achievements of Black women in this period, the most complimentary conclusion he could draw was: "If there is any other woman on this earth who in native aboriginal qualities is her superior, I know not where she is to be found."[91]

Such an attitude made Anna Julia Cooper remark, "While our men seem thoroughly abreast of the times on every other subject, when they strike the woman question, they drop back into sixteenth century logic." Cooper was particularly critical when that "logic" extended to discouraging women from attending college. "I fear the majority of colored men do not yet think it worthwhile that women aspire to a higher education,"[92] she charged.

This attitude extended into other intellectual pursuits. As an instance, Black women were excluded from the American Negro Academy, which was organized in 1897 and whose purposes were to bring together leading intellectuals like Reverend Francis Grimke, Reverend Alexander Crummell, and W.E.B. Du Bois—graduates of Princeton, Cambridge, and Harvard respectively—and to promote scholarly work, establish an archive, and encourage promising Black youth. The academy's bylaws stipulated that only men of African descent were to participate. During some of the first organizational discussions, however, George Grisham suggested that women be admitted and that the encouragement of youth also include young women since ". . . in the year of our opening there has been a higher attainment of scholarship ... by our women than our men." (Emphasis added.) The bylaws were never changed, however, and the academy listed no women on its roster.[93]

Black women were also peeved at the male reluctance to take their political role seriously. It was especially irksome when men seemed so politically ineffectual. In speaking of the NACW, Fannie Barrier Williams cautioned the organization against following the examples of "our colored men, whose innumerable conventions, councils and conferences during the last twenty five years have all begun with talk and ended in talk. "[94] Like Williams, Cooper criticized their men's tendency to "exaggerate the importance of mere political advantage,"[95] so that women weren't accepted as full partners in the racial struggle. Even more disturbing, men often criticized women who took the initiative, as Ida Wells Barnett discovered. The now familiar accusation of Black women "emasculating" Black men almost discouraged her from going to the scene of a lynching in 1909. "I had been accused," she wrote, "by some of our men of jumping ahead of them and doing work without giving them a chance."[96]

Even T. Thomas Fortune criticized the attitudes of his brethren: "The race could not succeed," he said, "nor build strong citizens, until we have a race of women competent to do more than hear a brood of negative men." [97]

However, many of these conflicts were submerged by the larger racial struggle in which Black men and women worked together effectively. This was evident when the issue of woman suffrage took center stage again after fourteen years of relative inactivity between 1896 and 1910. In that period no new states passed suffrage amendments, but in 1913, Illinois gave the presidential ballot to women; and by the beginning of 1914, five new states and the territory of Alaska had enfranchised them. In these years the debate within the Black and White communities, and the struggle between the communities regarding the women's vote, reached a new level of intensity.

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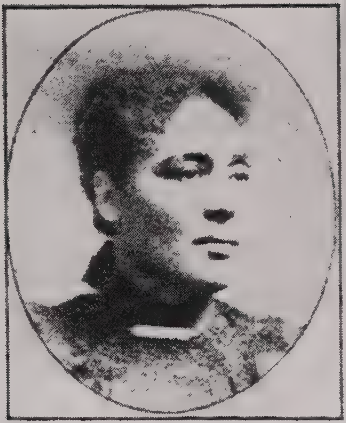
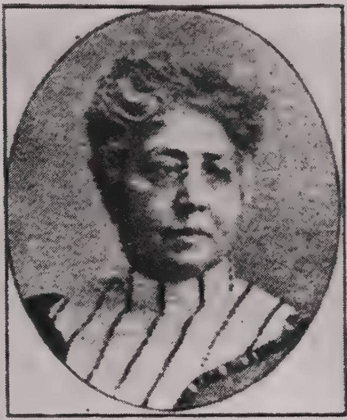
First Congress of Negro Women, Atlanta, Georgia, Dec. 1895

Pioneers

President



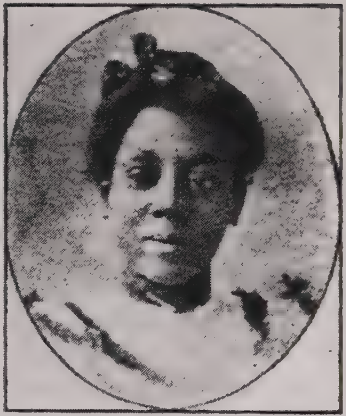
Mrs. B. T. Washington
Tuskegee, Ala.,



Mrs. Josephine St. Pierre Ruffin
Boston, Mass.

She Issued the Call

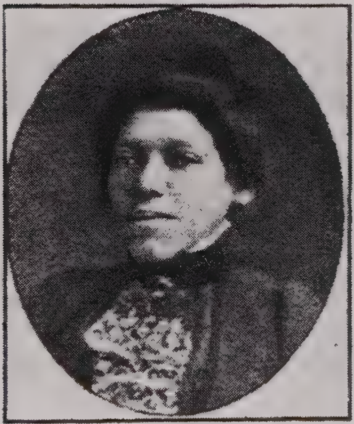
Rec. Secretary



Miss Elizabeth C. Carter
New Bedford, Mass.

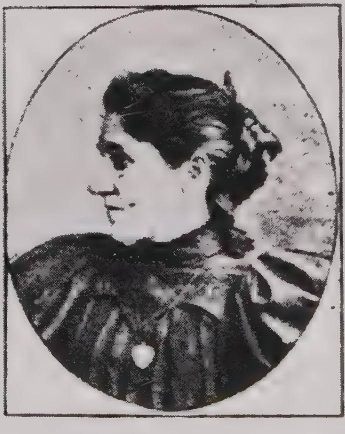
"LIFTING AS THEY CLIMB"
IS LOVINGLY DEDICATED

Treasurer



Mrs. L. C. Anthony
Jefferson City, Mo.

Chr. Ex. Board



Mrs. Victoria Earl
Matthews, N. Y.

NATIONAL LEAGUE OF AFRO-AMERICAN WOMEN—BOSTON, 1895

"A BETTER LIFE FOR ME": AFRICAN-AMERICAN WOMEN AND THE GREAT MIGRATION

by

Elizabeth Clark-Lewis

The "me" notion wasn't even thought about. My father's cousin came down home and her eyes fell on me for brother. My feelings ... who would ask? You had to help, and it'll be up here instead of down there. It wasn't for you to fall out of there like a man could, without somebody taking you. And I didn't follow no man—I was a child.

Marie Stone, Age 91

By the turn of the twentieth century the South's economy—always affected by the seasonal upswings and downturns in cotton and other staple-crop production—had suffered a series of droughts, heavy rains, and boll weevil attacks.[1] African-Americans, like all Southerners, suffered poor crop yields and an uncertain economic situation; families were desperate in their quest to find new means to survive during this nadir.[2] Mary Ruth Ingraham is a very small woman with immense energy and ambition. She still drives her own car daily and recently completed a computer course. Her ninety-two year old voice rings with enthusiasm when she tells you about her family, her church work, and her journey "on this highway called life." Short, hurried conversations are important to her because she is a very active person. The constant activity and full voice of Mary Ruth contrasts her physical size. Her body is so small it seems to be absorbed in the beautiful brocade chair in which she is seated. The chair's subdued beige, blue and gold pattern is exquisite and nearly matches the softly tailored beige blouse and tan wool slacks she wears. A small gold pin accents the blouse. She revisits every part her life with a light-hearted, enormously cheerful style except those

> Times was bad then, and they only got worser as time passed for my people in Virginia. Things was bad for my Mama, Dad and all. They needed my mother's sisters' help and the money they send home. It was a good thing to work and better for you to leave there to get work. Everybody was always glad for you to help.

Violence, intimidation, and suppression—all a part of everyday black life in the South—also spurred rural families to send their young women northward.[3] Beyond the desire for better jobs and an education, many women held personal goals of "a better life"—self improvement—up north.[4] Eula Montgomery, a woman who always smiles as she speaks, lives in a small rowhouse with aging redwood siding. It is a two story house with a small porch and a neatly kept yard. Her hair, parted in the middle, is curled tightly with waves down the back. Her printed dress snugly fits her very stout body. She wears thick support stockings and peach colored, low heeled shoes. In the view of Eula Montgomery,

> People from all around Equality [Alabama] was leaving there. You saw the "big" people, going and you wanted to go, too. You wanted to be more than you'd ever could at home, in Coosa County, and even Alabama! Just like big people.

Janie Hopkins, tittering at the irony of being born near Dismal Swamp, Virginia, stressed, "People done better if they left. You had the chance for the first time when you left that dismal place, from down there." However, the decision and circumstances of migration were controlled by the family not the individual.[5] Beulah Nelson is seated on a sofa that has a large, patchwork quilt draped over the back. The light green sofa has wide arms and its cushions are mashed down from many years of use. She settled herself deeper into the sofa and related her personal and parental motivations with a lively and exuberant attitude.

> You couldn't really be of much help after a while. Work was there [in the rural South], but you got so little [in payment] you wasn't really helping. You get a little but your people needed too much else. It was bad when I left in 1916. Nobody had anything. Everyone was glad when I got to come here [to Washington] 'cause I'd be able to help regular more. There was no money, and even farming was bad for my Daddy. I was trained; I just had to wait my time and my turn.

Travelin' Talk

Marie Stone lives in a house she has converted into two apartments. The yard has a chain link fence around the back and a stone fence in the front. The house is surrounded by flowers. In the middle of the yard is a birdbath. She lives on the first floor in a one bedroom apartment. The living room and dining room have very high ceilings and they are covered with a bold floral wallpaper. A large, ornate mirror hangs behind her olive green sofa. Two oversize chairs match the sofa and her handmade dolls are placed all over the living room. Her furniture, trimmed in rosewood, is very comfortable. The beautiful hardwood floors are covered with large oriental rugs. In her dining room the cherry/maple buffet and china cabinet are filled with antique silver tableware. Custom-built shelves covered one wall of her kitchen and all kinds of shiny gadgets cover the kitchen's long, green countertop. Chairs surround a small white table and flowers sit in the middle of the table. A small mahogany bed sits in the middle of her bedroom. A mahogany table with a brass lamp, a dainty chair, and mahogany-and-brass bureau were the only other furniture in the bedroom.

A friendly woman, well known in her community and well liked by all, she is always happy to receive visitors in her home. She always serves her guests food and tea or ginger ale. Whenever possible, she includes a "nip" of brandy after she serves her guests. Very slowly entering the living room with a brass tray, which is holding a crystal decanter and two sherry glasses, she is disappointed that tea-not sherry-is requested. As she deftly refilled each tea cup she emphasized,

> The "me" notion wasn't even thought about. My father's cousin came down home and her eyes fell on me for brother. That's all I know how to tell. My feelings wasn't one way or another. Who'd ask ... you had to help, and it'll be up here instead of down there. It wasn't for you to fall out of there like a man, without somebody taking you. And, I didn't follow no man, I was a child. My sisters all got here just like that, too!

Lizetta Prayther lives near a busy industrial strip. Although everything around her home moves fast, she walks slowly with a walker and has a calm temperament. Her brown skin is smooth but arthritis has badly swollen her hands. There is a quiet dignity and deliberateness in her soft voice as she related:

> People down Virginia wasn't never going to *do* too much better than when I left. You're being sent, see, came out of what somebody here needed. Needs here came first—that's how we saw it for us.

Velma Davis is seated next to a window with an unspectacular view of a funeral home, a chapel, a small store, and a gas station. As she sighed and turned her chair away from the window, she nonchalantly stressed:

> You worked all week for a white family, somebody telling you they're having you in a house to do everything. When you got to the week's end and home there was that and more still to do. No asking you about a thing. Nobody down there would. When time was to go, you'd be told what was to be what and where to go to do something more, someplace else! And bless you out if you talked too much. The thought of asking you 'bout anything never was in no mind down there. None.

For females, the preparation for migration was both distinctive and routine. Migration was a family-regulated, family-timed process. And it was the responsibility of the rural family to reshape the young women whenever kin decided that migration was imminent. Lona Pitts Harris, born in Lauderdale County, Alabama, lives in a very small public housing apartment complex. The living room seemed to be over half the size of the apartment, and its ceiling appeared to be held up by the stacks of old newspaper and magazines. Old tapestry furniture seemed crowded into the room and dusty draperies were covering the large ceiling to floor window. Stacks of religious books and church papers surrounded the chair in which she sat. As she ran her hands over one church bulletin, she said,

> All you'd done was help somebody. At home or on a job. That wasn't different. What was different was the new ways everyone acted just when it was near time for you to leave. All over Centre Star, you got told more about things.
>
> Nobody said so much right out... I mean told you so much more, but they'd go over and over time and again how you was to remember to look out for this or that. Or, they'd make you stop doing things one way—something no mind was ever paid—and say "You too big to be so playful. Time now you stop and act like bigger girls. You got more to do to help us"—things like that.

"Traveling talk" started as soon as the adult kin finalized the first phase, the written negotiation. Female family members communicated constantly by mail with other family members who had moved from the rural South; they sent and received money, arranged for annual holiday "homeplace" visits back to the rural South, and shared kin news reports on persons who were now living in urban centers throughout the country. The women distinctly remembered that "talks and walks" with adult kin became more frequent and structured as the time neared for them to leave the South. Before they left, the women, now fully trained, worked on jobs outside of the family farm. And all but four of the women were at live-in jobs at the time of their migration.

Cassie Hackney's stubby fingers are cracked and swollen at the joints. She has a very cordial disposition and never focuses on the infirmities caused by a stroke. She slowly explains how, just before she left Grassy Creek

> Everybody had something to say. What you was and was not to do if you ever was on the train. Or how things be at the new places. All like that.

Unlike some of the women, Cassie Hackney was aware that her mother had received letters about her leaving North Carolina. Each of the women caught up on family information during weekend "homevisits" from her live-in work, but no one ever discussed when or why she would leave. Cassie Hackney, like many others, visited home from her "stay in" job. The job was only a mile from the family farm. During her "home visits" her family never mentioned her possible migration. Darethia Handy, who came north in 1916, also remembered that she was never asked for her input or opinion. Only once during a weekend visit home from her live-in job was her leaving ever discussed: They talked about you but never to you. Money or job wasn't even talked of. I was told I'd go out with Sister and Cousin Rey. That was all said 'til past Christmas. And I was gone from Texas before that summer broke, I know.

It Was All From the Garden and Me

Almeda Goode of Clarendon County, South Carolina, laughed as she recounted an episode that occurred during a Saturday "home visit" after a week of work for Miss Coleman. Nothing had appeared different until she learned from a younger brother that a cousin sent "word" from the North asking about her. Then she suddenly became the center of a flurry of activity by the adults in her community. From that point on, her weekend visits home were very different:

> The talkin' wasn't bad but then everyone wanted to give you something. And at church, my stars, how they all prayed for you. Your knees felt like they had gave out, they were just so sore. Everybody, not just the preacher now, everybody laid hands on you. You'd get a fresh foot [rabbit's], piece of veil, a piece of money to remind me of home [Silver, South Carolina], piece of cloth

> for your tears—you know, that old stuff everybody had in their bags.

In the weeks leading up to the girl's departure, kin and family members[6] also gave the young women special good luck objects: charms and fetishes consisting of fresh animal parts or fleece, veiling, feathers, medicinal herbs, spices, and money. The family of Maybell Fannie Hunnell, after moving from Dewy Rose, Georgia to Starr, South Carolina, maintained many migration practices.

> Everybody got a something. Just a piece of cloth with I guess it was dirt and some flowers that smelled to know not when. It was pushed way down under your clothes right up next to your skin. I must have kept it years. I got rid of it ... when I got back to Dewy Rose [Georgia] for the first time. First thing them women wanted to see, too. I believe they checked me for that for years every time I came back home, too. It was nothing to tell about, really.

Only three women talked freely about the "good luck" paraphernalia or charms women travelers customarily carried. Cultural taboos, like traveling during certain phases of the moon or their menstrual cycle, could not be discussed at length with the women. While each woman noted the taboos in their interviews, only three women were willing to go into depth on the subject. Bernice Reeder turned on the light on the table next to where she was seated, frowned as she shifted her head, and looked down into her hands. She looked up with narrowing eyes and glared over at the windowsill. She held her arms more tightly across her chest and was visibly annoyed by these invasive "old times, woman-talk" questions. But, after a long delay, this stout woman looked hesitant but whispered hoarsely:

> You'd take a good bath and wash your hair. Then Mamma took and cut a piece of hair off to keep with what I guess was dried flowers, rice and sugar. They said this'd keep you from getting hungry, sick, or having bad, you know, having female problems. Then they put all that stuff in a piece of boiled gauze or cotton. It was always white and boiled till the stiffness was out. They cooled it and then put all that in this limp piece of cloth. Tied at the top with white string-boiled just the same. You put that on right then. Under your clothes and next to your skin. Really, some things you did ask a whole lot about—they just did.

Virginia Lacy sat with her hands folded across her lap. She was never distracted by the slamming doors, the music in the room, or the loud arguing in the back hall. She is not disturbed by the sirens and lights from three passing fire engines. Her two grandchildren asked her questions, but she never responded to their inquiries; and, after waiting with both anxiety and curiosity, they tired of being overlooked and went away. Virginia Lacy *was* unsettled by questions that "talked up matters that only crazy people set stock in or people sporting a stink wanted to keep going." Looking across the room from her chair, she offered a strong, detailed warning against any person discussing "women's knowledge" too publicly. Then, while making no attempt to hide her exasperation, she explained:

> Dey gave me a little bag to put around my neck. I asked was it to suck on because it was just like the one they used for a baby's fret medicine when they are vexed or when the mother didn't have enough milk. They laughed and laughed at me. My Mamma then said no, it was to kill germs and keep harm away. So you put it on and that's it. You wasn't allowed to ask questions. It's not like now. People didn't talk about even the women's things, you know, the period. Everybody down there [South Carolina] had a lot of who-dos and all. All that mess. And then you didn't know. And when you're old enough to be told, you don't talk about it. That's for women to talk about, and only women, at a certain time and place. You won't do well if you talk about these things. And you should know better for your own sake!

Lottie Cooksey lives in the senior citizens section of a garden-apartment community. It was a very small efficiency apartment with bare tile floors that were dusted and polished. In the living room area were two large sofas, a high-backed chair and an oak table. Sheer drapes and white metal venetian blinds covered large windows. A table with four chrome and leather chairs sat in the small kitchen.

Mrs. Cooksey prepared tea and placed two cups on the oak table, setting a place for each very, very carefully. Next to each cup she placed a spoon with a beautifully folded paper napkin underneath. She carefully poured the pekoe tea and then enjoyed talking about her past. Visibly startled, she rubbed her cracked hands together quickly when I wanted more detail on the things her mother, aunts, cousins and female kin placed in her bath the night before she left and on her body just before she left the family home in Texas:

> It was from the yard, the garden and me. I had not begun my woman's so they put in this flower in the bath water and what looked like grass and seeds too. Then I was dried and Miss Veda came. She knew Louisiana stuff and all, so she put a pouch under my clothes. Just so. I didn't look in but it was soft like dirt but had a little grit. I had that thing on me when I traveled for years! Then I lost it somehow I guess about twelve, fifteen years after I'd been here. I can't say what was in it because I didn't make it up. You didn't ask them then. About nothing!

The Pleading Process

The final and most universal step in preparation for migration centered around the male head of the home. In the limited public arena open to African-Americans, the husband/father/male family head represented the entire family. Most husbands were older than their wives and therefore exercised authority both by virtue of age and gender. Landowners, merchants, and government agents in the rural South also acknowledged the role of the husband as the head of his family. Landowners, under the sharecropping system, parceled out land for sharecropping to the male family head. Sharecropping contracts were based on agreements signed by the male heads of the household and landowners. Government agency records confirm the Freedmen's Bureau mandate that male-headed households receive more monetary compensation and larger land grants than female-headed households.[7] Women, who earned money as domestics and received payment for children who worked as "live-out" servants, earned more hard cash, but it was the male head of household who purchased the bulk of the family's supplies. Although men and women had a distinct set of roles and priorities, "they needed each other to form a complete economic unit."[8] And it was this complete unit that finalized the migration process of these young women.

Mayme Gibson, of Mississippi, looked over her gold-rimmed glasses as she pointed to an old picture on an old floor model radio. Without any sarcasm in her voice or in her eyes, she leaned back in her chair and reminisced about how the "pleading and praying" foreshadowed the journey from the rural south. "Everybody left out in that way, as I know of it," she stressed. Details might differ but the scenario surrounding the final migration decision was essentially the same. The northern family kin members, while visiting the rural South, conducted a somewhat contrived pleading process with the southern family to convince them that the child should go back north with them. This pleading process usually transpired during an annual or seasonal visit by the northern kin to the southern homestead. Once situated in a relaxed setting, the elder northern kin (usually male) curried the attention of the head of the southern family. Long conversations would be held about the concerns and needs of kin in urban centers outside the South. The goal was to persuade the father that one of his children was needed up north to help free other kin to perform essential duties. First, the visiting kin had to show the rural family that the travel expenses of the journey would be no burden for them. Then, the southern family had to be persuaded of the desperate need for this child "up north."

It was usually argued that family members had always helped out other kin members during times of trouble. This was persuasive, because the southern kin network knew that it was seen as *the only* survival support for family members living outside the rural South. And, although the entire southern family's survival and support system could not be moved north, one member could be mobile and thus an important part of the survival network—a child. Family survival, everyone agreed, was a responsibility shared by all trained kin, including children.

As African-Americans migrated north, kin obligations did not cease. Race, class, and caste prejudice impeded upward employment mobility for the recent migrants. In the pleading process, much was made of the adult kin's obligation to toil, under unfavorable circumstances, for low wages outside of their own homes. When family members moved into cities, only the extended family's cooperative spirit could further the urban family's move upward.[9] The child, nurtured to assist the family, was an important expression of the family's cooperative spirit. The overwhelming needs of the urban kin dictated that *this* particular child could satisfy that powerful demand.

During this discussion, family members raised other concerns. The parents were reassured that the child would not be a burden to kin in the urban center; the child would be safe; and, she would be given education or medical attention. Most important, it was stressed that the child was not irrevocably leaving the rural homestead. A flow of letters would keep the parents abreast of the child's activities and well-being. Kin members, aware of the division of labor based on gender, insisted that they would enforce these traditions strictly. Urban kin stressed that employment would be determined and dictated by practices learned and established in the rural South. Although each head of household recognized the importance of employed children in an extended or augmented household, it was family need, not money, that figured central in the argument for permission to take the child from the rural South.

In spite of—or perhaps to counter—these pleas, the father would recount in detail how this child needed to remain at home. He might voice the emotional burden of a "baby girl" leaving for a strange city. Despite assurances that a network of kin and neighbors would be accountable for the child, a hesitation was detected. In assessing the impact on the rural family, the "loss" would be great. The animated conversation of the father reflected the father's special affection, loyalty, and concern he felt for this young woman. He might express extraordinary pride in one aspect of her "chores." Finally, the father-with great and clearly perceived hesitation—reluctantly would yield and allow his daughter to depart. Despite this ritualized drama, however, rural southern families themselves viewed migration as a means to relieve the economic plight of their households.

Many of the woman discovered that their migration had in fact been devised and arranged by mail months before verbal consent was given. In answer to the question whether she thought the pleading process between her father and brother-in-law had been something of an act, Bernice Reeder skeptically answered she was sure that her father's response was fashioned for her benefit. Her voice was clipped as she described coming home for a weekend visit from the Richey family, where she was working, and saw Brother, Ma-Sis and, most important, a barrel. She knew the barrel was filled with things for the children and after dinner it would be opened. Goodies to eat, fruit, shoes and clothing were always in each barrel. She was willing to sit quiet and listen to Ma-Sis tell all about the city and her work, because she was waiting for the adults to finally open the barrel:

> When Brother and Ma-Sis came home it was nice. Brother always brought us a barrelful of toys and fruit and candy, but this time there was a dress in the barrel with lace around the front. Everybody got some candy, but Ma-Sis gave the dress to me. The next night Mama brought me in the parlor with Daddy, Ma-Sis and Brother. Brother told Daddy he wanted me to go back north with him. Daddy hugged me and told Brother, "No. She can't go. You got Lillie and Mary up there. This one here's my heart. She can't go." They talked and talked. Then Ma-Sis started to cry when she was telling how she'd have to leave the two young ones alone if I didn't come. Finally Daddy broke down and said I could go.
>
> The next day I was on the train with Brother and Ma-Sis. My mama had give me this big box of fried chicken, biscuits, and *two* sweets. And Ma-Sis put a great big napkin over my new dress so the box wouldn't get grease on it. Brother was sitting next to me, and I asked him how did he know I'd like a pretty dress like this—with lace? And he said, my mama had wrote Ma-Sis long time ago to bring me a nice dress to wear back on the train.
>
> You know, from time to time I thought on that. That thing hit me—I tell you years later. From then I knew my going with Ma-Sis and Brother was planned a long time before Daddy ever said a thing.

Such feigned activities seemed contrived to Beulah Nelson, a woman who described herself as "brazen, bold, and insolent,"[10] for another reason. She acknowledged that her migration was devised and arranged by the family through letters, but she believed she had assured her own migration before the end of the week by displaying a new-found freedom.

> Before I left, a lady—who was named Miss Addie and a member of my mother's church—my people all were sanctified—stayed home to have a baby. My mamma let me go there and I heard her say, "Just three days 'cause she going with my Brother." Plus, I had done read the letters they tried to hide from us.
>
> And I worked them three days. Why? Mama sent me, and they was paying a quarter a week! Now, you had to cook the breakfast, you wait on all of them, all the children, and get them ready for school if they had to go to school. Fix their lunch and everything. Then you wash up all the dishes. Then you had to go make up all the beds and pick up all the things behind all the children, and then after that you had to go out behind the house, honey, and pick the garden. And pick what kind of vegetables you got to have. You got to wash them and cook them. And they had three meals a day. They would eat they breakfast, and then twelve o'clock they had to have a big dinner. And then they had supper later in the evening. But they didn't want no nigger to put they hand on their bread. Understand me good now. I set the table up and put the food on the table. But the bread be the last thing. Never bring the bread in until after they say the Grace, so the bread would be seeping hot. I wait just as good until they said the grace, and I wouldn't move because I would have had to pick up the bread out of the pan, and I still would have to take knife or fork to lift it to put in the plate to take to the table, and I know she didn't want me to touch it. Right? Well, if she didn't want me to touch it, if I couldn't touch it, I wasn't going to try not to touch it to carry it to the table to give it to them. She said to me, "How long are you going to wait before you bring that bread in here?" I said, "I'm not even going to bring it in here." I said, "You put it in there. You cook it, you don't want me to touch it. If you don't want me to touch it, you don't need me to bring it in there." And I didn't bring it in there. And that's when she got mad, arguing with me so. She jumped up from table and she said to me, "Beulah, you fired." But she didn't fire me—I fired myself 'cause I intended to do what I did. I said, "These two days I been in your house. You could've done—as far as you know—you could be done ate a lot of my spit. I could have done spit in it. I could have done did anything I want to do to it, and you wouldn't have never known nothing about it. But just because you could see me if I touch it." I said, "No, if that's the way it's to be—not me!" I said, "For what? Six days a week for twenty-five cents? Not me!" You see, I didn't have to do it—I was leaving.

Leave she did, and she saw many other young African-American faces on the railway car headed for points north. Toting "freedom bags," heavy with their southern family's blessings and tears—not to mention neatly folded dresses, good luck pieces, and Bibles—these young women journeyed toward maturity in the promised land called "the North."

FOOTNOTES

1. Walter W. White to Isaiah T. Montgomery, 11 October 1918, Box C 417, NAACP Papers; Emmett J. Scott, *Negro Migration During the War* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1969); Robert Higgs, "The Boll Weevil, the Cotton Economy and Black Migration, 1910-1930," *Agriculture History* 50 (April 1976): 335-350; Thomas J. Woofter, *Negro Migration* (New York: AMS Press, 1971); U. S. Department of Labor, Division of Negro Economics, *Negro Migration in 1916-1917* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1919); and Florette Henri, *Black Migration*, (Garden City, NY: Anchor Press, 1975), 51.

2. Rayford Logan, *Betrayal of the Negro: From Rutherford B. Hayes to Woodrow Wilson*, (New York: Collier, 1965), 11-12. During this period African-American opportunities were "so constricted as to almost disappear altogether," Jacqueline Jones, *The Dispossessed: America's Underclass from the Civil War to the Present (New* York: Basic Books, 1992), 291. See also Joseph Hill, Recent Northward Migration of the Negro," *Monthly Labor Review* 18 (March 1924): 475-77.

3. The oppression directed at African American women and girls is outlined in Walter F. White's letter to C. C. Dejoie, 5 October 191 8, Box C 417, NAACP Papers. See also Carter G. Woodson, *A Century of Negro Migration* (New York: Russell, 1969), 159-162; W.E.B. Du Bois, "Negro Migration," *Crisis 14* (March 1917): 65. "Migration ... is motivated by an effort to improve their condition of living. Better homes, a better job, a better life for their children ... and as such, the efforts deserve commendation, not condemnation." in the U.S. Department of Labor, Division of Negro Economics, *Negro Migration in 1916-1917* (Washington, D.C.: 1919), p. 9. W. T. B. Williams was the writer of this essay for the Dillard Labor Department report and the only African-American on this team. He insisted that the hope of more respect was the overriding reason for migration from the south. Many studies

have shown that this was the hardest motive to assay in spite of the fact that the theme is repeated over and over again. The issue of respect as a "motivating force for migration is difficult to express--much harder than simply saying a person wants to earn more money," wrote W. T. B. Williams. He quoted a women who pointed out that it was not just a question of wages, "Negroes ... are tired of being treated as children." See Henri, *Black Migration*, 56. See also Jones, *Dispossessed*, 206; William Cohen, *At Freedom Edge: Black Mobility and the southern White Quest for Racial Control, 1861-1915* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1991), chap. 1; Woodson, *Century of Negro Migration*, 159-62; and W. E. B. Du Bois, "Negro Migration," *Crisis* 14 (March 1917): 65.

4. The belief that African American women were "the greatest menace to the moral life of any community" is outlined in "Experiences of the Race Problem By A Southern Woman," *Independent* 56 (March 1904): 593. The ideas are countered by William Trotter, Jr., *The Great Migration in Historical Perspective* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1991); Alferdteen Harrison, *Black Exodus The Great Migration from the American South* (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 1991); Marvin Goodwin, *Black Migration in America from 1915 to 1960* (Lewiston, Maine: Mellen Press, 1990); and, Ula Yvette Taylor, "From White Kitchens to White Factories: The Impact of World War I on African-American Working Women in Chicago," *UFA-HAMA-Journal of the African Activist Association* 3 (November 1985): 26-28.

5. Carter G. Woodson claims that a substantial number of educated African-American professions fled the repression of the South before the unskilled and semi-skilled African-Americans. Woodson, *A Century of Negro Migration*, 160-62. Alain Locke strongly disagrees with Woodson. Locke suggests that the "man at the bottom led the migration to the cities, and the professional class simply followed its clientele." Alain Locke, "The New Negro: An Interpretation," in *The Negro American*, ed. Leslie Fishel and Benjamin Quarles (Glenview, Ill.: Scott Foresman, 1970), 437-38.

6. Women stressed that the most powerful "charms" were created by older women for younger women. The spiritual secrets and charms of women were not shared with men; in this area women were powerful beings who guided them to the other world, the spiritual world." Gloria Wade Gales, *Pushed Back to Strength: A Black Woman's Journal Home* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1993). See also Sylvia Ardyn Boone, *Radiance from the Waters: Ideals of Feminine Beauty in Mende Art* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1986), 81-152.

7. Contract between Patrick Brogan and freed people: Carter-Dock and family wife Diana and 2 daughters Flora and Bella," Miscellaneous Record Book, 1865 - 1867, Greenville, Ala. Subassistant Commissioner, (Vol No. 127, In #106) Bureau of Refugees, Freemen and Abandoned Lands. Case 29 (May 30, 1968, pp. 104 -5), Register of Complaints, Cuthbert, Georgia, Agent (No. 238, In #859) Bureau of Refugees, Freemen and Abandoned Lands. See Spartanburg District, Spartanburg, S.C. Bureau of Refugees, Freemen and Abandoned Lands for more examples of women with dependents who were given less land than men with similar-sized families in 1865 - 1867. See also Jones, *Labor of Love, Labor of Sorrow*, p. 62.

8. Eric Hobsbawm, "Peasants and Politics," *Journal of Peasant Studies* 1 (October 1973); Neil R. McMillen, *Dark Journey.- Black Mississippi in the Age of Jim Crow* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1989); Paula Giddings, *When and Where I Enter.- The Impact of Black Women on Race and Sex in America* (New York: William Morrow and Company), 58-63; Roger L. Ransom and Richard Sutch, *One Kind of Freedom: The Economic Consequences of Emancipation*, (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1977), 108-131, 147, 161-163; and Jones, *Labor of Love*, 64.

9. Herbert Gutman, *The Black Family in Slavery and Freedom, 1750-1925* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1976), 213, 224-29; Edward Magdol, *A Right to Land: Essays on the Freedman's Community* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1977), 11; and Jones, *Labor of Love*, 65-66.

10. An additional example of "Negro women more aggressive in asserting their rights" is in a letter from Senator Ben R. Tillman to Mary Bartlett Dixon, 27 November 1914, Box 407, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

PART TEN

PAN-AFRICANISM AND GARVEYISM

The methods of the Pan-African Association were mainly those of the liberal and bourgeois nature of the reformist minded delegates. Whereas the white liberal nationalists of areas seeking to establish states had turned to force to create nation states, there was no overt advocacy of the use of force in the ideology of these persons, including Du Bois.

Clarence Contee

Negatively, then, Pan-Africanism was a cry of revolt against slavery and racial discrimination. Positively, it stood for unity, solidarity and cooperation among the oppressed blacks of the world.

S. O. Arifalo

The time has come for the Negro to cast behind him his hero worship and adoration of other races, and start out immediately to create and emulate heroes of his own. We must canonize our own saints, create our own martyrs, and elevate to positions of fame and honor black men and women who have made their distinct contributions to our racial history.

Marcus Garvey

THE EMERGENCE OF DU BOIS AS AN AFRICAN NATIONALIST

by

Clarence G. Contee

William Edward Burghardt Du Bois (1868-1963) was recognized by students of African nationalism and by African nationalists long before his death as the "father of Pan-Africanism." It took a lifetime of participation and literary interests in the attainment of liberty and equality of Africans in Africa and elsewhere in the world for Du Bois to earn that title. The first opportunity for Dr. W. E. Burghardt Du Bois to engage in direct action and political pressure on behalf of his nearly mature African nationalism came at the historical Pan-African Conference of 1900, held on July 23, 24, 25, in London, England, at the Westminster Hall.[1] Du Bois was then thirty-two years old, Professor of History and Sociology at Atlanta University, a Negro school in Atlanta, Georgia, the first Negro Ph.D. in History from Harvard, President of the American Negro Academy, and author of two books, *The Suppression of the African Slave Trade to the United States of America; 1638-1870* and *The Philadelphia Negro*, plus numerous articles on the Negro in the United States. It was at this meeting that Pan-Africanism came to have its first clear meaning:

> the tendency of some Africans and New World Negroes to unite their efforts in a common struggle to destroy the derogatory image of Africans and Negroes, which is a legacy of the slave trade, and to unite in the struggle against racial discrimination everywhere and for African self determination.

St. Clair Drake calls this "racial Pan-Africanism."[2] The meeting in London marked the first time there was an attempt to organize on a worldwide basis a pressure group composed of members of the African race, in Sub-Saharan Africa and in the Western Hemisphere.[3] For Du Bois, the meeting was an example of his philosophy and practice of the political and educational roles of the "Talented Tenth" of the Negroes of the world to work together to combat racial injustices and to do something for their "fatherland." [4]

The intellectual origins of the Pan-African idea indicate the roles the Pan-African Movement was designed to perform. According to the person most responsible for the attempt to set up a Pan-African Conference, H. Sylvester Williams, a Negro West Indian from Trinidad, then a lawyer resident in London, and who did legal work for British Africans, the main factors responsible for the first all-black group to set up a Pan-African organization were the desires of Negroes everywhere to protest openly and to show great concern about the undemocratic treatment of the native being brought ruthlessly under control by British rule in Sub-Saharan Africa." The agitation, and subsequently the idea for a conference, had started as far back as when a group of educated and prosperous concerned Africans living in or visiting England had formed an organization "The African Association," for fraternal purposes. [5] At that time, a series of events had caused alarm about the rule of the British over the Africans; these events included: the numerous Africans killed in the Matabele and Bechuanaland; the continued existence of slaves and slave trading in Pemba and Zanzibar; the compound system in use in the mining areas of South Africa; the uprising of the Africans in Sierra Leone; and the havoc wrought by a hurricane and a sugar crisis to the inhabitants of the British West Indies. In other words, Africans just being brought under the "colonization situation," the phrase is that of Professor Georges Balandier, were already rejecting the authority of their masters. [6] In the "Address to the Nations of the World," which was written at the conference, there were mentioned the ideas of equal political and economic opportunity for Africans everywhere democracy, majority rule in Africa, and liberty.[7] In essence the ideas which inspired the American and French Revolutions were to be used to help lay the foundations for moderate reforms in the treatments of Negroes everywhere, especially in Sub-Saharan Africa.[8] There would be no talk of the use of violence and revolutionary tactics and strategy although if the hopes of the delegates were realized, would be almost certainly revolutionary changes in the relationships between the imperializer and imperialized.

In addition to the origins set forth by Sylvester Williams "Ethiopianism," the establishment and operation of Christian churches according to African ideals, methods, and objectives by and for Africans, played a significant role. "Ethiopianism" has been viewed as forming a major portion of the ingredients of the foundation for early African nationalism. In separate African churches, Africans did and could protest imperial rule and build articulate leadership to oppose domineering and discriminatory actions of the colonial officials.[9] In the list of persons who helped in the formative days to promote the idea of a Pan-African Conference, such famous Negro preachers involved included Bishop James Johnson of the Anglican Church in Nigeria.[10] Rev. Majola Agbebi, A Yoruba Baptist in Nigeria,[11] Bishop Henry M. Turner of the African Methodist Episcopal Church in the United States,[12] and Bishop James T. Holly of the Episcopal Church in Haiti.[13] All of these ministers, note the transcontinental and Protestant interdenominational natures of "Ethopianism, " had at one time or another been very race conscious and had either led or advocated separatism of African or Negro Christians from European religious imperialism or dominance. It is significant that "Ethiopianism" emerged as a religious basis for African nationalism in the 1890's.[14]

There were also those origins which stemmed from the beliefs that heretofore Negroes had been stymied in their own development because "of a cruel design of time to disassociate the race from its share in the progress of the civilization of the world. " Bishop James Johnson, who spoke these words just prior in 1900 to the meeting of the Pan-African Conference, had rephrased the myths that Negroes had no history and had made no contributions to the storehouse of world culture and civilization. Thus the origins included the notions that it was time for Africans all over the world to use their energies and talents to show to the racial Pan-African youth and to others the possibilities of the race to develop their historians and to establish and support their own libraries and organizations. The origins of Pan-Africanism were grounded in black cultural nationalism.

The exact method by which Du Bois learned of the call for the Pan-African Conference is not clear. There were available in the Negro American community persons with knowledge of the plans for the forthcoming meeting, and Du Bois had direct access to these persons and their knowledge about the meeting. At Hampton Institute on July 19, 1899, Du Bois and Professor William S. Scarborough attended an annual Negro conference at Hampton. Scarborough knew about the meeting, and he and Du Bois had known each other since the days of 1894-6, when Du Bois replaced Scarborough, a Negro scholar of the classics, as teacher of Latin and Greek at Wilberforce University, a Negro school in Ohio.[16] Another person who knew was Bishop Henry M. Turner, Pastor of an A.M.E. Church in Georgia; Turner and Du Bois had attended the Afro-American Council meeting in Chicago in September, 1899. Both Turner and Scarborough had responded favorably in 1898 to the idea of calling a Pan-African Conference during the Paris Exposition when, presumably, some Negroes would be in Europe for the Negro exhibition.[17] More likely, it is possible Du Bois read the letter by Booker T. Washington from England on his first trip to the editor of the *Indianapolis Freeman* of August 12,1899, in which BTW approved of the plans to hold a Pan-African Conference in London. Booker T. Washington had actually attended a preliminary meeting in London on June 12, 1899.[18] Du Bois said in a letter (ca. 1961) to Immanuel Wallerstein, Associate Professor of Political Sciences at Columbia University, that Bishop Alexander Walters, Negro Bishop and pastor of an African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church in Jersey City, New Jersey, and he received an invitation to attend the Conference while they were at the Paris Exposition. Du Bois did not say from whom the invitation came. [19] The fact that the invitation came sometime after April, 1899, does not preclude prior knowledge of the plans for the Pan-African Conference in the knowledge of Du Bois. [20]

It is not difficult to determine the character of the motivation of Du Bois in making the trip from Paris to London in the summer to attend the Pan-African Conference. He had formulated a Pan-Negro nationalist ideology; during the testing years of 1897 to 1900, he had pictured the Negroes of the United States and elsewhere as possessing a cultural nationalism. In *The Conservation of Races*, published in 1897, Du Bois began to develop a *negritude* attitude about the ethos of Negro life and heritage. In this famous essay for the American Negro Academy, he said that Negroes had special "soul" traits to *offer the money making plutocracy* in the United States (Italics mine). He went on to say that:

> As such, it is our duty to conserve our physical powers, our intellectual endowments, our spiritual ideals; as a race, we must strive by race organization, by race solidarity, by race unity to the realization of that broader humanity which freely recognizes differences in men, but sternly deprecates inequality in their opportunities of development.[21]

In other writings during these three years, he used the term "nation" with reference to the Negroes of the United States, especially in his "The American Negro at Paris."[22] Colin Legum notes that the complex of emotions—deep feelings over depression, persecution, oppression, and rejection—produce the alien and exile theme, one of the primary strands in Pan-Africanism.[23] Abiola Irele notes the *negritude* nature of the ideas of Du Bois in these days.[24] The methods of the Pan-African Conference were in harmony with his own; they were essentially liberal and nonviolent. He saw the conference device as a reform technique by which to effect social change; ho saw the emphasis on the use of history, organization, and protest as very similar to the purposes of his Atlanta Conference. Then, too, Du Bois must have seen the opportunity to become a "world affairs" leader among Negroes and at the same time to meet and to socialize in an interracial atmosphere. He had always believed that education and intelligence transcend prejudice.[25] Finally, it is possible that out of the attendance at the Pan-African Conference, his status in competition with Booker T. Washington and other Negro leaders in the United States would be measurably enhanced. To reiterate, pan-movements are but extensions of nationalistic movements, say Hans Kohn and Roland Oliver and Anthony Atmore in the development of the African nationalism of Du Bois. This meant that his Negro American nationalism would be widened to include Africans everywhere, and particularly those in Africa.[26]

When the Pan-African Conference of 1900, opened in London, there was a total of thirty-one delegates, representing the following countries: United States (12), British West Indies (9), Great Britain (3), Canada (1), a Haitian who claimed to represent Ethiopia, Gold Coast (1), Liberia (1), Sierra Leone (1), and Nigeria (1). Africans were in the decided minority; Du Bois noted that "this meeting had no deep roots in Africa itself. . . ."[27] The home address of one delegate names omitted by Bishop Walters in his listing of the names, occupations and places represented. These delegates were mainly bourgeois and educated in Western traditions and in the Western way; there were twelve lawyers, seven teachers, three preachers, two doctors, two diplomats, and one surveyor. Again some occupations were omitted by Walters.[28] The organizations represented included the Afro-American Council in the United States, the American Negro Academy, the Afro-West Indian Literary Society in Great Britain, and the African Association in Great Britain. There does not seem to have been a representative of the recently founded, in 1897, Aborigines Rights Protective Society of the Gold Coast, although H. Sylvester Williams had assisted the group on legal matters in Great Britain.[29] Among those who had given support originally and who did not come to the conference were Booker T. Washington, probably because he saw competition,[30] Dr. Edward TV. Blyden, probably because he saw the Conference dominated by his color enemies, the mulattoes[31], and Bishop Turner, who had just returned from a long and expensive trip to South Africa.[32]

There were two sets of objectives at the meeting. There were those which dealt with the nature of the movement as protest; that is, to gain for Africans everywhere their full rights to equal political, social and economic treatment and opportunity, and those which made the Conference an effort to bring the people of African descent throughout the world closer together. To carry out these aims, it was planned to establish the Pan-African Association as an effective instrument of pressure, protest, and propaganda. There would be Conference meetings every two years and branch associations set up and encouraged throughout Africa, the United States and the West Indies. It was anticipated that where there existed kindred organizations these would affiliate with the Pan-African Association permanent organization, located at 61 and 62, Chancery Lane, London, England.[33]

In the course of the proceedings of the *Pan-African Conference*, the roles played by Du Bois were minimal but important; the *Report of the Pan-African Conference*, more than likely written by H. Sylvester Williams in his capacity as General Secretary, does not give much credit to the work of Du Bois there. It was Bishop Alexander Walters who presided over the opening session as President of the Afro-American Council, and he pointed out the fact that this meeting was:

> the first time in the history of the World black men had gathered together from all parts of the globe with the object of addressing and improving the conditions of the black race.

Seated on the platform at the opening session were the symbolic representatives of the examples of Negro self-rule; they were Benito Sylvain, the Haitian aide camp of the emperor of Ethiopia, Menelik II, and F. E R. Johnson, former Attorney General of Liberia.[34] Dr. Creighton, Lord Bishop of London, spoke the welcome address, and he received the applause of his small audience when he mentioned that the future of the colored races would be in their own hands and that they should be educated up to a sense of responsibility for self-government. Thus, the keynotes were related to African nationalism, the desires of Africans in Africa to have some controls over their own destinies. Bishop Walters was later elected President of the Pan-African Association; as President, he saw the necessity for race solidarity among members of the African race and their descendants to work together for protesting against colonial abuses, including the denial of Africans to participate in the political affairs of wherever they were living, and of the use of the Pan-African Association as a worldwide pressure group to bring about much needed reforms in many areas. He, as well as Bishop Creighton, believed that the pace of change would be necessarily slow. Du Bois played no discernible overt role in the opening session.[35]

The main protest work of the Pan-African Conference centered on passing resolutions, submitting a memorial petition to Queen Victoria, and writing an " Address to the Nations of the World." The resolutions were passed to give in writing thanks to those organizations which had championed the causes of Africans in Great Britain and in Africa. Receiving resolutions of praise were the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, The Races and Liquors Traffic United Committee, the Friends Society, and the Aborigines Protective Society of Great Britain. The delegates of the Conference did not forget the help of white liberals. The South African origins of the Conference were put in the form of a memorial petition to the Queen, as ruler over the British Empire. The petition, submitted in the name of the Pan-African Conference, called the attention of the Queen to a number of injustices and abuses in South Africa, among them being "difficulties" in securing the franchise, which were causing" us and our friends alarm." The Pan-African Conference memorial was laid before the Queen who passed through Mr. Joseph Chamberlain, Secretary of State for the Colonies, the statement that: "Her Majesty's Government will not overlook the interests and welfare of the Native races. " This was a small triumph of short duration, for native conditions in South Africa continued to deteriorate as more and more controls were placed over the actions of the natives there by the Europeans. The voice of the natives in their own futures dwindled to almost zero. Here, too, there is no adequate record of the extent of the responsibility for this memorial by Du Bois.[36]

On the last day of the Conference, it adopted "An Address to the Nations of the World." Du Bois was chairman of the committee formed to draw up the "Address;" it was Du Bois who wrote the "Address," and he got a chance to think seriously about the nature of Pan-Africanism at that time in order to present the ideology of Pan-Africanism to the world.[37] Rayford W. Logan, a participant and officer in the Pan-African movement in the 1920s, holds that it was the "Address" which turned "William's limited concept of Pan-Africanism into a movement for self-government or independence for African peoples."[38] For Du Bois, this would have been a great contribution to the development of the natures of Pan-Africanism and Africans nationalism. But the evidence indicates that the concept of self-government was one of the commonplace or platitudinal aims uttered and agreed upon by the delegates; it was mentioned by Walters, by F. E. R.

Johnson, by Sylvan, and even by the white Bishop of London.[39] Du Bois is recognized much more rightly for the first use of a very prophetic statement he was to repeat many times in many different forms:

> the problem of the twentieth century is the problem of the color line, the question as to how far differences of race—which show themselves chiefly in the color of the skin and the texture of the hair—will hereafter be made the basis of denying to over half the world the right of sharing to their utmost ability the opportunities and privileges of modern civilization.[40]

In *The Souls of Black Folk* in 1903, Du Bois added that he meant "the relation of the darker to the lighter races of men in Asia and Africa, in America and the islands of the sea." After asserting the unfulfilled hopes of equal opportunity and equal access of Negroes to the material wealth of the Industrial Revolution in the Western World, he went on to show that his African nationalism and Pan-Africanism were founded also upon the refutation of the myth that Africans did not have a past of any distinction:

> To be sure, the darker races are today the least advanced in culture, according to European standards. This has not, however always been the case in the past, and certainly the world' s history both ancient and modern, has given instances of non-despicable ability and capacity among the blackest races of men.[41]

Not until 1915, with the publication of *The Negro*, did Du Bois provide for others and for himself the historical "facts" to support that hypothesis. It was in 1906, that Du Bois says he learned from Dr. Franz Boas, a noted white anthropologist at Columbia University who that year gave the Commencement Address at Atlanta University, some of the greatness of the Negro past in Africa.[42] In one passage in the "Address," Du Bois used the expression found in the Declaration of Independence—life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. It is evident that the intellectual sources of the "Address" were based upon the values, ideals and notions of the idea of progress, democracy, opportunity, and equality, ideas which betrayed the Western education of Du Bois and the delegates.

The "Address" did not omit positive assertions of the desires for self government and independence for Africans and the unity of the struggles of Negroes the world over for freedom, the essence of Pan-Negroism and its regionalization of Pan-Africanism as applied to the continent of Africa. The most likely places for the early emergence of self-government in Africa were the British colonies, said Du Bois:

> Let the British nation, the first modern champion of Negro freedom, hasten to crown the work of Wilberforce, and Clarkson, and Buxton, and Sharpe, Bishop Colense, and Livingstone, and give, as soon as possible, the rights of responsible government to the black colonies of Africa and the West Indies.

The delegates of the Conference hoped that the Congo Free State would become a central African Negro State; no one at the Conference questioned publicly the rule of King Leopold II over the Congo Free State. A final statement set forth the Pan-Negro and racial Pan-African nature of the Conference:

> Let the nations of the World respect the integrity and independence of the free Negro states of Abyssinia and Liberia, Haiti, and the rest, and let the inhabitants of these states, independent tribes of Africa, the Negroes of the West Indies and America, and the black subjects of all nations take courage, strive ceaselessly, and fight bravely, that they may prove to the world their incontestable right to be counted among the great brotherhood of mankind.

Here was the ideology, which was not revolutionary, of the Pan-Negro and the Pan-African concepts of African nationalism in a capsule sentence; this statement became the program of the movement and the *raison d'etre* for the African nationalism of Du Bois.[43]

In order to perpetuate the ideology of the Pan-African Conference of 1900, it was deemed necessary to establish a permanent organization, the Pan-African Association, which could serve as a "watchdog" pressure group to guard Africans everywhere and to promote the liberty and rights of Africans to participate in the political life of their areas. The Pan-African Association was set up as a permanent organization with a bureau and an office, headed by the General Secretary, Henry Sylvester Williams. The functions of the bureau would center on the coordination of the activities of the various branches, which were to report on their activities of the General Secretary. On paper, regional branches were to be created in most of the English speaking areas with large numbers of Negroes— the United States, Liberia, South Africa, Sierra Leone, Gold Coast, Lagos, Jamaica, Trinidad, Canada, Haiti, and Abyssinia. The Vice President to be in charge of the United States branch was Du Bois, and the Secretary for the United States was Thomas J. Calloway, the person responsible for the Negro American display at the Paris Exposition. A membership blank was printed, and the Pan-African Association was to meet every two years, with the 1902 meeting scheduled for the United States. [45] There is no evidence to show that Du Bois made a substantial effort between 1900 and 1905, to develop a permanent Pan African Association branch organization in the United States or to prepare for a meeting in 1902.

The methods of the Pan-African Association were mainly those of the liberal and bourgeois nature of the reformist minded delegates. Whereas white liberal nationalists of areas seeking to establish states had turned to force to create nation states, there was no overt advocacy of the use of force in the ideology of these persons, including Du Bois. Their major efforts would be devoted to the "dissemination" of " facts " and statistics relating to the circumstances and conditions of the members of the African races wherever found. The use of these methods harkened to the use of science as a device to bring about racial uplift made by Du Bois in his Atlanta University Studies. Williams in his Report stressed the peaceful nature of the methods; he did say that the Pan-African Association would be a "mouthpiece" for the many ills which the race suffered. By the publication of the injustices, the conscience of the world would be awakened, and the peaceful rectification of these ills would be affected. Human progress and the dignity of mankind demanded that Africans be allowed to make advances to bring about peacefully their happiness and self-development.[47]

What were the meanings of the Pan-African Conference of 1900 to Du Bois, the other delegates and the world? A very significant result was the introduction of the term Pan-African (Italics mine) into the vocabulary of political and international affairs; the Pan-African Conference was another example of the emergence of various pan-movements at the end of the nineteenth century.[48] Also important was the feeling of hope that was generated among some black intellectuals that a device for bringing about peaceful social and political change for Negroes around the world, and especially in African areas, had been started on the road to establishment. Most important for the future was the presence of Du Bois at the Pan-African Conference, for it was he who later continued the traditions of the concepts of Pan-Africanism as he attempted in the 1920's to develop a more permanent organization and pressure group in order that Negroes would be treated with dignity and equality everywhere. There was some small notice of the ideology of the organization by Queen Victoria; there was also some notice of the meeting by a few means of communication. Although the organization aspects of the Pan-African idea failed at that time, there was demonstrated that there were black persons very much interested and concerned about Negro solidarity, enough to hold a conference and to make plans for a permanent organization.

But their efforts were premature and in the faces of the most powerful nations in the world, which were then in the process of taking up the "White Man's Burden" in Africa. World public opinion was on the side of European imperialism and colonialism and not on the side of self-determination for worldwide black people. The movement was forty-five years away from being in the hands of Africans living on African soil and who could convert an elitist movement into a mass one. The foundations of the movement had been laid by Du Bois and other Westernized Africans and their descendants in the West Indies and in the United States. It was, nevertheless, an example of what Shepperson calls: "another triangular trade, a trade not of pocatelle, slaves and molasses, but a commerce of ideas and politics, between the descendants of the slaves in the West Indies and North America and their ancestral continent."[49] But until the masses in Africa caught the messages of Du Bois and other Pan-Africanists as African nationalists, very little could be accomplished in applying mass human pressure upon the colonial authorities to make concessions toward allowing self-government and the independence of these peoples and areas. Nonetheless, DuBois had emerged hesitantly on the scenes of world politics and Negro international politics as an influential person greatly interested and now actively involved in the problems of the colonial experiences and of freedom for the peoples of his "homeland" and their worldwide descendants. The participation of Du Bois in the moderate protest activities of the Pan-African Conference of 1900 was certainly another step in the transitional phase for the development of William Edward Burghardt Du Bois as one of the foremost Negro leaders in the Negro world community against the political and social accommodationist philosophies of Booker T. Washington and his followers. Although it is certainly very difficult to show definite and precise relationships, it is clear that over the next two years Du Bois grew more critical of the social and political philosophies of the Booker T. Washington school.[50] It is also clear that the experiences of Du Bois at the Pan-African Conference of the 1900 reinforced his ability to see the interconnections between the freedom of the Africans in Africa and the recognition of the equality of Negroes everywhere.

NOTES

1.Du Bois does not devote much space in his writings to either his roles at or the impacts of the Pan-African Conference of 1900: *Dusk of Dawn* (New York: 1940), and *The Autobiography of WEB. Du Bois* (New York: 1968); or in his discussions of his activities and the history of the Pan- African Movement, in George Padmore, editor, *History of the Pan-African Congress* (London: 1947), pp. 13-26, *The Word and Africa* (New York: enlarged edition, 1965), pp. 7-8, "Pan- Africanism: A Mission in My Life,' *United Asia* (New Delhi: 1955), pp. 23-29. Francis Broderick in his biography, *WEB. Du Bois* (Stanford: 1959), does not have a line about Du Bois in London. Elliott Rudwick's *WEB. Du Bois* (Philadelphia: 1960), pp. 208-09, emphasizes the social life of Du Bois there. Rayford W. Logan, an associate of Du Bois in the Pan-African Movement in the 1920's and a colleague in the late 1930's in 'The Historical Aspects of Pan-Africanism: A Personal Chronicle,' *African Forum, I* (Summer, 1965), pp. 90-92, does note that the Pan-African Conference felt the impact of Du Bois, but he says nothing about impacts upon Du Bois.

2.St. Clair Drake, 'Pan-Africanism, Negritude, and the African Personality" in William John Hanna, editor, Independent Black Africa (Chicago: 1964), pp. 53OA2.

3.Report of the Pan-African Conference (London: 1900), p. 1, Fisk University Collection of Du Bois Papers; London Times, July 24, 25, 26, 1900; Alexander Walters, My Life and Work (London: 1 917), pp. 253-54, 262-64. Hereafter the Report will be cited as The Report.

4.Broderick, Op. Cit., pp. 51, 73-74; Francis Broderick and August Meier, editors, *Negro Protest Thought in the Twentieth Century* (New York: 1965), pp. 40-48, have a reprint of the major portions of 'The Talented Tenth" article of Du Bois found in The Negro Problem (New York: 1903), pp. 37-75.

5.Henry Sylvester Williams to Booker T. Washington, May 7, 1899, Booker T. Washington Papers (Box 187), Library of Congress. George Padmore, Pan-Africans or Communism? (London: 1956), p. 117.

6.Martin L. Kilson, Jr., 'The Analysis of African Nationalism,' *World Politics*, 11 (April, 1958). pp. 485-86.

7.The Report, pp. 10-12; W.E.B. Du Bois, editor, An ABC of Color (Berlin: 1963), pp. 19-23.

8.Carlton J.H. Hayses, *Nationalism: A Religion* (New York: 1960),49-53.

9.George Shepperson, 'Ethiopianism and African Nationalism," Phylon, XIV (Spring, 1953), pp. 9- 18; Thomas Hodgkin, *Nationalism in Colonial Africa* (New York: 1957), pp. 98-101, 180-181.

10.E.A. Ayandele, 'An Assessment of James Johnson and His Place in Nigerian History, 1874- 1917; Part 1, 1874-1890, *The Journal of the Historical Society of Nigeria*, 2 (December, 1963), pp. 486-87, makes note of the failure of leading students of Nigerian nationalism, like James. S. Coleman, *Nigeria, Background to Nationalism* (Berkeley: 1963), to detail and to interpret the nationalism of Bishop James Johnson; The Report, pp. 2-4.

11.There is a brief discussion of Reverend Majoia Agbobi as an African nationalist in George Shepperson, "Notes on Negro American Influences on the Emergence of African Nationalism," in William John Hanna, editor, *Independent Black Africa* (Chicago: 1964), pp. 204-05; The Report, p.2.

12.Edwin S. Redkey, "Bishop Turner's African Dream" *The Journal of American History, LIV* (September 1967), pp. 271-90.

13.There is no more neglected figure as a black nationalist than Bishop James Theodore Holly of Haiti. The Report, p. 2; Richard Bardolph, *The Negro Vanguard* (New York: 1961), pp. 106-07; Carter G. Woodson and Charles H. Wesley, *The Negro in Our History* (Washington: 1966), pp. 297-98; Seldon Rodman, *Haiti., The Black Republic* (New York: 1954), p. 76. Du Bois in *Dusk of Dawn*, pp. 107-08, and *The Autobiography*, pp. 67-68, notes that Reverend Holly was the pastor of St. Luke's Episcopal Church in New Haven, Connecticut, where Du Bois's grandfather was church warden in the 1850's.

14. Bengt G. M. Sundkler, *Bantu Prophets in South Africa* (London, 1961), pp. 38-64; Shepperson, "Ethiopianism and African Nationalism," pp. 10-15.

15. *The Report*, pp. 2-5.

16. *The Report*, p. 2; Indianapolis Freeman, August 19, 1899; The Autobiography, pp. 186-87; Francis P. Weisenburger, "William Sanders Scarborough: Early Life and Years at Wilberforce,' *Ohio History*, 71 (October, 1962), pp. 203-26.

17. The Report, p. 2; *Indianapolis Freeman*, September 2, 1899; *The Autobiography*, pp. 220-221; Walters, Op. Cit., pp. 260-61.

18. *The Report*, p. 2.

19. Immanuel Wallerstein, 'Pan-Africanism as Protest," in Morton A. Kaplan, editor, *The Revolution in World Politics* (New York: 1962), p. 139.

20. The Paris Exposition opened officially on Saturday, April 14, 1900. *London Times*, April 16, 1900. Among the lessons one could learn, said a Times correspondent, was the example of Liberia's exhibit at the Exposition. Liberia was the place where 'negroes have learned to practice the arts of self-government.' *London Times*, August 4, 1900.

21. *The Conservation of Races* (Washington: 1897), pp. 2-15. He went on to say: "For the accomplishment of these ends we need race organizations: Negro colleges, Negro newspapers, Negro business organizations, a Negro school of literature and art, and an intellectual clearing house, for all these products of the Negro mind, which we may call a Negro Academy.'

22. 'The American Negro at Paris,' *American Review of Reviews*, 22 (September, 1900), pp. 576- 77; Dusk of Dawn, pp. 116-17; 'Strivings of the Negro People," *Atlantic Monthly*, LXXX (August, 1897), pp. 194-98; "The Negro and Crime,' *The Independent*, LI (May 18, 1899), pp. 1355-57.

25. *Dusk of Dawn*, pp. 505-55.

26. Hans Kohn, 'Pan-Movements," The *Encyclopedia of The Social Sciences*, 11 (New York: 1933), pp. 544, 549-50; Roland Oliver and Anthony Atmore, *Africa Since* 1800(Cambridge, 1967), pp.222-23.

27. *The World and Africa*, p. 8.

28. Alexander Walters, Op. Cit., pp. 262-64.

29. *An A.B.C. of Color*, p. 19 fn.

30. Louis R. Harlan, 'Booker T. Washington and the White Man's Burden,' *American Historical Review*, LXXI (January, 1966), pp. 465-66,

31. Hollis R. Lynch, *Edward Wilmot Blyden, Pan-Negro Patriot, 1832-1912* (New York: 1967), pp. 250-51. Both Lynch and Harlan speculate over the motives of the refusals of Booker T. Washington and Edward W. Blyden to attend the Conference, although Booker T. Washington was specifically invited. Henry Sylvester Williams to Booker T. Washington, January 6, 1900, Booker T. Washington Papers (Box 187), Library of Congress.

32. Redkey, Op. Cit., pp. 288-89.
33. The Report, pp. 2-6.

34. Robert P. Skinner, *Abyssinia of To-day* (New York: 1906), pp. 130-32. Skinner was in charge of the first official diplomatic delegation of the U.S. to Abyssinia at the start of the twentieth century.

35. *London Times*, July 24, 25,1900; The Report, pp. 1,5.

36. The Report, pp.6-9.

37. *An A.B.C. of Color*, p. 20.

38. Logan, Op. Cit., pp, 90-91.

39. *London Times*, July 24, 25, 1900.

40. *The Report*, p. 10; *An A. B.C. of Color*, p. 20.

41. *The Report*, p. 10; *An A.B.C. of Color*, p. 21.

42. Herbert Aptheker, editor, "Du Bois on 'Africa and World Peace:' An Unpublished Essay," *Political Affairs*, XLVII (February, 1968), p. 82.

43. *The Report*, p. 12; An A.B.C. of Color, p. 23.

44. 'The American Negro at Paris,' p. 577 fn.

45. *The Report*, p. 6.

46. Carlton, J. H. Hayes, "Nationalism: Historical Development,' *The Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences*, *II* (New York: 1933), pp. 244-46.

47. *The Report*, p. 6.

48. Kolin, Op. Cit., p. 544; *The World and Africa*, p. 8.

49. Shepperson, 'Notes on Negro American Influences...' p. 196.
50. August Meier, *Negro Thought in America*, 1830-1915 (Ann Arbor: 1966) p. 196; Rudwick, *W.E.B. Du Bois*, p. 294. Both authors agree that Du Bois was in a transitional state at the start of the twentieth century.

PAN-AFRICANISM AND THE ORGANISATION OF AFRICAN UNITY

by

S. O. Arifalo

How it all began

Pan-Africanism had its origins as a movement of intellectual protest against ill-treatment of blacks all over the world. It was initiated by the blacks of America and the West Indies whose ancestors came from Africa. In the words of Professor George Shepperson, 'Pan-Africanism was a gift of the New World of America to the Old World of Africa.'[1] It was an expression of the feelings of the people of African stock about their condition of helplessness and degradation.

Three inter-related factors lay behind the various resistance movements and organisations which attempted to restore the dignity and status of Africans in Africa as well as those of the diaspora, who have sought to rise from centuries of dehumanisation which began with the transatlantic slave trade. Thus the slave trade may be seen as the first factor in point of time. Hence, Pan-Africanism has been described as a delayed boomerang from the era of slavery. European colonisation in Africa was the second. Race-consciousness emanating from the first two factors was the third of the fundamental factors which propelled Africans at home and abroad to rebel against the conduct of the Western Europeans. Negatively, then, Pan-Africanism was a cry of revolt against slavery and racial discrimination. Positively, it stood for unity, solidarity and co-operation among the oppressed blacks of the world. Colin Legum summarises the situation this way:

The emotional impetus for its Pan-Africanism concepts flowed from the experience of a widely dispersed people - those of African stock who felt themselves either physically through dispossession or slavery, or socially through colonialism, to have lost their homeland; with this loss came enslavement, persecution, inferiority, discrimination and dependency.[2]

At first the idea of Pan-Africanism was expressed in poems and songs popularly called 'Negro spirituals'. Before 1900 the movement remained a vague aspiration and a dream. But gradually it crystallised into a dynamic ideology for socio-politcal action.

The initiative was taken by Henry Sylvester Williams,[3] a West Indian who had come into contact with many West Africans in Britain during his undergraduate days and as legal adviser to West African chiefs coming to Britain over land disputes. It is thought that it was he who coined the word 'Pan-African'.

In the United States, one of the most articulate exponents of Pan-Africanism was W. E. B. Du Bois,[4] a black American. He played a major role in the Pan-African Conference of 1900 and continued his efforts to organise the leaders of the black World. A prolific writer, Du Bois edited *The Crisis* for nearly twenty-five years (1910-34). This was the popular journal of the National Association for the Advancement of Coloured People in the United States. Du Bois planned to educate the blacks about the hopeless conditions of the black world and to protest against white exploitation of the black people of the world. He convened four Pan African Congresses (1919, 1921, 1923, 1927).[5]

Another early leader of the Pan-African movement was Marcus Garvey,[6] a Jamaican. He held that the future of the blacks in the New World lay in their return to Africa. He appeared on the Pan-African scene in 1916. Garvey had travelled extensively in the West Indies and in Central and South America where he vigorously protested against white exploitation. He also spent two years in England agitating against racial injustice. Garvey believed that the blacks should move beyond self-help programmes and develop economic, political and military influence at an international level. He organised the Universal Negro

Improvement Association, which had branches throughout the black world. The Association awakened black consciousness in many places. Garvey's newspaper, *The Negro World*, a weekly which was published in English, French and Spanish, reached out into West, Central and South Africa, where it made a great impact. Kwame Nkrumah stated that Garvey's philosophy and opinions influenced him more than anything else during his stay in the United States of America. Garvey organised many businesses and cultural and social groups in an attempt to make the black independent of the white. George Padmore also belonged to this group. Born in Trtnidad, Padmore began his career in Pan-Africanism in 1934-5. With his dynamic personality he exerted a tremendous influence upon thc young African and Afro-West Indian intelligentsia in the period between 1935 and 1958 by means of articles, lectures, contributions to discussions, and books. He has been described as 'the theorist, propagandist, organiser, co-ordinator and first amateur historian of Pan - Africanism'.[7]

The 1900 Pan-African Conference and the early congresses

The first phase of the Pan-African movement began in July 1900 at a meeting in London. It was presided over by Bishop Alexander Walters, with a Liberian ax-Attorney-General and Benito Sylvain, A.D.C. to Emperor Menelik of Abyssinia (Ethiopia), as Vice-Chairman.

Thirty-two delegates attended the Conference. representing the United States of America, Canada, Ethiopia, Haiti, Liberia, Sierra Leone, the Gold Coast (now Ghana), and most of the islands of the British West Indies. On the whole, Africa was poorly represented. Most of those who represented Africa were students living m England and they had not been delegated by anybody.

The aims of the Conference were:

> (a) To bring into closer touch with one another the peoples of African descent throughout the world;
>
> (b) To inaugurate plans to bring about a more friendly relationship between the Caucasian and African races;
>
> (c) To start a movement looking forward to the securing to all African races living in 'civilised countries' their full rights and to promote their business interest. [8]

Although these aims were unobjectionable. they were limited in scope and had nothing to do with self-determination for the Africans then or in the future. The aims were assimilationist, and Africa did not seem to be of direct and special concern to the conveners of the Conference.

One important result of the Conference was the appeal 'To the Nations of the World', [9] written by Du Bois as Chairman of the Committee of Address. The appeal widened the original scope of the conference from Pan-Negroism to a Pan-Coloured Peoples' Movement in its declaratory part. In its practical part, in a memorial to Queen Victoria of England, it is strictly sub-Suharan in content, demanding no more than moderate reforms for Southern Africa, including Rhodesia. The appeal made little or no impression on the European imperialists who controlled the destiny of Africa.

Another practical result of the Conference v as the transformation of the former African Association to a Pan-African Association with officers elected for the central body and for as many national or regional bodies as possible. The central headquarters was located in London.

These early efforts may seem premature, but a beginning had been made. The name 'Pan-African' was coined and given currency. For the first time, the various elements of nineteenth-century anti-colonial and anti-racial movements were brought together in a public demonstration. The symbolic value of Ethiopia, Haiti and Liberia as independent nations was recognised.

The First Pan-African Congress was held in Paris in February 1919.[10] Du Bois, who was in Paris to handle complaints of racial discrimination against American coloured troops stationed in France and to try to look after the interests of Africa in general during the peace conference after the First World War, had seized the opportunity to organise the congress. Fifty-seven delegates were present.

Although the immediate results were meagre, yet the Congress was important because for the first time French-speaking Africans and blacks from the Caribbean were brought together. However, this success was more apparent than real because most of the French-speaking participants were Caribbeans, and only Blaise Diagne, from Senegal, was an African. The French-speaking participants from the Caribbean identified themselves so much with French colonialism that they were thoroughly despised by the few African students and young

African intellectuals who came to Paris from French-speaking Africa.

The Second Pan-African Congress was convened by Du Bois in 1921. It took place in successive sessions in London, Brussels and Lisbon. This time more than one-third of the participants came from Africa itself. Forty-one out of a total of one hundred and thirteen members came from the United States and only seven from the West Indies. There were twenty-four Africans and Americans living in Europe at the conference.

As usual, the major resolution passed at the end of the conference was a Declaration to the World'. In it Du Bois made the memorable statement: 'The beginning of wisdom in inter-racial contact is the establishment of political institutions among suppressed peoples. The habit of democracy must be made to encircle the world.'[11] The resolution came out boldly for the recognition of the principle of racial equality, without denying any differences in the level of development. It went beyond the demands of the first congress by asking for sovereignty for Africans in their own continent.

The Third Pan-African Congress met in late November and early December 1923 in London and Lisbon. Its scope was much narrower than that of its predecessors. Eleven countries were represented. The African participants came mainly from Sierra Leone, the Gold Coast and Nigeria.

Reiterating earlier resolutions, the most important political demand was that Africans should be allowed to have a voice in their own government. It would appear that the enthusiasm which characterised the earlier congresses had evaporated. The apparent failure of this congress can be attributed to a number of factors. The organisation set up by the Second Pan-African Congress was suffering from a chronic shortage of funds. Du Bois and some of the officials of the movement were preoccupied with intrigues and quarrels over the printing of a constitution and the setting up of a permanent secretariat. There was also a failure in communication between the Francophone and Anglophone groups in the movement.

The Fourth Pan-African Congress took place in New York in 1927. It came about only because of the initiative of an organisation of black American women. Since there was no new idea or impulse, nothing really serious emerged from the Congress. Discussion centred on the history of Africa, educational problems in Africa, African arts and literature, and Christian missions in Africa.

The 1927 Congress closed a chapter in the history of PanAfricanism. The movement fell into abeyance and did not regain momentum until the Second World War was about to end. The slump of 1929 destroyed the last chance to carry on. The great struggle for survival in the long years of depression, the rise of Fascism, and the coming of the Second World War in 1939 turned the attention of the blacks in America to other problems. And the young intelligentsia in Africa who were to continue the struggle afterwards were just growing up or studying in black universities in the United States of America.

It must be concluded that the Pan-African movement failed to make any significant contribution to the political education of Africans and peoples of African descent outside Africa. The practical achievements of thc congresses were meagre and superficial. They failed to evolve a defined, self-sufficient ideology which might have helped to give Pan-Africanism greater intellectual discipline. Instead, the congresses were dominated to a large extent by emotional lamentations about the sufferings of black people all over the world. However, the movement was not wholly a failure. For the first time Anglophone and Francophone elements in Africa had co-operated, particularly in the 1919 congress. Geiss, a German historian of Pan-Africanism, sums up the movement thus: 'The most important result of the four Pan-African Congresses was perhaps simply the fact that they took place at all.'[12] Du Bois himself seems to have been of this mind. 'What has been accomplished?' he asked this: we have kept an idea alive, we have held to a great ideal, 'we have established a continuity, and some day when unity and cooperation come, the importance of these early steps will be recognised . '[13]

The Fifth Pan-African Conference-Manchester, 1945

In October 1945, the Fifth Pan-African Congress convened in England Manchester. [14] It was attended by ninety delegates and eleven observers. For the first time, it was a congress of Africa's young, promising leaders. It was the Second World War which had changed everything. The young Africans at the Congress were a collection of unknowns soon to win fame or notoriety and political power in their different countries. Among thc delegates some stand out in bold relief: Wallace Johnson, Obafemi Awolowo, H. O. Davies, Jomo

Kenyatta, Hastings Banda, Peter Abrahams, J. E. Taylor. Ako Adjei. Mrs. Amy Garvey, Jaja Wachukwu, T. R. Makonnen, George Padmore and Kwame Nkrumah. For most of these their careers lay in the future. Many had to spend a time in jail because of their political commitments. Some became political leaders of their countries.

The increased politicisation of the movement was reflected in the fact that for the first time three political parties were represented: the National Council of Nigeria and the Cameroons (NCNC), the Labour Party of Grenada, and the West Indies People's National Party, the last two from the West Indies. There were also three organisations equivalent to political parties: the Nigerian Youth Movement, the Nyasaland African Congress. and the African National Congress of South Africa. Also present for the first time was a farmers" organisation. the Gold Coast Farmers Association.

The Congress, as usual, passed resolutions dealing with various regions of Africa - Ethiopia, Liberia, South and South West Africa (Namibia) - and with allegations of colour discrimination in Britain and the West Indies. They were summarised in two short and pointed resolutions. The first was 'The challenge to Colonial Powers'. It was a compromise between the revolutionary impatience of Padmore and Nkrumah on the one hand and Du Bois's more cautious and non-violent approach on the other. The resolution says: 'The delegates of the Fifth Pan-African Congress believe in peace . . . Yet if the Western World is still determined to rule mankind by force, then Africans as a last resort, may have to appeal to force in the effort to achieve freedom even if force destroys them and the world.'[15] The second resolution was the 'Declaration to the colonial Workers, Farmers and Intellectuals'. It was drafted by Nkrumah. It expressed the yearnings of the Africans for independence and their opposition to imperial exploitation The tactics recommended were strikes and boycotts, methods learned from the struggles against British rule in India.

Apart from the resolutions there were expressions of solidarity with others then fighting imperialism and colonialism, including the Vietnamese, the Indonesians and the Indians. The Congress also sent a message to the blacks in America supporting their struggles and affirming the link between those struggles and the liberation of Africa.

The 1945 Manchester Congress was another landmark in the history both of Pan-Africanism and of anti-colonialism. So far as Pan-Africanism was concerned, it was the first evidence of life after a lull of about two decades. Pan-Africanism had to a large extent emancipated itself both politically and socially. The days of dependence upon the thinking and direction of their European friends who had so often let them down were gone. Henceforth Pan-Africanism would not seek moral and political support from outsiders. The 1945 Manchester Congress did not ask for recognition or favours from thc European powers. It unequivocally demanded an end to colonialism in Africa. It demanded social justice and rights. All schemes of half freedom were rejected. As Nnamdi Azikiwe later declared:

> The Congress . . . marked the turning point in Pan-Africanism from a passive to an active stage. The obvious transmutation in the character of the movement was precipitated by war. Those years brought a new kind of awareness to many old and young African leaders of the indignities suffered by the black man everywhere and especially in his own home in Africa. The time was ripe for positive action.[16]

The Manchester Congress gave an impetus to the efforts being made to achieve the goal of national independence. It served as a pacemaker of decolonisation in Africa and the West Indies. In the words of Peter Worsley:

> From then on, Pan-Africa nationalism was to spurt forward with such speed that the first comprehensive statement of its tenets, George Padmore's *Pan-Africanism or Communism?* only appeared a year before Ghana's independence.[17]

The masses were to be organised through trade unions and political parties. By those resolutions Pan-Africanism had reached the parting of ways with gradualism and resignation. Kwame Nkrumah, who was joint political Secretary of the Congress along with Padmore had this to say:

> We shot into limbo those African
> intellectuals who were gradualists, expressing
> the more total demand of workers, trade

> unionists, farmers and peasants who were decisively represented at Manchester and we breached imperialism's wall.[18]

The complexion of Pan-Africanism had changed for ever. From now on it was going to be African-based. African nationalism would replace Negro nationalism. From now on Europe would see so more Pan-African congresses. They would now be held on African soil.

Pan-Africanism in Africa

The next milestone in the history of Pan-Africanism was the 1958 All- African Peoples Conference held in Accra, Ghana.[19] Between the Manchester Congress of 1945 and 1958 a lot of water had flowed under the bridge in Africa. Many historical events had enabled Pan-Africanism to expand its scope and assume a more continental outlook. These included the expansion of the Negritude philosophy; the Egyptian revolution (1952-3); the Algerian revolution, which began in 1954; the independence of Ghana in 1957; and the independence of Guinea in 1958.

It may be useful to make a brief comment on each of these developments. Leopold Sedar Senghor, President of the Republic of Senegal, the leading exponent of Negritude, has described the term as the sum total of the African social, political and cultural values of African civilisation.[20] In the past, the French had justified cultural assimilation on the erroneous premise that Africans had neither history nor culture of their own. Negritude is essentially a reaction against the French theory of assimilation. In 1947 Senghor and a fellow Senegalese, Alione Diop, founded *Présence Africaine*, a magazine devoted to the revival of African values. This philosophy of Negritude influenced African leaders like Nkrumah. The expansion of the Negritude conception through *Présence Africaine* was demonstrated in the Congress of African Writers and Artists held in Paris in 1956. The Congress itself broke the traditional language barrier between English and French- speaking Africa.

On 23 July 1952, a group of young army officers seized power in Egypt. They were led by Colonel Abdul Nasser but used an older man, General Neguib, as a figure-head. The main preoccupation of the Egyptian Government under Nasser, who ousted Neguib in 1954, was not with Africa, but with Arab unity and solidarity: he did emphasise, however, that Egypt could not keep aloof from African liberation struggles. The emergence of Egypt as a radical force was a factor which affected French policy in North Africa. France and other Western European powers were embarrassed by the anti-imperialist propaganda which Egypt poured out through its radio and newspapers. [21]

The nationalist organisation in Algeria, the *Front de Libération Nationale*, began the Algerian rebellion in November 1954.[22] The Algerian revolution soon became a positive symbol of the Pan-African movement.

The independence of Ghana in 1957 had an electrifying impact throughout Africa. A modern Negro government, under a dynamic and charismatic leader, had emerged to demonstrate that. in fact, Africans could manage their own affairs. This is what Nkrumah had to say:

> Freedom for the Gold Coast will be the fountain of inspiration from which other African colonial territories can draw when the time comes to strike for their freedom.[23]

When Guinea, under the leadership of Sekou Touré, chose independence in 1958, France reacted immediately by withdrawing her civil servants and technicians and by stopping all economic aid to the country.

Nkrumah offered Guinea a loan of N20 million. Ghana and Guinea soon declared the formation of a Union.[24] This gesture of solidarity ended Ghana's isolated position in black Africa. (Guinea also received aid. probably of a more realistic kind, from Communist governments in Europe and Asia).

The All-African Peoples' Conference of December 1958 in Accra was unique in certain ways. The Conference of Independent African States which was held in April of the same year, also in Accra, was attended only by the eight independent states of Africa: Ethiopia (1040 B.C.), Liberia (1847), Egypt (1922), Libya (1951), Morocco (1956), the Sudan (1956) and Tunisia (1956). But the All-African Peoples' Conference was attended by delegates representing political parties, trade unions, women and youth organisations from twenty-eight African countries, most of which were still colonies. It was the first genuine all-African assembly, because Francophone black Africa was represented as well as the Arab lands of North Africa, the East African countries and the Congo (Zaire). It was organised by George Padmore, the West Indian who was then Nkrumah's adviser on African affairs.[25] The Conference also served to accelerate the movement towards independence in the Congo, from which three representatives, including Patrice Lumumba, had come. Before the Accra Conference Pan-Africanism remained in the realm of ideas and rhetoric. The conference placed itself in the Pan-African tradition and has been described as the Sixth PanAfrican Congress. In the words of V B. Thompson, the Conference was raising again the torch of Pan-Africanism which had been neatly hidden away from the Pan-African Congress in Manchester in 1945. It emphasised continuity.[26]

The All-African People's Conference stated its aims and objectives as follows:

> (i) To promote understanding and unity among people of Africa.
>
> (ii) To accelerate the liberation of Africa from imperialism and colonialism.
>
> (iii) To mobilise world opinion against the denial of political rights and fundamental human rights to Africans.
>
> (iv) To develop the feeling of one community among the peoples of Africa with the object of enhancing the emergence of a United States of Africa.[27]

Even though the African leaders were agreed in principle on those aims and objectives, yet they differed in their proposed methods. By no means were all of them prepared for the submergence of the sovereignty of their countries. This problem was soon compounded by the Congo crisis. The year 1960 has been described as 'the year of Africa' because, at one great sweep, about half the continent became politically independent. However, it was also the year of the first of a series of major setbacks for Pan- Africanism. It was the year of the first Congo crisis, a crisis that split the continent into ideological blocs. The Congo became independent on 30 June 1960. Within a week of independence, the Congolese Army—the *Force Publique*—revolted, largely against the Belgian officers who were still in command and the Congolese Government which accepted the situation. In the confusion, mineral-rich Katanga Province under Moise Tshombe seceded. Belgian troops immediately invaded the Congo, ostensibly to protect Belgian citizens in the areas under the control of the Central Government, but the Belgian troops actually landed in Katanga Province. The Congolese Government thereupon appealed to the United Nations for troops, which were sent. The troops sent by the United Nations came in part from some African states. The United Nations command hindered rather than helped attempts by the Congolese Army, nominally under the control of the Central Government, to restore the authority of the Central Government in Katanga Province.

During the months of July and August 1960, law and order completely broke down in the Congo and confusion reigned supreme. Two factions of the Central Government emerged. One was led by the Prime Minister, Patrice Lumumba, and the other by President Joseph Kasavubu. Early in September Kasavubu dismissed Lumumba who challenged the legality of that action. The Congolese Army under Colonel Joseph Mobutu, who had ousted his superior officer, proclaimed its neutrality, but soon dismissed Parliament and arrogated power to itself in collaboration with Kasavubu.

Independent African states were divided over the question as to whether Lumumba or Kasavubu represented the legal Central Government in the Congo. Behind the constitutional problems of the Congo lay certain fundamental issues which divided Africa. On the one side were the African states who thought that the attainment of political independence was just a minor step in a more basic and revolutionary thrust for African liberation. This group of states advocated an organic political unification of African states. It believed that political independence had little meaning unless it was accompanied by 'economic independence'. Therefore, African states should totally reject neo-colonial links with their former colonial masters and the Western European capitalist states. This school of thought was led by Ghana and Guinea, who supported Patrice Lumumba. In the parallel debate on the Algerian war of independence, this group supported the cause of the Provisional Government of the Algerian Republic, known by its French initials as GPRA. The group was labelled 'the radicals'. It announced the formation of the Ghana Guinea Mali Union in April 1961. The union was designed as the nucleus of a West African and ultimately an African continental union. But the union was a fiasco, beset with problems which it could not solve.

On the other side were the African states who based their argument on a quite different premise. They held that because many African states were small and weak they needed assistance from the Western world in order to make economic progress. They advocated a pragmatic approach to African unity beginning with the co-ordination of effort in every field, including foreign affairs, economic development, health and education. They thought African political union to be a utopian goal. Instead of breaking economic ties with the West they wished to reinforce and expand them. This group particularly emphasised the need for the continued preservation of political sovereignty and condemned any outside interference in the internal affairs of their nations. It supported Kasavubu and was conciliatory towards France in the Algerian liberation struggle. This group of states later became known as 'the moderates' and was led by Nigeria and Liberia.

The split between the African countries soon assumed institutional form when 'the radicals' (Ghana, Guinea, Mali, Egypt, Algeria, represented by the GPRA, and Morocco) held their conference in Casablanca in January 1961 and became known as the 'Casablanca Powers.'[28] The group adopted an African charter which advocated the creation of an African Consultative Assembly. It also decided on the creation of an African Political Committee, an African Economic Committee, an African Cultural Committee and an African High Command.

Shortly after the Casablanca Conference, in May 1961 'the moderates' held their own conference in Monrovia. The conference was attended by Nigeria, Liberia, Ivory Coast, Cameroons, Togo, Senegal, the Malagasy Republic, Gabon, Ethiopia, Sierra Leone, Somalia, the Central African Republic, Mauritania, Niger, Libya, Upper Volta, Tunisia and Congo (Brazzaville). The conference condemned South Africa for its racial policies. Referring to the Congo, the conference then condemned assassination as a means of attaining political power The conference agreed that a commission of technical experts for the purpose of working out plans for co-operation in economic, educational, cultural and scientific fields should meet at Dakar, Senegal, within three months of the Monrovia Conference.[29] This group, which became known as 'the Monrovia Powers', accepted the basic principles of unity and stressed the right of the independent states of Africa to federate or confederate. In spite of the apparent similarities in the decisions taken by the two conferences, the cleavage remained.

The next attempt to find a concept of African unity acceptable to the leaders of the independent countries of Africa was in Lagos in January 1962. 'The Casablanca Powers' intimated their intention to attend but did not turn up after a meeting of their foreign ministers in Accra. The reasons given were that they had not been consulted as a group and that the Algerian Provisional Government had not been invited to the conference.[30] The delegates of the Sudan and Tunisia also walked out of the conference in protest against the non-recognition of and failure to invite the Algerian Provisional Government.[31] The Lagos Conference, attended by twenty-one independent African states, confirmed the decisions of the Monrovia Conference. These African states declared that they were all 'desirous that all African states should henceforth unite so that the welfare and well-being of their peoples can be assured' and were also 'determined to safeguard and consolidate the hard won independence as well as the sovereignty and territorial integrity of our states, and to fight against neo-colonialism in all its forms'.[32]

The Conference adopted, in principle, a charter for a proposed African United Organisation. The charter was to be submitted to all African governments for detailed study. However, the Conference deliberately refrained from formally setting up the organisation so that the countries not represented could still join as inaugural members at a later meeting.

Meanwhile the search for African unity continued. In 1963 the venerable Emperor Haile Selassie of Ehtiopia tried to bring together the heads of all independent African states and reconcile their divergent views on African unity. His diplomatic efforts proved an unqualified success because of three significant developments. The first of these was the internal reconciliation in the Congo. Lumumba had fallen into the hands of the Kasavubu government and in January 1961 was turned over to the Katangese authorities who murdered him. The Lumumbists then set up a rival government in Stanleyville. However, in August the two claimants to the Central Government in the Congo - the Kasavubu faction in Leopoldville and the Lumumbists in Stanleyville - agreed to a united government under Cyrille Adoula as Prime Minister. Thus Congolese sovereignty was re- established. The second was the Evian Accord,[33] which led to the independence of Algeria in July 1962. Thirdly, the Anglo-Nigerian Defence Pact which was signed at the time of Nigeria's independence was abrogated because it was regarded as a commitment detracting from Nigeria's sovereignty.[34] With the removal of these issues, the Addis Ababa Conference organised by Haile Selassie in May 1963 and attended by thirty-two African countries was able to give birth to the Organisation of African Unity (OAU). This brought together the two groups - the 'Casablanca' and the 'Monrovia' Powers.

Notes

1 George Shepperson, 'Notes on Negro-American influence on the emergence of African nationalism', *Journal of African history 1 (2).* 1960, 299 312

2 Colin Legum, *Pan-Africanism: a short politico! guide*, New York, Frederick A. Praeger, 1965, p. 15

3 J. R. Hooker, 'The Pan-African Conference 1900', *Transition* 36, 9 (iii) (Oct./Dee. 1974), 20 -4

4 Robert W. July, *The origins of modern African thought*, Faber and Faber, 1968, pp. 405˜6

5 Immanuel Geiss, *The pan-African movement*, London, Methuen, 1974, pp. 135, 212, 235-58

6 *Ibid., pp.* 263-83. John Henrik Clarke, 'Marcus Garvey: the Harlem years'. *Transition* 26, 9 (iii) (Oct./Dee. 1974), 14- 18

7 Geiss, *The Pan-African movement*, pp. 353-4.

8 Hooker, 'The Pan-African Conference 1900, *Transition* 36, 9 (iii) 1974, 23

9 V. B. Thompson, *Africa and unity: the evolution of Pan-Africanism*, Longman, 1969, pp. 319-21

10 Geiss, *The Pan-African movement*, pp. 234-40 *Ibid., p.* 244, *Ibid.*, pp. 261-2 *Ibid*

11 *Ibid.*, p. 244

12 *Ibid.*, pp. 261-2

13 *Ibid*

14 At the time, the journal *West Africa* ridiculed the idea of independence for African states in the following terms: 'Calling for national independence in its old sense of unfettered freedom of action is unreal. It is now a meaningless term. This kingdom (U.K.) has not got it' (*West Africa*, 3 November 1945, 1059). Reports of the proceedings of the Congress are on pages 1061-3 of the same issue.

15 Geiss, *The Pan-Afrean movement*, pp. 406 07; George Padmore, *Pan-Africanism or Communism?* New York: Doubleday, 1955, p. 148.

16. *Africa*, 25, 1 September 1972, 22

17 Peter Worsley, *The Third World*, London, Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1963, p. 90

18 *Africa* 25, 22. George Padmore later wrote. 'At long last 1he die is cast and issue joined. From Manchester the African and other colonial delegates returned home to put their hands to the freedom plough and furrow thc ground for the seed of liberty to grow' *(Pan-Africanism or Communism?* p. 148)

19 Thompson, *Africa and Unity*, pp. 126-34

20 J. B. Webster and A. A. Boahen with H. O. Iodwu, *The revolutionary years, West Africa since 1800*, Longman, 1967, pp. 274-6.

21 Thompson, *Africa and unity, p.* 69

22 *Ibid., p.* 81-4

23 Kwame Nkrumah, Speech at the Sixth Anniversary Convention of CPP of the Gold Coast. 1955. quoted in Africa *Tribune* 1 (2), Sept./Oct. 1955 and cited in Thompson. Africa *and Unity, p* 124

24 The Joint Declaration of the Ghana Guinea Union was made on I May 1959. Mali joined in April 1961 when a Charter of the Union of African States was adopted by the heads of the three states - Modibo Keita (Mali), Sékou Toure (Guinea) and Kwame Nkrumah (Ghana). See Thompson. *Africa* and *Unity, p.* 133; Sidney Tailor (ed.), *Thc New Africans*, London, Paul Hamlyn, 1967, p. 184

25 Geiss, *Thc Pan-African movement, p.* 3S4

26 Thompson, *Africa and unity, p.* 130

27 *Speeches delivered by Kwame Nkrumah and Resolutions of the first session of the All-African People's Conference, Accra,* 5-13 December 1955. p. 22

28 Conference of Heads of African States at Casablanca. 17 Jan. 1961. Casablanca. Morocco. Printed in both French and English

29 Rémi Fani-Kayode, *Blackism*, London, V. Cooper. 1965, p. 38

30 *Daily Express* (Nigerian), 22 fan. 1962

31 Thompson, *Africa and unity, p.* 168

32 Fani-Kayode, *Blackism*, Appendix 11, p. 84

33 Alvin M. Josephy. Jr. (ed), *Thc Horizon history of Africa*, New York: American Heritage, 1971. p. 504

34 *Morning Post* (Nigerian), 22 Jan. 1962

MARCUS GARVEY AND THE UNIA

by

Emory J. Tolbert

INTRODUCTION

The Universal Negro Improvement Association (UNIA) entered its eighty seventh year in 2001. Today most Africans and people of African descent recognize its historic influence in the development of the many liberation movements within the African pluriverse (Africa and its diaspora) that emphasize Black self determination and self esteem. Therefore, virtually all of the proponents of Black Power during the 1960s, and the advocates of Afrocentrism today, acknowledge that they find most of their core concepts in the UNIA's teachings and publications.

The UNIA's founder, Marcus Garvey, was a Jamaican who told western hemisphere Blacks that their future welfare would be best guaranteed by working toward a politically independent and economically prosperous Africa. Garvey's movement eventually embarked on program to create a government in exile for Africa at a time when European domination through colonization was evident throughout the continent. At its first convention, held in August 1918 in New York City, the assembled delegates of the UNIA tackled the difficult task of establishing all of the units that made up a modern government: a constitution to serve as the guiding legal document, an executive to carry out the laws and policies of the nation, a national flag and anthem to serve as symbols of the nation, a civil service to create a qualified bureaucracy, an army to defend the nation's interests, a diplomatic corpse to treat with other nations, and a national history to preserve the deeds of heroes and inspire patriotism. In subsequent conventions, UNIA members confronted the problems that arose in this rapidly growing, international organization. This including internal disputes over leaders and ideology, questions of finance, the wrath of colonial governments and the United States Department of Justice, the trial and imprisonment of Marcus Garvey himself, a split that created two competing UNIA organizations in 1929, Garvey's death in 1940, and finally, a reconciliation of the two UNIA organizations into one body in 1973.

Marcus Mosiah Garvey (1887-1940), the founder and principal organizer of the UNIA, was a public lecturer, political activist, writer and publisher who became famous throughout the world as the foremost proponent of Black nationalism among the peoples of the African diaspora and, indeed, Africa itself. During the 1914-1925 period he established, first in Jamaica and then from his headquarters in Harlem, a mass movement that up to his time was clearly the largest ever organized among people of African descent. Out of his effort came the symbols of Black nationalism that later reappeared among Black populations around the world, especially during the apex of the Black Power movement of the 1960s, and now during the current revival of Afrocentric thought. These included the red, black and green flag, the "Ethiopian Anthem" which served as a national anthem, the teaching of African history and culture among the African American masses.

During its early heyday, the Garvey movement included over one thousand local units (divisions and chapters) in locations throughout the United States, in Canada, in the West Indies, Africa, and South America, among Blacks in Europe, and even in Australia, where Black sailors could be found in seaport cities.

The center of Garvey's philosophy was the belief that Blacks worldwide could expect equality only through struggle and achievement within a competitive political and economic environment. Europe's rise to power, Garvey proclaimed, was a human achievement, not the work of supermen. Therefore, Garvey asserted, "what man has accomplished man can accomplish." Nowhere is this more eloquently stated than in Garvey's definitive statement, "African Fundamentalism."

> The time has come for the Negro to forget and cast behind him his hero worship and adoration of other races, and start out immediately to create and emulate heroes of his own. We must canonize our own saints, create our own martyrs, and elevate to positions of fame and honor black men and women who have made their distinct contributions to our racial history.... We must inspire a literature and promulgate a doctrine of our own without apologies to the powers that be. The right is ours and God's. Let contrary sentiment and cross opinions go to the winds. Opposition to race independence is the weapon of the enemy to defeat the hopes of an unfortunate people. We are entitled to our own opinion and not obligated to or bound by the opinions of others....
>
> The world today in indebted to us for the benefits of civilization. They stole our arts and sciences from Africa. Then why should we be ashamed of ourselves? Their modern improvements are but duplicates of a grander civilization that we reflected thousands of years ago....

Armed with the evidence of African success demonstrated in the achievements of ancient Egypt, Ethiopia, and other advanced civilizations built by black-skinned people, modern Africans could refute theories of black inferiority and move toward reclaiming their place in the world.

Replicating the glorious past required changes. First, Blacks would change their views regarding their ancestors and the color of their skin. They would no longer see white skin as a sign of status, nor would they seek the social acceptance of white people. Whites, and Blacks married to whites, could not join the UNIA, and fund-raising efforts would not focus on whites. In addition, Blacks would join together to support a massive economic plan that included the purchase of scores of ships to develop an independent trade between people of African descent in the western hemisphere and those on the African continent. To implement this plan, Garvey established the Black Star Line and the Negro Factories Corporation in 1919. With his supporters, he soon began the sale of stock in these new ventures. Before long UNIA members in New York City established a hat store, a doll factory and other enterprises. In other parts of the United States, and in other nations, UNIA divisions followed the example set at headquarters by also seeking business opportunities, all in the cause of racial uplift and African redemption.

GARVEY'S BACKGROUND

Garvey was born on August 19, 1887 in St. Ann's Bay, Jamaica. He was the only son of Mosiah Garvey, a mason, and Sarah Jane Richards, a housewife who occasionally worked as a maid. He spent his childhood in his parents' home on a slope above the city. His neighbors and playmates included the children of a United Fruit Company executive and a Methodist minister, two white families with lots adjacent to his parents'. His own autobiographical statements indicate that Garvey was a leader among the young people of his community. His name at birth was "Malcus," but he chose to change it during his teenage years as he was preparing for a career in the printing trade. As a youth he also developed an interest in oratory, as is indicated by his success as a finalist in a national oratorical contest in 1910.

The attraction of Jamaica's largest city, Kingston, soon drew young Garvey, who worked there as a printer and also joined the National Club, an organization of native-born Jamaicans who supported home rule. Jamaica, like other British colonies with Black majorities, was designated a "crown colony." Under this system, a governor sent by the British Colonial Office served as the chief executive. His legislative council consistedof the heads of all Departments of Public Service (official members), and an equal number appointed by the governor (unofficial members). Under this arrangement the large Black population had no say in the makeup of the national government, and no influence over the choice of its public officials. The National Club and similar organizations in other British crown colonies protested this situation. Garvey stated that his activism in the National Club and in the printers strike of 1907 left him in bad standing with the colonial government and with local print shops, forcing him to leave the country under the sponsorship of an uncle while he worked in Central America.

It appears that Garvey's travels in Central America and the West Indies inspired a turning point in his life. He later said that he observed the international nature of the race problem for the first time while traveling among the Black plantation workers who were a part of the mobile working force that harvested the crops in several nations. He published newspapers in Costa Rica and Panama that exposed conditions among the Black workers he encountered, leading to his expulsion from both nations.

He returned to Jamaica briefly in 1912. Then he sailed for London, where he attended lectures at Birkbeck College and worked for the Egyptian Black nationalist Duse Muhammad Ali's international newspaper, *The African Times and Orient Review.* He also read the works of Edward Wilmot Blyden, the Black activist from the Danish West Indies who emigrated to Liberia and eventually became that nation's leading educator and diplomat. Blyden was the main developer of the pan-Negro idea, a concept from which Garvey drew as he shaped his views on the international race problem. It is also possible that Garvey took notice of the Irish uprising against British rule that coincided with his visit, and drew from it some ideas that he would use later.

THE FIRST YEARS

Garvey decided to establish a new organization while returning to Jamaica in 1914, choosing the name Universal Negro Improvement Association and African Communities League (UNIA and ACL). His goals were lofty and his rhetoric idealistic. With the aid of friends, including young Amy Ashwood, he would teach his supporters the value of self improvement and self reliance. The Garveyites would also work to improve circumstances in Africa by encouraging modernization and the practice of Christianity. They would also encourage the development of a greater African community, including unity among the Africans in the diaspora and those "at home" on the continent itself. Unfortunately, Garvey encountered opposition from many of Jamaica's coloureds and blacks, who saw no need for a "Negro" organization in a nation where the emphasis was on social class, and where color prejudice (which was abundantly evident throughout the society) was seldom openly acknowledged. The UNIA's relatively slow growth in Jamaica coupled with Garvey's desire to establish a trade school for the nation's underprivileged, led him to seek the advice of Booker T. Washington, the famous African American educator whose work Garvey sought to emulate.

Garvey's decision to consult with Washington in person came too late. He arrived at Washington's school in Alabama, the Tuskegee Institute, in 1916, several months after the noted educator had died. Soon afterward, Garvey's first experiences in the American South, which occurred during a thirty-eight state speaking tour of the United States, convinced him that his ideas would reach receptive ears in this new environment. Black Americans were, in Garvey's words, "in regular contact with organized prejudice." Outrage over the mistreatment of black soldiers in the southern towns near black army camps prompted angry responses from black leaders. "Jim Crow" signs were common throughout the nation, and racial segregation also occurred in areas where no formal notices were posted. Faced with reminders of race at virtually every turn, African American audiences were primed for new voices and ready to reward those leaders who effectively articulated their concerns about exclusion and domination.

When he finally decided to extend his stay in the United States and to settle in New York City, Garvey found himself among a large influx of immigrants from the Caribbean who shared many of the concerns voiced by their U.S.-born counterparts. In New York City many Caribbean newcomers experienced their first face-to-face contact and conflicts) with white ethnic groups. They too were more open to Garvey's brand of protest and separatism than had been many in their homelands. By 1920 about one quarter of Harlem's population was West Indian.

While World War One raged on, Garvey became a leader among the young political activists of Harlem known as the " New Negroes." His first American publication condemned the destruction of the Black community in East St. Louis in 1917 by a white mob. He also joined Black American critics of lynching and other atrocities on the home front.

The wartime ferment in Black American communities, intensified by lynchings and anti-black riots, provided a troubled setting for Garvey's race conscious organization. Black communities throughout the nation were alive with discussions over the future of the race. John Bruce, Timothy Thomas Fortune, W. E. B. Du Bois, William Monroe Trotter, Henry Turner, John Crogman, Ida Wells, and many more produced an impressive array of books and articles outlining strategies against disfranchisement and lynching. Churchmen such as Reverdy Ransome and Alexander Walters added their talents. The numerous conventions and conferences that these leaders organized for Black people exclusively are testimony to their decision to organize Blacks on the basis of their common racial background. Clearly, the established leadership of Black America was prepared to seek solutions for the "race" based on the reality of the color/caste system in the United States. In the case of African Americans, "Jim Crow," as formal segregation was nicknamed, transformed the Old World tradition of class distinctions into a system of privilege based on race and color. Segregated American society made racially integrated movements, like the NAACP, difficult to launch and even more difficult to sustain.

Garvey's difficulties in promoting the UNIA in Jamaica were still a recent memory when he spoke on street corners in Harlem during 1916 and 1917. The West Indian population of New York City, however, was far more receptive to discussions of race and Black uplift given their experiences with direct discrimination in the United States. Immigrants like W. A. Domingo, Garvey's friend since their days in Kingston as members of the National Club, became leading leftists within New York City's active Black political scene. Others like Cyril Briggs of St. Nevins, Claude McKay and Richard B. Moore of Jamaica, and many others who were socialists, seemed to indicate a radical turn among some West Indian immigrants, and consequently a willing audience for nontraditional political views. Hubert H. Harrison, from the Virgin Islands, had preceded Garvey as a Harlem Street-corner preacher of the "Africa for the Africans" and "Race First" doctrines. Harrison was Harlem's respected "street-corner" professor who also taught adult classes at local universities and wrote articles for New York newspapers. His stature as a Black nationalist was strong evidence that many Afro-Caribbean immigrants were prepared to join even larger numbers of United States-born Blacks in accepting a popular trend in the politics of African Americans: the call for racial unity and the redemption of Africa from European control.

Garvey went about recruiting community leaders in his own fashion. In some cases, he issued open challenges to influential Blacks in the local communities he visited, daring them to account for their inaction and to justify their status as leaders. This tactic usually assured a sizeable audience and a lively discussion at meetings in which he was the featured speaker.

All accounts of Garvey's rhetorical style indicate that he was a captivating lecturer who easily held audiences for hours at a time. Typically, he roamed the stage, able to project his voice in the fashion of other famous speakers of his day. He often moved his arms and legs vigorously to emphasize a point, or stamped his feet to punctuate a phrase. His voice was a high baritone that modulated upward at dramatic moments. His accent was far from the brogue he had spoken in St. Anne's Bay, Jamaica. Now he used the clipped British accent that was common among the best-known English language orators in the Anglophone world. Crowds awaited his arrival with greater enthusiasm as his reputation grew. During his early speaking tours he was often billed as the "world's greatest orator." In the view of many of his listeners, he lived up to that claim.

Garvey's training as a printer served the UNIA well during its early years. By 1918, he had established the *Negro World*, the most important instrument in the spread of the movement. Within a year copies appeared not only in nearly all of the scattered communities of Black America, but also throughout the West Indies and in Africa. The front page carried an editorial by Garvey, usually a letter admonishing the membership on some matter of current concern. News articles followed featuring events in the Black world. Reports from UNIA divisions in various parts of the world delivered the details of local meetings and news of growth when possible. Fund-raising was a major function of the paper, as was evident in lists of donors to the African Redemption Fund and numerous other UNIA projects. French and Spanish language pages became a part of the paper's makeup during its most prosperous years. Perhaps most important were the *Negro World's* publication of verbatim transcripts of speeches made at Liberty Hall meetings in Harlem, and at important meetings in other places where Garvey and the UNIA leadership travelled. These are most valuable in recalling the energy and spirit of many UNIA sessions to modern readers.

Most of Harlem's African American political activists made street-corner speeches to help publicize their ideas. Garvey was the most successful among all of these orators, rapidly gaining a reputation for clear and effective speaking by mixing common sense with humor while analyzing the national and international events that were of greatest interest to Blacks.

In the militant atmosphere of post-war Harlem, young Garvey polished his already impressive speaking style. Now he warned of dire results if Blacks around the world failed to claim their share of the planet in light of the reorganization of Europe and its colonies at the end of World War One. He was not alone in making such predictions, for other Black leaders, like A. Philip Randolph and W.E.B. Du Bois, also believed that the post-war era was a crucial time for the survival of African Americans and Africans.

Although some of the important documents from Garvey's early years of organizing in the United States are not available, there are some clear indications of where he began his efforts. UNIA divisions were assigned numbers that sometimes indicated when they were organized. Divisions I and IA were in New York City, the parent body where the central headquarters and the main Liberty Hall were located. (All UNIA divisions referred to their local headquarters as Liberty Hall.) Division Two was in Brooklyn, New York. Division Five in Montreal, Canada, showed the strong interest in Garvey among Caribbean immigrants. Another early division was Division Six in Newport News, Virginia, where Garvey went to find Black sailors.

THE UNIA AFTER WORLD WAR I

Discontent among Blacks within societies in many parts of the world soon began to manifest itself in unmistakable ways. In 1919, anti-colonial riots and labor unrest among Blacks disrupted governments in the Panama Canal Zone, which was under the jurisdiction of the United States, Trinidad, British Honduras, Jamaica, and Sierra Leone. Government authorities in these colonies often blamed the unrest on statements in the Negro World, Marcus Garvey's international newspaper, as well as the Black nationalist and anti-colonial statements that appeared in Garvey's speeches. British and French colonies in Africa and the West Indies were especially vulnerable to the post-World War One upheavals that occurred in many parts of the world. The ideal of self-determination for nations under foreign domination, set forth by Woodrow Wilson, a U.S. president who clearly had only Europeans in mind, affected disfranchised and colonized peoples in many parts of the world. The fiery declarations of nationalists like Marcus Garvey, who applied the same ideas to the non-white world, helped to bring on some of the unrest.

The Universal Negro Improvement Association (it came to be known by its abbreviated name) emerged as Harlem's most dynamic organization in 1920, when it hosted an international convention that drew over 25,000 delegates, members and sympathizers into an overflow audience at Madison Square Garden. The convention served as a forum for the thousands of visitors who were anxious to express their grievances against colonial governments in their homelands. Marcus Garvey, who was elected UNIA president general at the convention and proclaimed "provisional president of Africa," outlined an agenda for the Black World based on his vision of the future.

Surrounded by a growing collection of followers and supporters, Garvey prophesied that the massive ongoing postwar European immigration into the United States would overwhelm the black population, making the labor and the presence of Black people unnecessary and unwanted. For over three decades the term "white man's country" had grown popular in the United States, even among some whites who claimed liberal views. In Garvey's view, this sentiment was being acted out in private actions and public policy, placing African American claims to rights as American citizens on very unstable ground. The revival of the Ku Klux Klan in the 1920s seemed to give Garvey's argument greater credibility. "One hundred per cent Americanism" appeared to be the wave of the future, with Blacks relegated to a questionable status at best.

Several African American leaders of the post World War One era also reflected the concerns Garvey expressed. Cyril Briggs, the founder of the African Blood Brotherhood, advocated armed retaliation against lynchers while declaring, "better a thousand race riots than one more lynching." A Philip Randolph, the Black socialist who would later become an important labor organizer, predicted continued oppression in the absence of unity among the Black and white working classes. The NAACP, and its most visible Black leader, W.E.B. Du Bois, lost an important campaign to pass a federal law against lynching in 1921, further weakening its claim that lobbying and court action were the best strategies for African Americans in the struggle for equality.

CRITICS AND OPPONENTS

The UNIA's goals for Africa were would not reach fruition while Europeans colonized almost all of the continent. Therefore, armed struggle would be necessary to destroy European domination and ensure that Africa would be for the Africans, "those at home and those abroad."

All of the colonial governments with substantial Black populations took the threat of Garveyism quite seriously. Recent disturbances provided ample proof of danger, in their opinions, spurring drastic measures by governments in several colonies. British and French colonies in Africa and the West Indies outlawed the sale and sometimes even the possession of the *Negro World*. One French colony in Africa attached a death sentence to the offense.

United States government officials carefully noted the growth of the Garvey Movement. J. Edgar Hoover, then a zealous assistant to Attorney General A. Mitchell Palmer, included Garvey among his list of dangerous subversives. Beginning in 1919, Hoover pursued various strategies aimed at neutralizing Garvey's political impact or deporting him back to Jamaica. Hoover stood at the top of a pyramid of local, state and federal police and investigative agencies with an interest in the movements of Garvey and Garveyites. Taken together, these agencies developed an impressive body of documents detailing the events at Garveyite meetings, the size and membership of local Garvey organizations, and the content of their speeches, letters and publications. Most of the documents came from the reports of stenographers sent to record Garvey's speeches and "confidential employees"sent to infiltrate the Garvey organization.

Two of the most important government informants were Herbert S. Boulin, a Jamaican-born toy manufacturer in Harlem, and James Wormley Jones, a former captain in the United States Army who received considerable attention for heroism in Emmett Scott's book, *The Negro in the Great War*. Both reported regularly on UNIA meetings during 1920 and 1921 at Harlem's Liberty Hall, which was the UNIA's international headquarters. Boulin took advantage of his long acquaintance with Garvey to report on private visits in Garvey's home. Jones was in command of the African Legion, the UNIA's paramilitary unit. At one time he also received permission to answer mail that came to UNIA headquarters. Garvey eventually discovered both of these informants, but only after they had submitted scores of reports on the organization. Jones also infiltrated the Marxist-oriented African Blood Brotherhood, headed by Cyril Briggs. Both men made themselves available to government agencies for undercover work among Black organizations during future years.

Garvey's opposition also included Black political activists. Stormy debates and acrimonious exchanges characterized his relationships with Black communists and socialists. Other groups, like the NAACP, also criticized Garvey and the Garveyites. Although he frequently expressed his desire to create a universal organization representing all Blacks, Garvey had great difficulty persuading the traditional leaders of Black America, and other nations, to endorse his efforts. He was not a well-known figure before his arrival in the United States, and he was not a familiar face among well established Black leaders before his remarkable rise to fame. Consequently, some Black leaders saw him as an upstart without an established track record.

This included W.E.B. Du Bois, the dean of Black intellectuals, and a co-founder of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP). Garvey first contacted Du Bois when the renownedAmerican scholar visited Jamaica in 1915. With his customary boldness, Garvey sent a letter introducing himself and his organization, the UNIA, and declaring his intention to tackle the problems of Jamaica's poor. Garvey's welcome apparently received no response. But years later, in 1920, Du Bois gave close scrutiny to the Garvey movement during its period of dynamic growth and Garvey's rise to international fame. Like other African-American intellectuals, notably Arna Bontemps and Claude McKay, Du Bois saw merit in Garveyism as a spiritual movement. On the practical side, however, he identified problems serious enough, in his view, to call for a reassessment of the organization's finances and, by implication, its leadership. Garvey, with good reason, regarded Du Bois's article as an attack, and responded bitterly.

By 1922, A. Philip Randolph, the young activist who had introduced Garvey to his first Harlem street-corner audience in 1917, had also joined Garvey's opposition by founding the Friends of Negro Freedom, an organization whose goal was to discredit Garvey.

In 1921, Garvey began an extended tour of the Caribbean on behalf of the UNIA and the Black Star Line. In Garvey's absence, J. Edgar Hoover collected excerpts from Garvey's speeches as transcribed by government stenographers planted at UNIA rallies or quoted in the *Negro World*. He distributed copies to customs officials at ports of entry throughout the United States along with a letter describing Garvey's speeches as inflammatory and subversive while urging that Garvey be banned from reentering the United States. To Hoover's great disappointment, Garvey was allowed to reenter, forcing Hoover to develop another strategy.

Finally, in 1922, Garvey faced federal charges of mail fraud, based on the alleged sale through the mail of stock in the financially distressed Black Star Line. In this case, the government prosecutor alleged that after the Black Star Line was no longer financially viable, and only one of its four ships was still seaworthy, Garvey nevertheless ordered that his lieutenants continue to sell stock. Garvey's main assistants, some of whom he had blamed for the Black Star Line's problems, gladly testified against him. An all-white, male jury convicted Garvey and the judge sentenced him to a 10,000 fine and five years in prison.

The emphasis on the purchase of ships, which Garvey himself encouraged, created a mythology around the movement long after Garvey's imprisonment. Popular media depicted Garvey as an advocate of mass Black migration to Africa, supposedly on his ships. Political opponents and critics used his conviction for mail fraud to create the impression that Garvey's entire movement had been a scheme to persuade poor Blacks to part with their meager funds in exchange for a trip to a mythical kingdom in Africa.

None of these notions fairly represented the man or the movement. Garvey's intention was to use his very promising negotiations with the west African nation of Liberia to establish a point of entry into an existing African state. He would then recruit talented and skilled Blacks from the western hemisphere to establish colonies in Liberia. Ultimately, Liberia would develop into a nation with sufficient economic and political strength to become the foundation of a greater African nation. Eventually it would expand beyond its present borders to include more of the continent. The ships, therefore, were part of an ambitious plan to establish a greater African community, along with trade and passenger travel between major Black population centers.

The United States government, especially the State Department and the Bureau of Investigation of the Justice Department (later the FBI), acted to undermine Garvey's plan to negotiate with Liberia. Although Garvey's emissaries received assurances that immigrants from the Americas would be welcome, U.S. diplomats quickly made it clear to the Liberians that the American government would disapprove of any further negotiations with the Garveyites. Liberia, then in desperate need of a loan from the U.S., soon cut off all talks with Garvey's men.

The end of Garvey's original Liberia plan (there were others later) came in 1924, just as the last appeals of his mail fraud conviction were turned down. He entered Atlanta prison in 1925. However, persistent appeals to President Calvin Coolidge from thousands of Garvey's supporters and sympathizers led the vote-conscious Coolidge to shorten Garvey's term. In 1927 Garvey was released from prison and deported to Jamaica with the agreement that he would not be allowed to reenter the United States.

While in prison, Garvey gave his young wife, Amy Jacques Garvey, authority to carry out his policies at UNIA headquarters. However, his absence created an opportunity for many leaders within the organization to aspire to his role. Among them were William Sherrill, who quickly fell out of favor with Garvey, and Charles James, whom he eventually supported. The center of controversy was the question of who would carry out Garvey's orders precisely. This was especially important to Garvey, since he believed that he had taken the blame for the behavior of some of his associates. The UNIA had debts to pay that included judgements against it regarding Black Star Line salaries and fees for ship repairs and other services. Some UNIA officials had won suits for their salaries and also had to be paid. In short, the UNIA was still a functioning entity with responsibilities to carry out.

Biographers usually consider Garvey's career after deportation as a postscript. In fact, Garvey's return to Jamaica, and his activities there, were an important part of that nation's progress toward independence. He resided in the nation of his birth from 1929 to 1933. True to his lifelong commitment as a printer and publisher, he produced yet another newspaper, *The Blackman*, where he promoted a political reform agenda. Later, in London, Garvey published an international journal, *The Black Man*, while he attempted to keep his world-wide following.

Garvey's headquarters in Harlem fell under local leadership, including his critics within the organization, while he was in Atlanta Prison. In August 1929, Garvey called a convention of the UNIA that moved the headquarters to Jamaica and adopted the name Universal Negro Improvement Association and African Communities League, August 1929. The New York-based group continued to function independently, initiating a split that would not be healed until reunification in 1973, under the leadership of the President-General Thomas Harvey.

In the meanwhile, Garvey and his supporters promoted an agenda of African independence and world-wide Black unity. The 1934 UNIA convention, held in Kingston, Jamaica, adopted a five year plan calling for the development of shipping, manufacturing, mining, agriculture among Blacks in the West Indies, South and Central America, the United States and Africa. Garvey also announced that UNIA headquarters would move once again, this time to London. This would place the UNIA once again in a world capital, with all of the attendant advantages. Garvey reasoned:

> The organization naturally, therefore, will be represented at all International conferences, it will watch all European legislations, and whenever necessary will have the quick opportunity of speech. African is becoming to the Negro, more important every day. The quick contact between London and Africa will therefore be of great advantage. (*Black Man*, November 1934).

In 1937 the UNIA chose Toronto as the site for the international convention. The proximity to the United States made it available to the many thousands of American members. This was also an opportunity to organize the School of African Philosophy that had been planned for many years. The small cadre of future leaders who were to guide the UNIA in future years received their training directly from Garvey during September 1937. They were Arthur Clement Moore, Charles L. James, James R. Stewart, Thomas W. Harvey, Nathaniel Grissom, Sarah Richardson Isaacs, Ethel Waddell, Elinor White, Theresa Elizabeth Young, and Abraham R. Roberts.All received assignments as state commisioners, and three eventually became president generals of the UNIA.

The UNIA convention of 1938, which was held once again in Toronto, was the last that Garvey presided over. Here the major task was to reexamine the five year plan adopted in 1934. The delegates decided that the plan would be capitalized by Aficans worldwide, who would be solicited to pledge a sum of money over a period of five years. Garvey held a second session of the School of African Philosophy following the convention, yielding seven new graduates, the most notable of whom was Ethel M. Collins of New York City.

Garvey's illness and death two years later clearly interrupted the UNIA's ambitious plans. When he died in 1940, Garvey was in close touch with his supporters in the Caribbean and in the United States. However, in London he was aided only by the services of a secretary. His death was noted around the world. Ironically, the legend of Marcus Garvey had begun during his heyday, years before his death. News of his death rekindled interest in his movement. African leaders, notably Kwame Nkrumah, cited him as a direct influence. In his native country, Jamaica, he was declared the nation's first National Hero in 1956. Soon his picture appeared on the currencies and postage stamps of a number of Caribbean and African countries.

Garvey's ideas drew from an African American and Afro-Caribbean tradition of protest and self-direction that outlasted slavery, colonial exploitation and racialism. Most of the ideas and the controversies associated with his career remain in the current discourse over the future of peoples of African descent worldwide.

SCHOLARSHIP ON GARVEY AND THE UNIA

Scholars have studied Garveyism beginning at the height of its popularity. By the end of the 1930s there were already a few Masters theses examining the movement. During the 1940s chapters in books by Roi Ottley, Claude McKay and Arna Bontemps included evaluations of the movement. In the meanwhile, the UNIA continued to function, albeit with less notoriety than in previous years.

Amy Jacques Garvey produced important works that informed the new scholarship. She had been the editor of both volumes of the *Philosophy and Opinions of Marcus Garvey* (1923, 1925), and she soon emerged as an important figure in the efforts of scholars to recover the important documents of the UNIA and to reexamine the movement. A later book, *Garvey and Garveyism*, first published in 1962, assured her place in the movement to expand scholarship on the movement founded by her late husband.

In 1954, Edmond David Cronon completed his book, *Black Moses*, a work based primarily on the transcript of the mail fraud trial. At the time, Cronon had found only a very few copies of the *Negro World*, and had not interviewed any of the Garveyite rank-and file. Like many others, he was also unaware of the extensive Bureau of Investigation surveillance directed against Garvey; nor had the work of the "confidential employees" hired to infiltrate the UNIA come to light. The first extensive use of this material in a full-length study appeared in Tony Martin's study, *Race First*.

Mrs. Garvey encouraged scholars to search for more missing documents, which included copies of the *Negro World*, and to interview the many Garveyites still available to researchers. In 1969, four researchers at the University of California, Los Angeles, H. Viscount Nelson, Arthur Frazier, Emory Tolbert, and Stanley Coben began the work of collecting materials from Los Angeles Garveyites that eventually led to the publication of Tolbert's book, *The UNIA and Black Los Angeles*. This effort soon received the welcome support of the president general of the UNIA, the honorable Thomas Harvey. He agreed to allow the UCLA research library to microfilm the scores of Negro World newspapers in his collection that had not been available to scholars. Suddenly the supply of available primary documents nearly doubled, and with it the opportunities for scholars in the field.

Another important advance in the study if the UNIA also occurred in the late 1960's. The Community Thing, which was a cultural program organized by famed jazz musicians Dave Burrell and Grachan Moncur, took over an office that had once housed the headquarters of the UNIA parent body. They discovered, quite by accident, hundreds of UNIA records that had remained in office files and desks for over thirty years. After a dramatic adventure that featured the theft at gunpoint of some of the documents, the bulk of this important find was either given to Kenneth Clark, the social psychologist, for safe-keeping, or purchased by the New York Public Library for the Schomburg Collection, where it remains today.

In 1976 Robert Hill arrived at UCLA with a proposal to launch a project devoted to collecting UNIA documents, and to publish a series of volumes under the title *The Marcus Garvey and UNIA Papers*. A grant from the National Endowment for the Humanities in 1979 gave the project its initial boost. Slightly over a decade later, and with the combined efforts of Robert Hill, Emory Tolbert, Deborah Forscek, Gregory Pirio, and Barbara Bair, seven volumes had been published.

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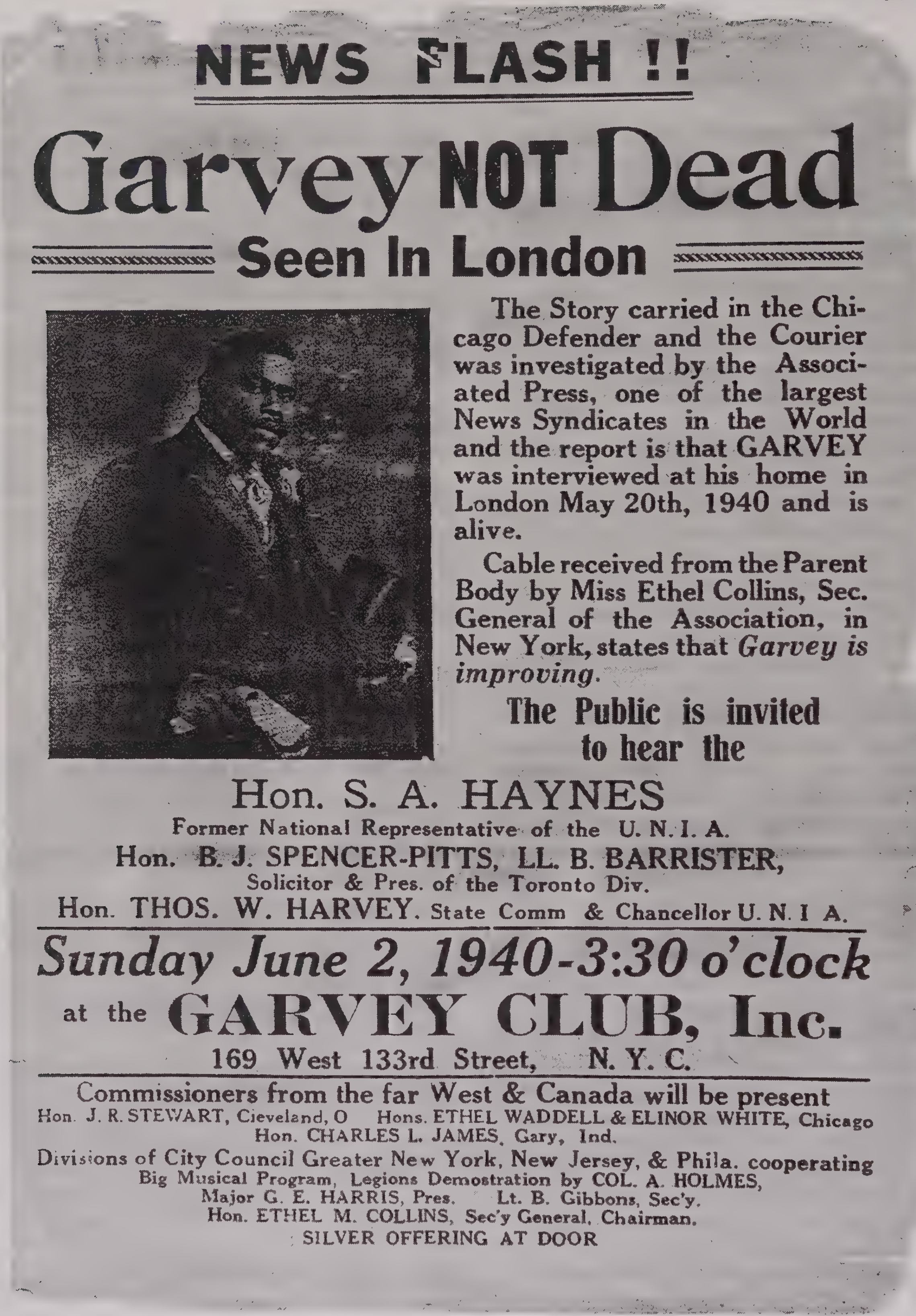

NEWS FLASH !!

Garvey **NOT** Dead

Seen In London

The Story carried in the Chicago Defender and the Courier was investigated by the Associated Press, one of the largest News Syndicates in the World and the report is that GARVEY was interviewed at his home in London May 20th, 1940 and is alive.

Cable received from the Parent Body by Miss Ethel Collins, Sec. General of the Association, in New York, states that *Garvey is improving.*

The Public is invited to hear the

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Former National Representative of the U. N. I. A.
Hon. B. J. SPENCER-PITTS, LL. B. BARRISTER,
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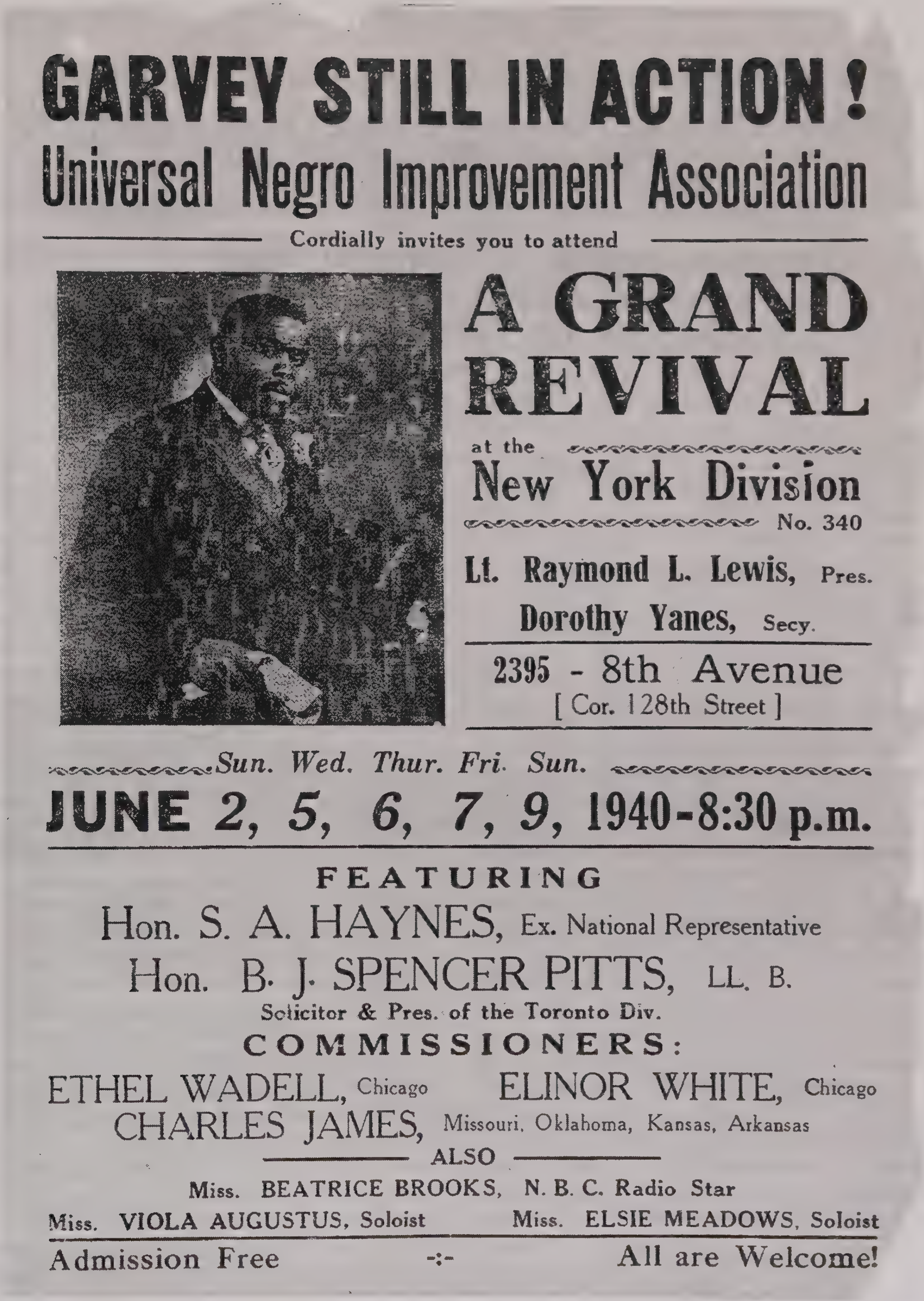
A handbill circulated in Harlem during the week before Garvey's death in London.
Emory Tolbert Collection



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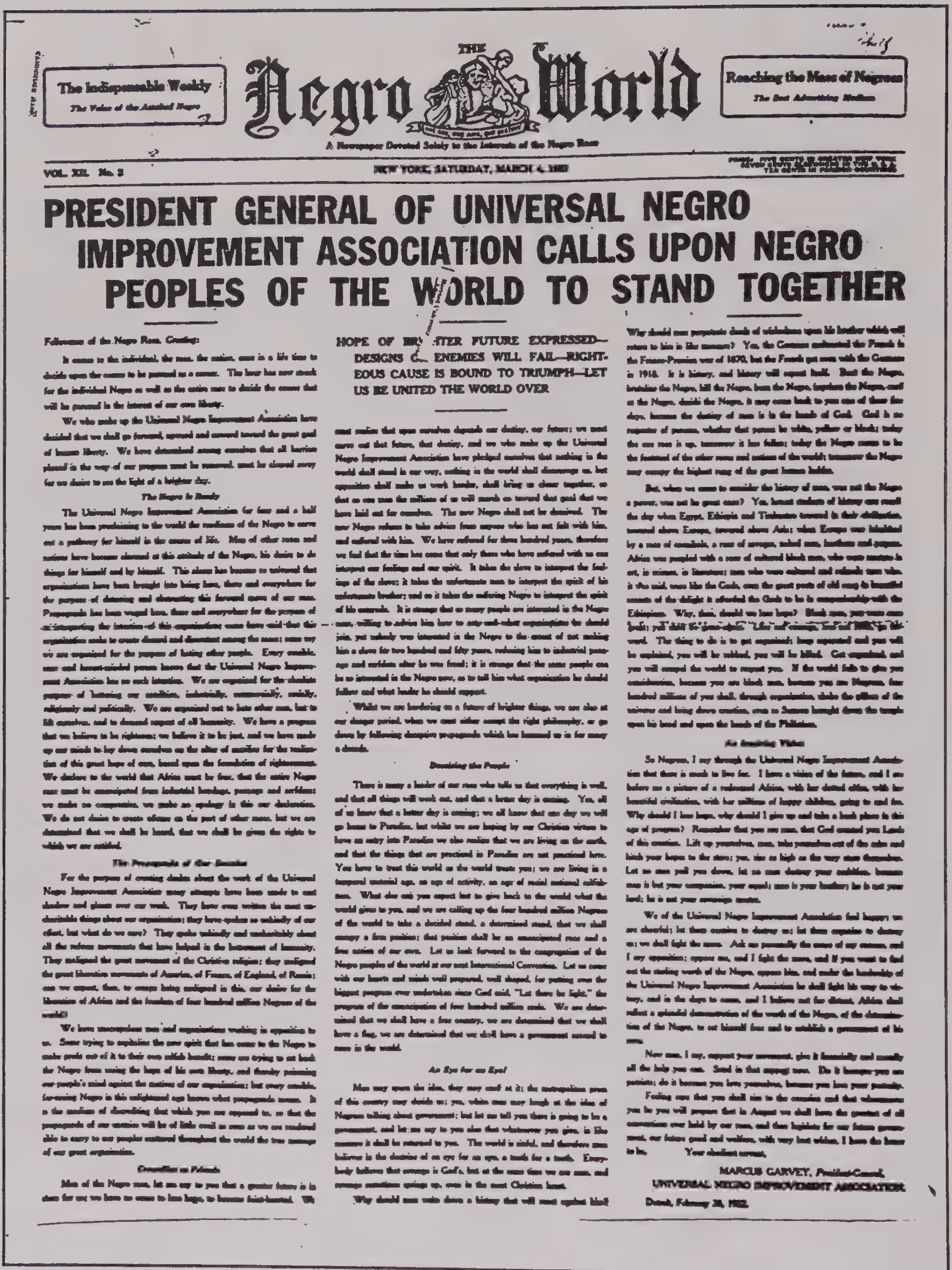

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HOPE OF BRIGHTER FUTURE EXPRESSED—DESIGNS OF ENEMIES WILL FAIL—RIGHTEOUS CAUSE IS BOUND TO TRIUMPH—LET US BE UNITED THE WORLD OVER

Fellowmen of the Negro Race, Greeting:

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Your obedient servant,

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UNIVERSAL NEGRO IMPROVEMENT ASSOCIATION.

Detroit, February 28, 1922.

FEDERAL SURVEILLANCE OF MARCUS GARVEY AND THE UNIA

by

Emory J. Tolbert

In March 1916 a twenty nine year old Jamaican named Marcus Garvey came to the United States planning to raise funds for an industrial school to be built for disadvantaged Blacks in his homeland. After several months he decided to remain indefinitely in New York City's Harlem community. By 1918, Garvey had established himself as an effective public speaker and the organizer of the Universal Negro Improvement Association (UNIA), a group he had founded before leaving Jamaica. The UNIA's growth was stimulated by the success of the *Negro World*, a newspaper Garvey founded in 1918 to encourage Black self sufficiency and support the freedom of Africa from colonial rule. By 1919 Garvey had taken a radical turn. He joined with a number of other Black leaders in condemning the treatment of Blacks in the United States and questioning the appropriateness of Black participation in World War I on the side of the United States and its allies. That same year Garvey founded the Black Star Line, a shipping company intended to introduce Blacks to the world of international trade. He' used the UNIA, which had at least two hundred divisions in 1919, and the *Negro World* to advertise the sale of stock to his supporters in the Black Star Line. In January 1920 Garvey founded the Negro Factories Corporation, which included a number of small businesses, and soon stock was available for sale to the public.

Garvey's success as a popular leader soon brought him to the attention of federal authorities who first became interested in his street corner speeches in Harlem. Eventually one federal official in particular, J. Edgar Hoover, a young assistant to the United States Attorney General, took a special interest in Garvey and made an early determination that Garvey was a man whose activities should be stopped.

The confrontation between J. Edgar Hoover and Marcus Garvey was an early chapter in the history of struggle between Black radicals and the American intelligence community in the twentieth century. With the release of thousands of documents outlining the step by step progress of this confrontation, historians have once again entered the debate over the reasons for the Garvey movement's decline. Edmond Cronon's important book, *Black Moses*[1], pointed to inexperience as the culprit in the movement's failure. This view emphasized the lack of business knowledge among Garvey and his lieutenants and the subsequent final failure of their most important project, the Black Star Steamship Line. This view exempted Garvey from guilt for deliberate fraud despite the verdict of the jury that convicted him in 1923, arguing that his inexperience led him to an inadvertent violation of the law. The fact that he acquired no personal wealth and apparently made no attempt to retain any of the money sent in by Black Star Line stockholders for his personal use supports the conclusion Garvey never intended to deceive the Black public to enrich himself.

When Cronon's book was first published in 1955, his best sources—the transcript of the Garvey mail fraud trial and the relatively few available issues of Garvey's newspaper, *The Negro World*—seemed to support many of these conclusions. Unfortunately, the details of the federal government's investigation and the role it played in insuring Garvey's fall from power were not yet available. In fact, a number of important and perceptive works on Garvey, including *Garvey and Garveyism*,[2] which was written by his widow, Amy Jacques Garvey, and Theodore Vincent's *Black Power and the Garvey Movement*,[3] were completed without a single mention of J. Edgar Hoover or the U.S. Justice Department's Bureau of Investigation. Clearly, an important factor in the explanation of an important event in Afro-American history, the decline of Garveyism and the UNIA, had escaped the attention of a number of writers.

Tony Martin was the first author to make extensive use of the recently released documents regarding the federal investigation into the Garvey movement. His book, *Race First*, published in 1976, revealed J. Edgar Hoover's familiarity with the Garvey phenomenon and his regret that as of October 1919 Garvey had not violated any federal law that could be used as grounds to deport him.[4] Seven years after the Martin book appeared, the first two volumes of the *Marcus Garvey Papers* were completed by editors Robert Hill, Emory Tolbert and Deborah Forszek.[5] A much more extensive account of Hoover's role as revealed in the Bureau of Investigation documents appears here. Hoover, it is now clear, led a two year long effort to find grounds for prosecuting and/or deporting the Black nationalist leader.

When Garvey was convicted of mail fraud in 1923 and imprisoned two years later, he became the first major figure to fall as a direct result of Hoover's anti-radical program; many others were to follow. Hoover's confrontation with Garvey found both men operating without precedents, and neither knowing the world in which the other lived. Garvey's movement was unprecedented in size, and his financial schemes surpassed anything even attempted before among Black Americans. Hoover was a young assistant to the attorney general who was still experimenting with methods of investigation and prosecution. His ambitious superior, Attorney General A. Mitchell Palmer, had made Hoover the point man for the anti-radical Palmer raids. However, the Garvey movement had not escaped the convenient "radical" label that Hoover routinely applied because its leaders used the confusing new rhetoric of Black nationalism, D language that was not always clearly anti-American and that flirted with the use of s armed force only occasionally. Hoover's interest in Garvey began before he joined the Bureau of Investigation staff. However, he became assistant director of the Bureau in 1921,and it was from that position that he directed the final moves against Garvey.

Garvey first came to the attention of federal authorities during the summer of 1918 when the Military Intelligence Division of the United States Army received a report from a member of the American Protective League warning that "there was a man by the name of Garvey (colored) who preaches every night against the white people, generally from 134th to 137th Street and Lenox Avenue."[6] On September 18, 1918, Garvey's name appeared in a Bureau of Investigation report which indicated that the New York Police Department had sent a "confidential employee" to attend Garvey's street meetings. A Harlem police captain had received the employee's report, along with a copy of the *Negro World* and he was passing them over to federal authorities to see if they "deemed the matter of sufficient importance to warrant further action."[7] In November, 1918, the U.S. postal authorities intercepted a parcel containing what the postal censors described as "an appeal to the racial instinct of the negroes (calculated to incite hatred for the white race) by urging them to do like 'The Irish, the Jews, the East Indians and all other oppressed peoples who are getting together to demand from their oppressors Liberty, Justice, Equality, and we now call upon the four hundred million Negro people of the world to do likewise... "[8] By January 1919, Garvey's public speeches were becoming more revolutionary. Ironically, the fiery rhetoric that now characterized Garvey's public appearances could no longer be considered seditious because of the signing of the armistice in November 1918. The chief undercover operative of U.S. Military Intelligence nevertheless warned that "it is imperative that Mr. Garvey's activities should be closely watched until the terms of peace are signed."[9]

At this point, the idea of seditious propaganda among Blacks received relatively little attention from those at the highest levels of the justice Department. However, the race riots of the "Red Summer" of 1919 quickly persuaded rank Burke, Director of the Bureau of Investigation, that his department should "take more active steps" which included hiring "a negro can as a special agent to cover activities within the District of Columbia." He also instructed special agents throughout the United States "to employ reliable negroes who are in touch with various negro lodges and associations to make full and confidential reports on any propaganda that may be circulated or promoted among the negro race."[10] Even before Burke's order, the stream of information about Garvey and the UNIA flowed into the Bureau of Investigation at a faster pace. Reports about the Negro World which labeled it "probable Bolshevik propaganda" were received and filed.[11] Soon after the Black Star Line was founded in April 1919, reports of its activities were sent to the Bureau of Investigation.[12]

Shortly after the director of the Bureau of Investigation sent out his order to step up investigations of sedition in Black communities, Garvey organized a gigantic meeting of his followers and supporters to be held on August 25, 1919 in Carnegie Hall. Garvey was approaching the height of his confidence, having recently survived attempts to split his organization into political factions. The Bureau of Investigation agent who attended the meeting indicated that about 2500 attended, "composed with but few exceptions of foreign Negroes, men and women and no children, from the West Indies, Central America and South America. "[13] In the months preceding this meeting, Garvey had established himself as the principal spokesman for the militant New Negro. Now at the top of his form, Garvey delivered a scathing attack against the oppressors of Blacks around the world. At one point Garvey made the statement that most likely persuaded Hoover and his cohorts that he must be silenced soon. He remarked "Those Crackers of the South who have been lynching our brothers and sisters, our mothers and our fathers and our children for over 15 years, they have been doing this thing, because they realize that in America there are ninety millions of white people, whilst there are only 15,000,000 of black. They realize by strength of numbers they will be able to take advantage of us; and they are getting away with their own cowardice, because we are not an organized people; but in the next few months we will be so organized so that when they lynch a negro below the Mason and Dixon Line, if we cannot lynch a white man there, and since it is not safe to lynch a white man in any part of America, we shall press the button and lynch him in the great continent of Africa." The Bureau of Investigation's stenographer attending the meeting added, after recording the statement, "Great applause and much excitement." [14]

On August 23, 1919, just two days before his Carnegie Hall speech, Garvey appeared at the top of a list of candidates for deportation prepared by the Special Assistant to the Attorney General.[15] The immigration authorities did not find sufficient grounds for acting against Garvey. However, the director of the Bureau of Investigation, Frank Burke, urged in a September 15 memo written after the Carnegie Hall speech, that "As Marcus Garvey is an alien, it [Bureau of Investigation] is particularly desirous of establishing sufficient evidence against him to warrant the institution of deportation proceedings. Any advocation by him of Opposition to law and order would be ground upon which to base a request for deportation...."[16] This was the tactic underlying the first of four efforts by the Bureau of Investigation to remove Garvey from the Afro-American political scene.

Investigation Into Deportation: The First Attempt

The investigative apparatus of the Bureau of investigation was far from flawless. Over the years, however, the Bureau developed a knowledge of Garvey's vulnerable points that enabled it to investigate several possible ways to discredit and/or remove him. The first and most obvious weakness was Garvey's status as an alien. By the fall of 1919 Garvey had spent over three years in the United States without filing papers indicating intent to become a citizen. As events unfolded, other possible points of attack appeared. Garvey had formed a corporation (rather than a religious organization in the tradition of some other Black mass leaders), and corporations were subject to local, state and federal laws regulating businesses, including tax and licensing laws. As the publisher of a widely distributed newspaper, the *Negro World*, Garvey's words could be scrutinized for evidence of sedition or libel. His constant travels with an entourage that included male and female Garveyites suggested the possible use of the Mann Act, a law whose enforcement had once been a specialty of the Bureau of Investigation. When Garvey's brief marriage to Amy Ashwood failed and he retained Amy Jacques as his private secretary, the Mann Act became an even more appealing weapon for federal investigators. Finally the UNIA's extensive correspondence with members and supporters also made mail fraud a feasible charge.

Garvey seemed to be a prime candidate for deportation in early 1920. In January of that year, a man who said he was Marcus Garvey was arrested in an Illinois raid that netted thirty-two members of the Industrial Workers of the World. Of course, Garvey had not been among those arrested and indicted. But when the Bureau of Investigation in

Washington inquired about the identity of the man arrested, its Chicago office confirmed that the man was indeed Garvey. When the mistaken news reached the Bureau's New York City office, it prompted the U.S. district attorney to open a special file on Garvey.[17] Now Garvey was to be watched even more closely for evidence of sedition. Garvey was later to accuse his Black critics of planting the seed that caused federal authorities to believe that he was unpatriotic (towards the U.S.) and an advocate of anarchy. There is presently no evidence that he ever realized the impact of this mistaken identification on the part of federal bureaucrats.

The Bureau of Investigation did not vigorously pursue its efforts to deport Garvey after the impostor was arrested in Illinois. Although the documents presently available do not indicate that the error was ever discovered, it may indeed have been. It is more likely, however, that growing public opinion against the excesses of the anti-immigrant Palmer raids caused the Bureau to postpone any action. Nevertheless, the Garvey movement had been thoroughly infiltrated by early 1920. Three agents carrying the code names WW, CC and 800 submitted regular reports on meetings at the Liberty Hall auditorium that served as a headquarters for Garvey's organization. The agent who used the designation "800" was James Wormley Jones, a former captain in the United States Army who eventually was placed in charge of all incoming mail at Garvey's headquarters. Later, he was made chief administrative officer of the African Legion, Garvey's paramilitary unit.

The early reports on Garvey by these infiltrators suggest that their mandate was simply to watch for evidence of seditious or illegal activity. Now that the World War was over and the Red Scare was abating, federal authorities seemed satisfied with information that would indicate the general direction of the Garvey movement. The stirring speeches against White racism and colonial oppression that filled Liberty Hall every Sunday night were not illegal, unless specific acts of armed retaliation were suggested. Even then, authorities to make any charge stick. Garvey's business activities were already under the disapproving scrutiny of local and state authorities around the nation. Federal authorities at this point preferred to pursue a simpler case based on sedition or violence. It was becoming clear, however, that such a case would not be made in the near future.

The Mann Act: A Second Attempt

The Mann Act strategy offered the appeal of a sex scandal that might not only provide grounds to prosecute Garvey, but also discredit him before his followers in a way that would make a political recovery unlikely. Garvey was now in the process of preparing for a massive international convention. Every issue of the *Negro World* invited readers in far flung areas to send delegates to New York City to attend a month long convention in August 1920. The United States State Department had already received enough correspondence from colonial governments in the West Indies and Latin America to be aware of the impact of Garveyism on the upheavals in Trinidad and British Honduras during 1919. American authorities also shared intelligence information on Garvey with the British.[18] Still, the Bureau of Investigation seemed less than anxious to respond to the international implications. It is possible that the Bureau saw Garvey as a problem imported from a British colony (Jamaica). They apparently preferred to deport the problem as soon as possible, rather than honor the British desire that Garvey be handled in the United States.

Prosecuting Garvey for violation of the Mann Act was first suggested by James Wormley Jones, Bureau informant "800" in June 1920.[19] The Mann "White Slave" Act outlawed the transporting of women across state lines for sexual purposes. This law was often used in cases where prostitution was not the intent, since the prosecution needed only to prove that the couple were not married and that they had crossed state lines.

In April 1920, Garvey's three month long marriage to Amy Ashwood ended in separation. Amy Jacques, his comely young secretary since before his marriage to Ashwood, continued to serve as Garvey's secretary and traveling companion. They continued to travel together until Garvey's incarceration in 1922.

Although Garvey also included Cleveland Jacques, Amy's brother, and other UNIA officials on his journeys to various cities in the United States, James Wormley Jones felt that a case could be made. The Mann Act proposal eventually reached J. Edgar Hoover's desk. Hoover offered his suggestion that "we should continue our investigation into this matter but that no definite action should be taken toward the prosecution of Garvey until all evidence is collected."[20] The Mann Act strategy reappeared as an option shortly before the government's decision to proceed against Garvey on charges of mail fraud. In these latter considerations, the Bureau of Investigation reviewed depositions by disenchanted former Garveyites claiming that they had seen Amy Jacques in Garvey's state room aboard the Black Star Line's *SS Kanawha* during their 1921 Caribbean trip.[21] The testimony was far from convincing, however, and the Mann Act strategy was quickly abandoned.

The Caribbean Trip: A Third Attempt

Conventional wisdom as published in most Black American newspapers and spoken by Garvey's rank and file members across the nation advised against Garvey's planned tour of the Caribbean in 1921. Even Garvey's closest advisors doubted that he would be allowed to reenter the United States. At this point J. Edgar Hoover, who had clearly been an interested recipient of reports on Garvey for some time, took it upon himself to write the final chapter of Garvey's career in the United States. In a February 11, 1921 memorandum, Hoover revealed:

> ..I have been under the impression for some time, although with a limited amount of proof, that Garvey's movement in this country, is subsidized to some extent by the British Government; further, that he, through his emissaries, has been responsible to a considerable extent for the negro disturbances.
>
> In view of the above, it is my desire, should Garvey leave this country, that he be denied entry in the future, and it is suggested that some such arrangement be made with the State Department on this matter.[22]

Garvey faced circumstances in January 1921 that made a fundraising tour of the Caribbean imperative, whatever the risk. The Black Star Line was in dire straits. None of the three vessels purchased by the company was making a profit. High repair bills and low income threatened the future of the company. In order to save it, Garvey felt he needed to raise both money and interest among the people of the Caribbean. Hoover informed Anthony Caminetti, commissioner of immigration, that Garvey planned to leave the country and urged that various ports of entry on the Atlantic and Gulf coasts watch for any attempt at reentry. He added that Garvey was a British subject "who should be closely questioned and examined before being allowed to again enter the United States."[23] Hoover then ordered that an extensive file on all of Garvey's activities be prepared and sent to immigration officials to justify denying Garvey readmission. He made it clear that a thorough job should be done "giving particular attention to utterances either by word, or mouth, or in writing, advocating the overthrow of the Government of the United States by force or violence, or urging the unlawful destruction of property."[24]

Garvey left for the West Indies on February 28, 1921. On March 25, the United States State Department instructed the American consul in Kingston, Jamaica (one of Garvey's destinations) that he was not to grant Garvey a visa to reenter the United States. The consul in Kingston quickly sent word to the other consuls in the Caribbean area and Central America that Garvey was not to receive a visa.[25]

Garvey's trip was a personal triumph and a business disaster. Without Garvey at the UNIA and Black Star Line headquarters in New York City, bickering between the officials he left in charge escalated into open conflict. Angry investors in the Black Star Line, convinced that Garvey could not return, began to demand that their money be returned. In the meanwhile, Garvey's trip, which was planned for a month, stretched into nearly five months as his many attempts to reenter the United States were rebuffed. Hoover was concerned that Garvey would return secretly, perhaps disguised as a seaman on one of the Black Star Line vessels. Indeed, Garvey considered that strategy, but port officials had already been alerted.

Just as Hoover sensed victory, on June 25, 1921, the State Department instructed the American consul at Kingston, Jamaica, to visa Garvey's passport and allow him to return to the United States.[26] Tony Martin, in his book *Race First*, explains this turn of events by pointing to the fact that a new consul had arrived recently in Kingston, and for some reason, Charles Evans Hughes, the secretary of state, had been replaced by an acting secretary of state. The new personnel, presumably unfamiliar with the department's Garvey strategy, granted the visa. Tony Martin finally concludes, however, that Garvey was readmitted to the United States so that he could be prosecuted, a conclusion supported by some of the correspondence.[27] Other scholars have suggested that a well placed bribe, arranged by Garvey's Harvard educated attorney, William Matthews, had resulted in the visa.[28]

Whatever the case, Hoover was genuinely angered by the turn of events. He clearly did not want to develop a second stratagem against Garvey, especially since Garvey's voluntary trip out of the country had, in his view, provided the one major opportunity to be rid of him. Indeed, if Garvey was readmitted for the purpose of prosecuting him, that decision was made by officials whose perception of Garvey's importance differed from Hoover's. A good case can be made for the fact that the United States State Department was deeply interested in Garvey's relationship to the financially strapped Liberian government. By the summer of 1921 Garvey had established a relationship with certain Liberian officials, including members of the cabinet, that promised to open up opportunities for settlement by Blacks from the western hemisphere.[29] This arrangement was not acceptable to the United States State Department. Moreover, it was considered much more ominous than Garvey's business dealings in the United States. Perhaps a clue to the State Department's intentions can be found in the fact that when Garvey arrived in New Orleans after his Caribbean trip, he was detained and questioned while officials pondered what to do next. He was finally admitted to the United States, presumably with the full knowledge of the president and the secretary of state, whom Garvey had telegraphed during his detention.[30] Whereas Hoover had sought to export the Garvey problem to the West Indies, the State Department might well have decided that Garvey's progress should be halted in the United States before his potential as an international leader could be realized. Whereas, on one hand, Garvey's popularity in British colonies in the West Indies and Africa was clearly of great importance to England, once Garvey's Liberian overtures were favorably received, the American State Department had a direct interest in his activities based on American diplomatic aims.

At the end of his Caribbean tour, Garvey realized as never before that a number of governments were intensely interested in his activities. His difficulty in reentering the United States seemed genuinely to surprise him, despite the warnings he had received before his departure. It becomes clear at this point that Garvey saw himself as a legitimate leader of a law abiding organization and the president of a legal corporation. Garvey's more rhapsodic utterances in the heat of his Liberty Hall speeches had been taken more seriously by authorities than he had realized. His calls for an army to dislodge European colonizers from Africa and his open advocacy of Black self defense in the face of lynchings had been seen in an unfavorable light by authorities. Yet Garvey was so convinced of the fairness of his objectives and the reasonableness of his methods that he had not anticipated any high level opposition of the kind that he now faced. He had spent much of his career in New York City engaged in battles against his Black critics. With the exception of New York Assistant District Attorney Edwin Kilroe, Garvey had had no open clashes with White officialdom. The fact that White officials strongly opposed him seemed surprising. And when he was not allowed to land in Bermuda on the first leg of his Caribbean trip, and then was denied a visa in Jamaica, Garvey faced a harsh new reality.

Unwilling to concede that there was genuine ill will among U.S. government officials, Garvey turned once again toward his Black critics, convinced that they had misled officials by bringing them false reports on his organization. He attacked W.E.B. Du Bois and Emmett Scott, prominent Blacks, accusing them of blocking his reentry into the United States. Not one of the available documents supports Garvey's charge. None of the Black leaders appears to have had substantial influence with federal authorities. In fact many were themselves under investigation. There were Blacks whose voices were influential in official circles. They were the Bureau of Investigation's own "confidential employees" within the Garvey movement. Beginning in August 1920, a new Bureau informant, using the code name P 138, began reporting to the Bureau's New York office. His actual name was Herbert Simeon Boulin. A native of Jamaica and president of the Berry and Ross Toy Company in Harlem, Boulin used his status as a fellow Jamaican and a businessman to great advantage in cultivating a friendship with Garvey. Of all the infiltrators Boulin was closest to Garvey, sometimes reporting visits to Garvey's apartment or breakfast meetings with him. Boulin never held an office in any of Garvey's organizations. Nevertheless, he was able to form friendships with other key members of the movement that gave him access to their private views on the progress of the movement.

Boulin's reports were replete with references to anti-White sentiment among Garveyites. They pointed to the danger of allowing Garvey to continue unchecked. He was also effective as a reporter of Harlem street talk regarding the Garvey movement. As doubts about the Black Star Line grew among Harlemites, Boulin recorded them faithfully, often with suggestions that Garvey's vulnerability was increasing. Rumors, however flimsy, made their way into his reports along with Boulin's own ideas as to how they might be used against Garvey.

Unaware of the activities of Boulin and other informers, Garvey focused on Blacks he had clashed with in the past. He ridiculed W.E.B. Du Bois, his most prominent Black critic, in his opening remarks at the August 1921 U.N.I.A convention in New York City. By this time Garvey had apparently decided on a sharp turn to the political right, hoping to outflank his liberal and left wing Black opponents, while impressing government officials with his patriotism. Boulin reported on Garvey's first speech in Harlem after his fateful Caribbean trip:

> ...From his speech, he has evidently been impressed by many cross examinations during his trip that his organization is looked upon asan unpatriotic movement which is basedupon a programme of forcible overthrow of the white race. This has resulted in his having issued, on July 18th, the first pro-American speech he has ever been known to utter. Before an immense audience he praised highly the Secretary of State, Mr. Hughes; stated that he loved America and honored the flag, and pledged the strength and support of his organization to fight for the U.S.A. He stated that America is the cradle of liberty for the negroes; that he was able to build up his organization successfully owing to the advantages offered here, whereas he had failed to succeed under British rule. He averred that there had been many mistaken ideas as to his and the organization's disloyalty heretofore. [31]

Two months later Garvey continued his political move rightward by filing his declaration of intention to become a United States citizen with the Department of Labor's naturalization service. Given his history of radical speechmaking, Garvey's tactic came too late to impress Hoover and his colleagues. Their decision to proceed against Garvey stood firm. Indeed, the Garvey organizations had suffered reverses that had weakened them considerably. The Black Star Line and the Negro Factories Corporation both were near bankruptcy. Garvey's plan to establish Afro-American colonies in Liberia was at a standstill. And Garvey's Black critics in competing organizations like the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and the Marxist oriented African Blood Brotherhood were beginning to accuse him of outright fraud. The hostile Black press, especially the highly influential *Chicago Defender*, missed few opportunities to report on Garvey's difficulties. Hoover's opportunities to prosecute Garvey were improving and no change in Garvey's rhetoric would dissuade him.

The fact that Garvey apparently never knew that he was the subject of an extended federal investigation did not prevent him from harboring deep suspicions that there were traitors within his ranks. When Garvey returned from his Caribbean trip in July 1921 he suspected dishonest dealings by the Black Star Line officials who had been instructed to purchase a ship for the trans-Atlantic trade to Africa that Garvey had promised the delegates to the convention scheduled for the following month. The ship was to be christened the "Phyllis Wheatley," and many delegates arrived for the convention in New York City with plans to board her and sail immediately to Liberia. During Garvey's nearly five month's absence no ship was purchased. Boulin, the Bureau of Investigation's infiltrator, reported on Garvey's first Black Star Line meeting after returning to New York:

> I visited a stockholder's meeting at the Black Star Line tonight (July 26) where over 2,000 were present. Garvey asked them to postpone the meeting for 90 days owing to the fact that there were a lot of stealing and robbery by his employees, especially those who were entrusted in getting the new

> ship. He intimated that O.M. Thompson, his vice president and general manager was double crossing him, also his ex-captain named Richardson. The stockholders were so enraged they threatened to mob them. The meeting broke up into a free all fight and the police had to be called in. [32]

If a time were ever ripe to begin the final attempt at removing Garvey, the summer of 1921 seemed to qualify. The Black Star Line was sinking fast. The *Yarmouth*, a cargo ship that had been Garvey's first purchase, was now permanently out of service. A yacht named the *Kanawha*, purchased for Caribbean passenger service, was tied up in Cuban waters and was soon to be rendered useless by harsh weather. And the *Shadyside*, an excursion boat for use on the Hudson River, was losing money. Garvey had taken away the issue of political radicalism with his new, conservative line. However, there remained a maze of financial difficulties which would surely yield grounds on which he could be prosecuted.

Mail Fraud Investigation

The Bureau of Investigation's most effective moves against Garvey were suggested by the events of the U.N.I.A.'s convention in August 1921. The convention itself provided plenty of evidence of Garvey's desperation. He had chosen to attack several of his key lieutenants in hopes of purging his organizations of what he believed was corruption. John D. Gordon and George Alexander McGuire, Garvey's chief assistant and chaplain respectively, resigned rather than endure public interrogation before thousands at the convention. Orlando Thompson and others who had made sincere efforts to secure the promised *Phyllis Wheatley* were under great pressure to explain their failure. Record keeping in Garvey's corporations had been less than precise, and opportunities for dishonesty abounded. Stock salesmen were sent from headquarters without sufficient funds to cover expenses. They usually took whatever amounts they considered appropriate from the money they collected from stock sales and reported these deductions only sporadically. By 1921 the Garvey organization had about four hundred chapters and divisions, with two-thirds of them in American cities. Stock in the Black Star Line was sold in virtually all of these locations, sometimes by local Garvey members but often by traveling salesmen. Garvey soon came to realize that the movement had far outgrown his ability to control it. Yet, he was seen as directly accountable for all of its facets.

Garvey's often misdirected accusations created greater fragmentation within his organizations. The most damaging division was the rift between American born and West Indies born members of the U.N.I.A. during the 1921 convention. Noah Thompson, an American born delegate from Los Angeles, California, led the protest against sloppy Black Star Line business practices at the 1921 convention. Many of Garvey's West Indian supporters, willing to absolve him of all blame for any irregularities, came to his defense. Nevertheless, Thompson was persuasive enough to lead a vocal faction demanding that Garvey publish a blue book of U.N.I.A. and Black Star Line finances. Their persistence also forced into public view the fact that the Black Star Line could claim a bank balance of only eight thousand dollars.[33]

Without question, Garvey's most serious problem at the 1921 convention was the absence of the promised ship. Although his rank and file were not aware, Garvey and his assistants knew that the Black Star Line's other vessels were not in operating condition, with the possible exception of the Shadyside, a small boat that could never be considered representative of a mighty enterprise.

Ironically, the *Phyllis Wheatley* came very near to being a reality on several occasions. Garvey and his associates had chosen to buy their latest ship from the United States Shipping Board, a government agency in charge of disposing of hundreds of captured German vessels from World War One and other surplus ships. Burdened with the storage and maintenance of ships that brought no financial return, this agency was losing millions of dollars monthly by 1921 and was more than anxious to sell ships. Garvey was convinced that he would encounter prejudice if he dealt with this agency directly. Consequently, the Black Star Line hired a White shipping agent with an unknown reputation on the advice of Joshua Cockburn, the Black seaman who was captain of the Black Star Line's flagship. The White agent, Rudolph Silverston, was to purchase a ship on behalf of the Black Star Steamship Company of New Jersey, a corporation formed in October 1920 by Garveyites in order to allow Garvey to continue buying ships without having to use the financially tainted original Black Star Line. Silverston required a deposit of $25,000 toward the purchase of the ship. He would then buy a ship for $200,000 and resell it to the Black Star Steamship Company on credit for $325,000. Garvey was apparently so thoroughly convinced that he would not be able to deal directly with the United States Shipping Board and receive fair treatment that he was willing to endorse this arrangement. This financial agreement was short lived, however, although Silverston continued to represent the Garveyites.

Between March 11 and June 18, 1921 Garvey's associates sent six payments totalling $25,000 to Silverston.[34] In the meanwhile, Silverston found a ship, the *Hong Kheng*. Unfortunately, it was in dry dock in Greece and would not be delivered in time for the August 1921 convention. Immediately, Silverston began negotiations for purchase of the *Orion*, a former German ship. After months of negotiations (April to August 1921), the United States Shipping Board agreed to accept the Black Star Steamship Company's offer to purchase the ship "as is, where is" for $225,000. The letter indicating that the terms had been approved was sent on August 3, 1921, after the U.N.I.A. convention had already begun and too late to do Garvey and his associates any good.[36] Garvey did not bother to bring news of the end of negotiations to the delegates at the convention, fearing that this would be seen as another empty promise. In fact, the deal for the *Orion* was never completed because Garvey was unable to furnish the required performance bond. During the long months of negotiations, Garvey's associates in the Black Star Line decided to try dealing directly with the United States Shipping Board. Although they did not succeed in completing any agreement, they learned that the Shipping Board would have been happy to deal with them directly and that the board was indeed anxious to get rid of a glut of unused ships. During negotiations for the *Orion* several shops were almost purchased by the Garveyites, but when the fateful convention opened they were without any tangible evidence of their efforts.

The federal government's decision to pursue a mail fraud conviction against Garvey was made after careful consideration. One of the first officials to suggest this strategy was the governor of the Panama Canal Zone. Alarmed by a recent labor crisis that had involved military force against Black workers, the governor saw Garveyism as a clear threat and sought whatever means he could to suppress it. In October 1919, while the Bureau of Investigation was searching for a way to deport Garvey as an undesirable alien, the governor wrote about the sale of Black Star Line stock in his region:

> I do not know what amount of stock is being sold on the Isthmus but I am quite sure in my own mind that no subscriber will ever see his money again, and it is unfortunate that means cannot be found to put a stop to such palpable fraud.[36]

Upon reading this note, R. P. Stewart, an assistant to the attorney general, attached his own suggestion and sent it to the secretary of labor:

> In the event your Department determines that there is no action it can take looking to the deportation of Garvey, it is suggested that you refer all the papers to the Postmaster General in order that an investigation may be conducted for the purpose of determining whether Garvey has been guilty of using the mails in furtherance of a scheme to defraud.[37]

The decision not to act immediately on this suggestion was probably the result of the Bureau of Investigation's determination to move against Garvey on the ground that he advocated the violent overthrow of the government. As Garvey's following grew larger and his personal popularity increased, charges that his militant speeches were a direct threat to the government seemed increasingly feasible. At that early point in the development of the Justice Department's campaign against Garvey (1919), it was still difficult to draw clear conclusions about his business efforts. A mail fraud case could (and indeed did) take years to establish and, therefore, was not taken seriously until it was clear that quicker methods would not work.

In September 1921, two months after Garvey had been readmitted to the United States, the mail fraud strategy resurfaced. Now the status of Garvey's organization was considerably weakened owing to his long absence and the highly divisive convention in August 1921. Although Garvey's U.N.I.A. continued to add local divisions and chapters around the world (there were about a thousand in 1922) reports from the Bureau's men inside Garvey's movement indicated growing concern over the solvency of the Black Star Line and at least a degree of violent opposition among investors. Garvey's open attempt to place the blame on officials other than himself, whether justified or not, was not receiving easy acceptance. Moreover, Garvey's new image as a pro-American patriot was inconsistent in the view of many of his American born followers. Whereas many of the West Indian born Garveyites seemed willing to adopt a more conservative line toward official pressure, those Garveyites who were born in the United States preferred strong criticism against lynching and racism.[38] Indeed Garvey was to advocate a conservative view of racial polarity in future months, declaring that the United States was a nation built by and for Whites and that Blacks should seek to do the same in Africa. When Garvey met with the acting imperial wizard of the Ku Klux Klan in June 1922, a floodgate of criticism from prominent Black American leaders opened. Despite a promise to explain his actions to the satisfaction of his followers, Garvey was never able to overcome the effect of this ill advised act.

All of these circumstances broadened the areas of possible attack against Garvey. Still focusing on his Black critics, Garvey began to appeal to the White public. He was, after all, a separatist who encouraged his followers not to seek social contact with Whites. Convinced that most Whites would support him if only they understood his views on "racial purity," Garvey charged W. E. B. Du Bois, Robert Bagnall and William Pickens, his main critics from the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (N.A.A.C.P.), with advocating interracial marriage. He carried that tactic into his dispute with the rival Pan African movement, which was organized by Du Bois in Paris in 1919. By 1921, when Du Bois and his colleagues were meeting in Brussels, Paris and London, Garvey saw the Pan Africanists as a genuine threat. He accused them of meeting in Europe because of the availability of European ladies and to satisfy their desire to socialize with Whites.[39]

Finally, in 1922, the United States Attorney General achieved an indictment against Garvey and had the records of the Black Star Line seized in a search for evidence of mail fraud. Four government accountants worked for several months in a partially successful effort to reorganize the company's chaotic financial records. Their conclusion was that the company was never far from bankruptcy after the purchase of the first ship. Minutes of the meetings of the board of directors showed that they were aware of the dire condition of the company and that Garvey himself insisted that the selling of stock continue.

The highly publicized trial of Garvey and three of his associates found the government thoroughly prepared to present its case before a White Manhattan jury. Garvey's lawyers and Garvey himself argued that he was a man of high principles whose only goal was the liberation of his people. He had amassed no personal wealth and had invested some of his own funds into the failed company. Garvey's attempt to serve as his own lawyer during the large portion of the trial proved in some instances to be harmful to his case. Former associates, many of whom he had accused of dishonesty during his earlier attempts to purge his organization, were enthusiastic and eloquent witnesses against him. However, it was Garvey's determined effort to save the Black Star Line by increasing the volume of stock sales that led to his conviction. When the trial judge, Julian Mack, instructed the jury that Garvey's character or intentions were not the issue, but that a verdict must be based on whether Garvey was aware of the status of the Black Star Line during the period when stock sales promotions were sent through the mails, Garvey's chances for acquittal disappeared. He was found guilty and sentenced to a $10,000 fine and five years in prison. His three associates, two of whom had bolstered the government's case against Garvey by filing depositions before the trial, were found not guilty.

Garvey's career did not end in prison. His Black critics, who genuinely opposed some of his philosophy and most of his methods, were not especially pleased to see him assume the role of a martyr in federal prison. A massive petition campaign by his supporters persuaded President Calvin Coolidge to release Garvey after two years, with the stipulation that he would be deported to Jamaica and never allowed to return to the United States. Garvey's brand of Black nationalism nevertheless persisted throughout the United States and the West Indies and in many parts of Africa. As Africans fought for and achieved independence during the decades following the Second World

War, Garvey, the anti-colonialist who had died in 1940, became a hero. Ghana's leader, Kwame Nkrumah, considered Garvey to be a role model. And with the advent of the Black Power movement in the United States, Garvey reemerged as a hero of Black American youth. His native country, Jamaica, declared him the nation's first national hero, placing his visage on its currency. His body was returned from England, where he died, to rest in a place of honor on his home soil. A Jamaican musical style, reggae, originated with a religious sect who considered Garvey to be a prophet and sang of his wisdom and exploits.

J. Edgar Hoover's campaign, which showed an interest in Black sedition but no interest in the legitimate rights of Blacks, ultimately misfired. By creating and preserving thousands of documents on Garvey and his followers, the Bureau of Investigation ensured Garvey's place in the histories of a number of nations. The fact that he will be remembered as a figure of international importance would have brought Garvey great pleasure.

NOTES

1. Edmond David Cronon, Black Moses: *The Story of Marcus Garvey and the Universal Negro Improvement Association* (University of Wisconsin Press, 1955).

2. Amy Jacques Garvey, *Garvey and Garveyism* (The MacMillan Company, 1971).

3. Theodore G. Vincent, *Black Power and the Garvey Movement* (Ramparts Press, 1971).

4. Tony Martin, Race First: The Ideological and Organizational Struggles of Marcus Garveyand the Universal Negro Improvement Association (Greenwood Press, 1976), p. 174.

5. Robert Hill, et al., editors, *The Marcus Garvey Papers* (University of California press, 1983).

6. National Archives, RG 165, 10218124 (records of the War Department, General and Special Staffs, Office of the Chief of Staff.

7. National Archives, RG 65, file OG 258421, Report by S. B. Pfeifer.

8. National Archives, RG 165, 102182. In November 1918 two special agents of the Bureau of Investigation (R. W. Finch and D. Davidson) filed several reports of Garvey's public meetings in Harlem and the contents of his newspaper, *The Negro World*.

9. National Archives, RG 165, 10218261 (23) 2/273.

10. National Archives, RG 165, 102183, Memorandum by Capt. Henry G. Sebastian for Colonel A. B. Coxe, August 9, 1919.

11. By December 1918, Finch and Davidson's reports of Garvey's speeches had come to the attention of American military intelligence. In December 1918, Colonel V. G. W. Kell of British military intelligence requested a report on Garvey and the UNIA. The letter complained "Garvey corresponds with negro soldiers in the British army, who are apparently engaged in extending the membership of this Society." (5. Newly for V. G. W. Kell to Lt. Col. H. A. Pakenham, November 5, 1918; National Archives, RG 165, File 1021826/10).

12. Garvey announced plans for a Black steamship line in April 1919.

13. New York State Legislature, Joint Legislature Committee to Investigate Seditious Activities (tusk Committee) Papers, Part One, Box 4, Investigations File 1.

14. Ibid.

15. National Archives, RG 65, OG 341761, Special Assistant to the Attorney General List of Names of Persons re Deportation August 23, 1919.

16. National Archives, RG 65, OG 329359, Frank Burke to George F. Lamb, September 15, 1919.

17. Frank Burke to George F. Lamb, March 1, 1919, National Archives, RG 65, OG 329359.

18. See Garvey Papers, Volume II.

19. National Archives, RG 65, OG 329359, Memorandum to Mr. Hoover, June 3, 1920.

20. National Archives, RG 65, OG 329359,7. J. Edgar Hoover, Memorandum for Mr. Ruch, June 8,1920.

21. During Garvey's 1921 tour of the Caribbean, he engaged in a heated dispute with the captain and crew of the *Kanawha*, a yacht purchased by the Black Star Line as a passenger vessel. He was eventually successful in having the captain and crew dismissed, although they won their suit for back wages. The ship's captain subsequently testified that Garvey and Amy Jacques had violated the Mann Act.

22. National Archives, RG 65, BS 198940, J. Edgar Hoover to Mr. Bailey, Feb. 11, 1921.

23. National Archives, RG 65, BS 198940, J. Edgar Hoover to Anthony Caminetti, February 24,1921.

24. National Archives, RG 65, BS 19894080, J. Edgar Hoover to Mr. Ruch, March 18, 1921.

25. National Archives, RG 59 (General Records of the Department of State), 811. 108G19/1,Charles L. Latham, American Consul, Kingston, Jamaica, BWI to the Secretary of State, March1, 1921.

26. National Archives, RG 59,811.108G19Vl9 and 81 V108G19V19a.

27. Tony Martin, *Race First*, p. 186.

28. Robert Hill, *Introduction to The Marcus Garvery and Universal Negro Improvement Association Papers, Volume 1*, p. 79.

29. Garvey's representatives in Liberia were under close scrutiny in 1921. Robert Woods Bliss, the chief of western European affairs at the United States State Department sent the following message to Joseph L. Johnson, the United States minister resident and consul general in Liberia on May 25, 1921: "You are instructed to watch closely and report fully all activities of the United Liberia. The Department desires to know the names of persons in Liberia connected with this apparently subversive movement and wishes to he informed especially with regard to Gabriel Johnson, Mayor of Monrovia, who is reported to have taken an active part in furthering the aims of this movement." National Archives, RG 84, file113.

30. National Archives, RG 59, 811.108 G 191/32.

31. National Archives, RG 65, 202600110.

32. National Archives, RG 65, File BS 198940 221, Report by Special Agent P 138, July 30, 1921.

33. See: Emory J. Tolbert, *The UNIA and Black Los Angeles* (UCLA Center for Afro-American Studies, 1980).

34. Hill, et al., editors, *The Marcus Garvey Papers, Volume III*, p. 365.

35. J. Harry Philbin, United States Shipping Board, to A. Randolph Silverston, August 3, 1921, National Archives, RG 32, USSB, File 605-653.

36. Governor Chester Harding, Canal Zone, to Chief of Office, Panama Canal, Washington D.C., September 27, 1919, Records of the Panama Canal Office, RG 185, 91212.

37. National Archives, RG 60, 1989404

38. The sharp division between American born and West Indian born delegates that developed in the 1921 UNIA convention is discussed in Edmond David Cronon's work, *Black Moses*. Although the UNIA's official newspaper, *The Negro World*, made no reference to the dispute, later events, especially Garvey's violent break with James Eason, his chief American born assistant, during the 1922 convention, reveal the nature of the division. Garvey's willingness to credit White Americans with building a powerful nation, along with his statements in favor of segregation, alienated some of his followers. Nevertheless, a number of prominent American born Blacks joined his movement despite his new conservative turn.

39. Garvey's remarks were in response to statements made by W. E. B. Du Bois, the principal organizer of the Pan-African conferences, and several of his prominent associates. Anxious to draw distinctions between their movement and Garvey's, the Pan-Africanists criticized Garvey before the European press, insisting that the separatist and revolutionary policies of the Garveyites were not shared by the Pan-African movement.

PART ELEVEN

AFRICAN AMERICANS AND AFRICA DURING TWO CRISES

In light of this long-standing tradition of critically assessing conditions in Liberia it is not surprising to find that Afro-Americans were among the vanguard of those who contributed to placing an international spotlight on that country in the early 1930s. Moreover, from 1871 to 1945 all of the American ministers to Liberia and most of the lesser diplomatic officials were black Americans.

Arnold H. Taylor

Several months before Italy invaded Ethiopia, African Americans through much of the country began writing to the Ethiopian Research Council about the possibility of enlisting in the emperor's armed forces. They wanted to know whether Ethiopia was "willing to use us [African Americans] in defense against Italy."

Joseph E. Harris

THE INVOLVEMENT OF BLACK AMERICANS IN THE LIBERIAN FORCED LABOR CONTROVERSY,

1929-1935

by

Arnold H. Taylor

On September 8, 1930 an International Commission of Inquiry, created earlier that year by the League of Nations at the request of Liberia, the United States, and Great Britain to investigate allegations that slavery and forced labor existed in the Republic Liberia, confirmed many of the charges in a report to the Liberian government. While slavery in the classic sense - the buying and selling of persons - did not exist, the Commission reported, such conditions analogous to slavery as domestic servitude among the tribal people, pawning, and forced labor for private purposes as well as financial corruption and other forms of exploitation of the indigenous people were widespread. Vice-President Allen Yancy and other high officials of the Liberian government were deeply involved in many of these activities.

The Commission's report evoked a storm of criticism of the Liberian government from Liberians and from the international community. President Charles D. B. King responded to the Commission's report and the resultant criticism by issuing an executive order abolishing pawning and the shipment of Liberian laborers abroad. Nevertheless, on pain of impeachment by the Liberian legislature, he and Vice President Yancy were forced to resign. Edwin Barclay, the secretary of state, succeeded King as president and in December 1930 announced the launching of a program to carry out many of the reforms recommended by the International Commission of Inquiry.

Doubting Barclay's sincerity, the United States refused to recognize his government, even to the point of failing to acknowledge Barclay's request for the assistance of experts in the fields of health and public administration. Instead, the American State Department joined with the governments of Great Britain and Germany in demanding that Liberia request aid from the League of Nations in the form of international supervision of Liberian affairs. The Barclay government was prepared to accept League assistance, and thus participated in extended discussions over the next four years with committees of that body concerned with Liberian affairs. It steadfastly refused, however, against tremendous pressure from the United States and the major Europeans powers, to accept any formula of assistance offered by the League that jeopardized its authority and Liberia's sovereignty. For this reason and the resultant complications arising from the inability of the parties concerned to develop a program of supervision that would satisfy not only Liberia but also the League and the Firestone Rubber and Tire Company, the United States withheld recognition from Barclay until June 1935.[2]

Since Afro-Americans have had a long-standing and special interest in Liberia questions about their role in and attitudes towards these developments arise almost automatically. What part did they play in bringing the charges of slavery and forced labor against the Liberian government? How did they react to these charges? In what ways and to what extent did they attempt to influence the policy of the United States during the years of crisis for Liberia, and how successful were they? Finally, what inferences can we draw from these developments about the circumstances under which Afro-Americans are likely to have a significant influence upon American foreign policy? The remainder of this paper attempts to provide answers to these questions.

Whether viewed practically as a place to which to emigrate or symbolically as a test case of the capacity of people of African descent to govern themselves, Liberia has elicited the interest and scrutiny of black Americans throughout its existence. Some have been its staunch defenders; others have been its most severe critics. As early as 1855 William Nesbitt, a black Pennsylvanian opposed to the emigration of Afro-Americans to Liberia, excoriated Liberia after a four-month sojourn in that country as a place where slavery and forced labor were rampant. Americo-Liberians, he charged, were practicing a brand of slavery infinitely more severe than that found in the United States except "on the least favored plantations." "I would a thousand times rather be a slave in the United States than in Liberia," he declared. But the Reverend Samuel Williams, a fellow Pennsylvanian who went to Liberia at the same time as Nesbitt but who, unlike Nesbitt, remained there, disagreed. While acknowledging that some Americo-Liberians abused the system under which indigenous youth were apprenticed to Americo-Liberian families, Williams, charging that "Nesbitt lied," denied that slavery existed in Libera.[3]

In light of this long-standing tradition of critically assessing conditions in Liberia it is not surprising to find that Afro-Americans were among the vanguard of those who contributed to placing an international spotlight on that country in the early 1930s. Moreover, from 1871 to 1945 all of the American ministers to Liberia and most of the lesser diplomatic officials were black Americans. In their dispatches to the State Department several reported evidence of the existence of forced labor and other forms of exploitation of the indigenous people. As early as 1915, for example, Minister George W. Buckner complained about the prevalence of domestic slavery among the native peoples, Americo-Liberian exploitation of the institution, the Liberian government's surreptitious involvement in the slave trade, and the general failure of the Liberian government to take steps to improve the conditions of the indigenous people. He concluded that "There is no power in Liberia to reform the government. If the country is to be saved, the power must come from *without*." Buckner therefore recommended that the United States assume control over Liberian affairs for a period of seven years. If Liberia objected to such control the United States should sever diplomatic relations with her.[4]

Throughout the 1920s the State Department received similar reports from its diplomats in Liberia. In 1920 Charge d'Affaires Richard C. Bundy transmitted several reports to the Department complaining of pawning and the frequent involvement of Liberian officials in the purchase and sale of human beings in the interior.[5] In 1928 and early 1929 the American minister, William T. Francis, also sent several dispatches to the Department repeating the same charges. Francis particularly emphasized the reported involvement of high officials of the Liberian government in the forced recruitment of laborers for shipment to the Spanish island of Fernando Po.[6] He predicted that once the facts inevitably became known to the international public, Liberia would come to grief. In his despair over Liberian conditions Francis, like Buckner some fourteen years earlier, was moved to assert that "I do not think that this Republic will ever be a success until the United States, or some other Government equally as friendly, picks it up and shakes it into a realization of its stupidity." Contending that Liberian officials would resent any suggestions from him or other individuals, Francis concluded that they would listen only to "'suggestions' from a powerful source whose very power compels respect."[7] After Francis's death on July 15, Clifton Wharton continued to report on Liberian conditions in the same vein.[8]

Before the Firestone Company invested in Liberia, the State Department manifested little concern about the disclosures coming from its representatives in that country. Surprisingly, no less a person that W. E. B. Du Bois lent moral support, although inadvertently, to the official American indifference. On returning from Liberia in 1924, where he had represented the United States as Minister Extraordinary and Plentipotentiary at the inauguration of President Charles D. B. King, Du Bois defended the Liberian government against the charge that it was exploiting the indigenous people by contending, according to a State Department official, that "it was absolutely necessary for the [Liberian] Government to take a high hand with them, in order to assure them that it really was a government; otherwise the tribal chiefs would take matters into their own hands."[9]

By 1928, however, having become sensitive to charges that the United States was promoting dollar diplomacy at the expense of weak foreign countries, and consequently fearing that many Americans would accept the views of several scholars and publicists that the operations begun by the Firestone

Company in Liberia in 1926 would eventually lead to intensification of the practice of the forcible recruitment of laborers, State Department officials began to pay increasing attention to the reports of Francis and his successor. They became alarmed as black American missionaries, such as Bishop Matthew W. Clair of the Methodist Episcopal Church, and their white colleagues confirmed the revelations of the diplomats.[10] Therefore, to forestall accusations that the American government was covering up the situation in order to protect the Firestone Company, the State Department sent its first remonstrance to Liberia on the subject in early June, 1929. Although Liberia denied that slavery and forced labor existed within its borders, the two governments agreed in subsequent notes that there should be an investigation of conditions by an impartial commission composed of a Liberian, an American, and an appointee of the League of Nations.[11]

When on July 20, 1929 the Baltimore *Afro-American* published allegations by Thomas R. Faulkner, North Carolina-born defeated candidate in 1926 for President of Liberia, that members of the King administration were involved in forced labor practices, the State Department felt compelled to step up its pressure on Liberia. ". . . [I]t does not appear advisable to permit the matter to wait longer," Secretary of State Stimson informed Wharton, "for it is likely that this article will be followed by other public discussion in this country."[12] Stimson's modest prophecy was soon fulfilled. The *Afro-American* became virtually Faulkner's mouthpiece on conditions in Liberia, and other black newspapers picked up his charges. Before the controversy was over, the *Afro-American* sent Williams Jones, its managing editor, to Liberia; the New York Age sent columnist Lester Walton; and George S. Schuyler, although sent to Liberia by white publishers, reported his findings in the *Pittsburgh Courier*, which he served as editorial writer and columnist, we well as in other newspapers.[13]

Although black American diplomats, missionaries, and newspapers were in the forefront of those revealing the unpalatable state of affairs in Liberia, Charles S. Johnson, Professor of Sociology at Fisk University and the American member of the International Commission of Inquiry, was the Afro-American who performed the most difficult role in the drama of unfolding revelations. Appointed to the Commission because of the State Department's belief that "if the investigation proves that forced labor or something like it exists with the connivance of the [Liberian] Government, it would make a much better impression among the negroes [sic] of this country if the report were signed by a member of their own race,"[14] Johnson amply met the Department's desire for "a good colored man" to fill the post. Those officials who met him were impressed by his air of competence and quiet academic demeanor. In praise of Johnson, one American diplomat was later moved to declare that "Johnson's conduct is not what one usually expects of the negro [sic] character."[15]

Yet Johnson was not the State Department's first choice for membership on the Commission. That honor went to Emmett Scott, a loyal Republican and the ideal representative of the State Department's image of "a good colored man" Scott declined the proffered appointment and recommended instead Charles H. Wesley, then a professor of history at Howard University, and Johnson. Indicative of the Department's eagerness to secure the services of a black American whose voice would carry weight in the black community was the fact that even W. E. B. Du Bois was briefly considered for the post. ". . . [I]n spite of the radicalism and bitterness which marked him in previous years," remarked one State Department official of Du Bois, "I think he has calmed down very considerably and there can be little question as to his ability and distinction. He might prove somewhat difficult to handle, but I think that in the present circumstances it would be well to consider him."[16]

Johnson's colleagues on the International Commission were Dr. Cuthbert Christy, the chairman, and Arthur Barclay, a former president of Liberia and uncle of Edwin Barclay, then secretary of state and later president. Christy, an Englishman, had lived and traveled in Africa and other tropical areas. He and Johnson did not get along well. Highly suspicious of the Liberians, Christy claimed on several occasions of illness that his Liberian servant had poisoned him. Johnson found him to be opinionated, stubborn, anxious for recognition, and thoroughly convinced that black people in African and in America were a century behind whites in their cultural development. He came to Liberia already persuaded that the best form of governance for Africans was colonial rule. Consequently, he maintained that Liberians were incapable of self-government and should be ruled by white men. Moreover, Christy took exception to Johnson's view that Afro-Americans should be encouraged to emigrate to Liberia. Christy maintained that soon after their arrival in Liberia such emigrants would go native and thus would be of no use to Liberia. At the same time, while holding Liberians of all classes in low repute, Christy was predisposed to define every form of mistreatment of the indigenous people and efforts to discipline them as slavery.[17]

Johnson and Barclay enjoyed a more congenial relationship. Barclay's role in the investigation progressed from an initial stance of "cheerful non-cooperation" and defense of President King to an attitude of surprise and then finally disgust at the conditions which the investigation revealed. At the end, although he did little work himself, he concurred in all of the International Commission's findings.[18]

Because Christy was old and ill much of the time, and because Barclay's role was minimal, the bulk of the Commission's work fell to Johnson and his secretary, John R. Matheus, an instructor of literature at West Virginia State College.[19] Consequently, the Commission's findings reflected to a large degree Johnson's dominant role and influence.

When the Johnson-Christy Commission's confirmation of the charges of forced labor and other forms of corruption and abuse of the indigenous Liberians were publicized, prominent Afro-Americans reacted with dismay. There were almost unanimous in their condemnation of the King administration, for they realized that not only was Liberia's fate at stake, but also the dignity, self-respect, and reputation of black people throughout the world. Well aware that racial bigots would point to Liberia's failings as evidence of the political incapacity and moral depravity of the entire black race, they specifically feared that such persons in American would use the example of Liberia to justify the continued disfranchisement of black people in the South.

The Baltimore *Afro-American* led the assault against the King administration. Indeed, well over a year before the Commission's report, the *Afro-American* had accepted as true the charges leveled at King and his associates by Thomas J. P. Faulkner, which it prominently publicized in its pages, and had demanded an accounting from the King regime.[20] When the findings of the Commission became known, the *Afro-American* was still calling for Faullkner's election to the presidency.[21]

Other black newspapers similarly condemned the King government. George S. Schuyler, columnist and editorial writer for the Pittsburgh Courier, led the attacks in that newspaper against the Americo-Liberian ruling class. In February 1931 Schuyler was sent to Liberia by the publishing firm of Brewer, Warren and Putnam to write a book on conditions there. Several white newspapers and magazines joined in sponsoring him.[22] Many of his reports and articles that were published in 1931 in such white media as the *American Mercury*, the *New York Evening Post*, the *Buffalo Express*, the *Philadelphia Public Ledger*, and the *Washington Post* were also excerpted in the black press. His book, *Slaves Today: A Story of Liberia*, was published in 1931.[23]

Schuyler was harshly critical of the Americo-Liberians as a class. He condemned not only the King administration but also the regime of Edwin Barclay which followed. He, too, was an admirer of Faulkner. As late as the fall of 1934 he was still urging that Barclay be replaced by Faulkner. His persistence in leveling caustic attacks on the Americo-Liberians led some Afro-Americans to suspect that he was on the payroll of the Firestone Rubber Company.[24]

While condemnation of the Liberian government and ruling class was generally the immediate reaction to the Johnson-Christy Commission's disclosures, several critics nevertheless attempted to put the conditions in Liberia in a broader perspective. Even Schyuler early in 1931 pointed out that Liberia was not alone in exploiting the people of Africa, but that slavery in the guise of contract labor and wage salary was also prevalent throughout the African possessions of the European powers. "Anytime a person is forced to do work he doesn't want to do and gets no reward for it above what is required to keep him alive and able to continue to work, that is slavery," declared the conservative Schuyler.[25]

William Pickens, New York field secretary of the NAACP, and Frank R. Crosswaith, a labor organizer, made comments similar to those of Schuyler. Both men criticized Liberians for engaging in forced labor. At the same time, however, they found the condemnation of Liberia by the American government to be the height of hypocrisy, for slavery in the form of peonage and the denial of political rights to blacks, they declared, was still widely practiced in the United States. Moreover, Crosswaith regarded the existence of forced labor to be simply an indication of the primacy of class interests over racial and moral considerations.[26]

The *Chicago Defender* was similarly concerned with the hyprocrisy evident in America's postion,[27] and the *Amsterdam News* suggested that the League of Nations investigate conditions of forced labor in the United States as well.[23] W. E. B. Du Bois, in the *Crisis*, and Elmer Anderson, in *Opportunity*, echoed Schuyler's charge that forced labor, pawning, and other forms of servile labor also existed in the African colonies of European countries. They emphasized the need to remedy conditions in those areas as well as in Liberia. Moreover, Du Bois blamed France, Spain, and Great Britain for Liberia's problems.[29]

In November 1931, about a year after the publication of the Johnson Christy Commission's report, the Association for the Study of Negro Life and History held a panel discussion on the charges against Liberia at its annual meeting in New York City. Raymond Leslie Buell, a white scholar, and Charles S. Johnson both concluded from the facts of the Liberian situation that "Negro government in Liberia has been a failure." This conclusion was not well received by the audience, however. Ben N. Azikiwe, who was later to become the prime minister of independent Nigeria but who was then a teacher at Lincoln University in Pennsylvania, was "loudly applauded" in his defense of Liberia. Azikiwe pointed out that even the League of Nations which was now denouncing Liberia "permitted forced labor in certain parts of the world for public works and enterprises of great necessity" and left the definition of such activities to the nations concerned.[30] In his impassioned defense of Liberia, Azikiwe further pointed to the 1914 treaty between Liberia and Spain through which the Liberian government had attempted to protect the interest of Liberian laborers sent to the Spanish Island of Fernando Po and to end the abuses that attended the recruitment and utilization of such laborers. He pleaded with his audience to understand Liberian conditions within the context of African social mores. In West African culture, for example, pawning was regarded as a beneficent practice. He concluded by suggesting that Liberia not be judged by standards more rigorous than those applied to other countries, for in the United States and in European colonies in Africa, involuntary servitude for both public and private purposes existed.[31]

As time passed, the furor over the International Commission's revelations gave way to consideration of the proposals for reform advanced by the League of Nations and the United States. In formulating American policy toward Liberia, the State Department manifested its traditional sensitivity to Afro-American opinion, a sensitivity that went back several decades. In 1908, for example, a high official of the State Department raised the issue of black American interest in Liberia with the British government as a means of discouraging European designs on that country. Similarly, in the Spring of 1918 President Wilson agreed with the State Department that because both Liberians and Afro-Americans would not like to see Liberia become dependent upon the British and the French for protection against the Germans, the United States would assume the responsibility.[33]

During the Republican era of the 1920s the officer of the State Department who seemed most interested in the views of black Americans concerning Liberia was Williams R. Castle. While he was largely concerned with avoiding alienating the black vote, Castle was also appreciative of the fact that support by Afro-American leaders for a given policy not only carried political weight within the black community but moral weight among whites as well. In 1924, for example, when Liberia, the State Department, and the Firestone Company were in the initial stages of the negotiations leading to the establishing of Firestone in Liberia in 1926, Castle recommended that the Afro-American minister to Liberia, Solomon P. Hood, be brought back to the United States to drum up support among black Americans for the Firestone proposals put forward by W. E. B. Du Bois for the employment of Afro-Americans in his projected enterprises in Liberia. If that were done, declared Castle, then "we would have all the radical press controlled by Mr. Du Bois on our side."[33]

As the ranking State Department official under whose purview Liberian affairs fell throughout the Hoover administration, Castle remained sensitive to black American sentiment. When Secretary of State Stimson addressed a scathing letter to the Liberian government following the publication of the report of the Johnson-Christy Commission, the State

Department, seeking to forestall black criticism of its conduct, published in the press a letter from a former American slave supporting its action.[35] So well known in the State Department was Castle's desire to retain black support for the Republican party that in April 1930, the American Charge in Liberia, Henry Carter, wrote directly to President Hoover concerning his recommendation (which he feared that Castle would veto because of expected black opposition) that the United States temporarily intervene in Liberia to prevent European powers from doing so.[36] In light of this tradition, then, it seems that the Liberian forced labor controversy offered Afro-Americans a significant opportunity to influence American foreign policy.

In attempting to formulate a policy toward Liberia from 1930 to 1935 the American government considered several alternatives. During the Hoover administration these alternatives included: (1) complete withdrawal of the United States from Liberian affairs, leaving Liberia to fend for itself among hostile European colonial powers in Africa; (2) direct American control over Liberia through the acceptance of a mandate over that country; (3) indirect and disguised American control over Liberia through the agency of the Firestone Company; (4) American assistance to Liberia in the latter's effort to carry out its own program of reform; and (5) American cooperation with the League of Nations in drawing up and implementing a League program of reform.[37]

In examining these proposals, the State Department continued to be mindful of the possible reaction of black Americans to the course of action it decided upon. Thus, it early rejected the notion of leaving Liberia to fend for itself. Not only would such a policy be contrary to America's traditional interest in Liberia, but, declared Castle, "Negroes would be furious and would turn bitterly against the administration."[38] The State Department also summarily rejected the idea of establishing an American mandate over Liberia. Most officials agreed that such a step would be contradictory to fundamental principles of American foreign policy regarding Africa and so similar to the now discredited American intervention in Haiti that it deserved no serious consideration. The State Department, distrustful of the Barclay government, also refused to consider seriously the proposal to give assistance to the Liberian program of reform. It also rejected Castle's recommendation that an American bank closely tied to the Firestone Company be established in Liberia for the purpose of administering the revenues of that country, including the payment of the salaries of the officials of the Liberian government, as comprising too direct a form of American control over Liberia.[39]

The Hoover administration finally decided to join with the League of Nations in establishing international supervision over Liberia. In pursuance of this policy, it joined with Great Britain and Germany in January 1931 in demanding that Liberia accept a program of reform and rehabilitation to be drawn up and administered by the League. Over the next four years, the American government attempted to persuade Liberia to accept the plans subsequently formulated by the League. At the same time it vacillated over the issue of whether, in order to protect the Firestone investments, to insist that an American be the chief official to administer the League plan. In any case, the decision to cooperate with the League rested upon the assumption that such a course of action would afford the best means of protecting American economic, missionary, and philanthropic interests in Liberia without the burden and the onus of unilateral American intervention in that country.[40]

In reaching its decision the State Department, rather than consult with black leaders while it was formulating its policy, decided instead to present them with a fait accompli. Ellis O. Briggs, whom W. E. B. Du Bois was later to refer to publicly as "a little 2 by 4 politician in the State Department . . . owned by Firestone,"[41] provided the following rationale for the course pursued:

> I have not discussed the advisability of the President's summoning selected American negro [sic] leaders to the White House and out-lining the scheme to them, since it would appear to be a question for decision by the Administration itself. If, as I am inclined to believe, American negroes [sic] will oppose any monkeying with Liberia on the grounds that we are helping foreign imperialists to smother that scorbutic nation for whose birth we were, alas, responsible, then little could be gained by taking them into our confidence in advance. I would much prefer to see us issue a brief statement when the time comes: This is the situation, - this is what we propose to

> do about it, - and let them yell. There will be yells aplenty anyway, and if we are going to scuttle into a corner on their account, it would be far better to stay there right along, thus avoiding the embarrassment of a precipitate retreat before the ravening De Priests [black Congressman form Illinois] and the grandchildren of Booker T. Washington.[42]

Placed in the position of reacting to, rather than participating in the discussions preparatory to the formulation of policy, most Afro-Americans interested in Liberian questions found it difficult to take a definitive stand until the discussions among Liberia, the League of Nations, and the United States over the League plan of assistance and the American role in it served to clarify the issues. From the Afro-American perspective the most important issues which emerged from these discussions were : (1) under whose supervision, that of the United States or the League, would Liberia receive the most beneficial assistance with the least infringement on its sovereignty and independence? (2) how much control would the Firestone interests have over Liberian affairs under the League Plan or under unilateral American supervision? and (3) should control over the Liberia be vested, even temporarily, in the hands of white people?

Throughout the discussions over America's Liberian policy, the black press served as both a leader and a barometer of Afro-American opinion.. At one extreme were the opinions expressed by the iconoclastic George S. Schuyler, who maintained the most consistent position throughout the crisis. In June 1931 Schuyler declared that "what Liberia needs . . . is ten to fifteen years of benevolent dictatorship by the United States, and that the sooner the marines get there, the better for all concerned, except the Liberian politicians."[44]

The *Pittsburgh Courier's* position seemed to vacillate with that of its editorial writers. In February 1933, in an editorial probably written by Schuyler, the *Courier* denounced President Barclay's declaration of a moratorium on the payment of Liberia's debt to Firestone as evidence of that country's folly in turning against the United States, its only true friend. Six months later the paper gave tentative approval to the League plan of supervision over Liberia as "a blessing in disguise," and thus subsequently denounced as misguided President Barclay's rejection of the plan. After the League withdrew its plan in May 1934, the *Courier* urged Liberia to accept American intervention.[45] By this time the *Chicago Defender* had also come out for unilateral American supervision of Liberia.[46]

Meanwhile, other black newspapers were expressing grave reservations concerning the policies being pursued by the United States and the League of Nations. In 1932, the Baltimore *Afro-American*, which heretofore had severely criticized the Liberian ruling class, began to exhibit considerably more sympathy for Liberia's dilemma. In January 1931, for example, it found considerable merit in the suggestion of Raymond Leslie Buell, a white scholar, that Liberia be supervised by the League of Nations. In May 1932, however, having learned of the trend in the thinking of the League's committee on Liberia, the editor recommended that the League's role in Liberia should be limited to supervising honest elections. Thereafter, the League should conduct relations with Liberia as with any other sovereign state.[47]

In October 1933, in what it chose to regard as a gesture of "friendship and helpfulness" toward Liberia, the Baltimore *Afro-American* sent Williams Jones, its managing editor and vice-president of the Baltimore Urban League, to Liberia. President Barclay received Jones warmly, and the Liberian legislature invited him on several occasions to participate in discussions in its special sessions devoted to the slavery crisis. Jones informed the Liberians that black Americans hoped that Liberia would reject any plan of assistance that compromised her sovereignty and "administrative autonomy." In addition, Jones presented to the Liberian legislature and elements of the Liberian elite a preliminary plan to "save Liberia" through financial and technical assistance from black Americans and their white allies. His plan, he informed them, while not designed to persuade the Liberians to reject the League plan, was nevertheless aimed at giving the Liberian government a feasible alternative to being subjected to the "humiliation" of a long period of foreign supervision.[48]

On returning to the United States after a two-month sojourn in Liberia, Jones wrote a series of articles sympathetic to that country. Taking the position that the United States should give all the assistance it could to a program of reform developed and controlled by the Liberian government, he began to promote among black Americans the plan he had presented to the Liberians.

American diplomats in Liberia manifested considerable interest in Jones's visit. Fearing that Jones's activities would serve to encourage Liberia to reject the League plan of assistance, the American charge, McCeney Werlich, secured authorization from the State Department to discredit him.

Thus, in conversations with President Barclay and other Liberian officials, Werlich made it clear that Jones's view enjoyed no official sanction, and that the United States was fully committed to the League plan. And when Jones returned to the United States he found the State Department decidedly cool to his ideas.[50]

Of the leading black American newspapers, only the *Amsterdam News* had consistently taken the position at which Jones finally arrived. Highly critical of the Americo-Liberian elite, the News apparently accepted George S. Schuyler's version of Liberian conditions. Nevertheless, beginning as early as the early summer of 1931, and continuing throughout the crisis, it portrayed the League proposals for reform as hypocritical and imperialistic. Consequently, it applauded the refusal of the Barclay government to accept the League's plan as evidence of the determination of the Liberian people to retain their sovereignty.[51]

Fred Moore's newspaper, the New York Age, and the Lester Walton, its associate editor, generally supported State Department policy toward Liberia. While preferring that the United States assist Liberia unilaterally, Walton, undoubtedly out of a sense of loyalty to the Democratic Party, in which he had been active for many years, supported the Roosevelt administration's continuation of the Hoover policy of urging international supervision as the next best course of action. In 1933 Walton, too, spent several months in Liberia. He established excellent rapport with President Barclay, who appointed him as a press agent of the Liberian government charged with dispensing "accurate information with respect to the Government's policies and activities" through both the black and white press in the United States. Walton had ready access to the State Department and, despite his support of the Department's policy, he did not hesitate to point out to State Department officials that most black Americans were opposed to that policy.[52] When the United States resumed diplomatic relations with Liberia in 1935, the Roosevelt administration, at the suggestion of Robert R. Moton,[53] president of Tuskegee Institute, rewarded Walton for his loyalty by appointing him minister to Liberia.

The various opinions expressed by the black press over the proposed plans for reform typified the diversity of reaction within the ranks of other elements of the Afro-American leadership elite, such as civil rights leaders, intellectuals, and churchmen. Initially, the first two groups reacted to the American decision to support international assistance to Liberia and toward the first proposals of the League of Nations with cautious optimism. As early as March 1931, Alain Locke, professor philosophy at Howard University, in an incisive analysis of forced labor and related conditions in Liberia and in the African colonies of European nations that was probably written before the United States announced its policy, called for American participation in "some international plan of supervision and assistance" that might require "the modification of the terms of the Firestone concession and the surrender of our present receivership" in Liberia.[54] And in the fall of 1932, W. E. B. Du Bois and Walter White, speaking for the NAACP, strongly endorsed what Du Bois referred to as "the excellent plan of reform drawn up by the League."[55] In an address before the Association for the Study of Negro Life and History in November 1932, Rayford W. Logan, then assistant to Carter G. Woodson, editor of the Journal of Negro History, also endorsed the original League proposals for assistance to Liberia, even if the proposals had the effect of curtailing temporarily Liberia's independence and sovereignty.[56]

In supporting the League proposals, Du Bois, White and Logan were advocating international supervision of Liberia in preference to unilateral American intervention. The specific proposals which they endorsed were the general principles of a plan of assistance adopted by the Liberia Committee of the Council of the League in May 1932. This plan provided for: a chief advisor and eight foreign experts who, along with the American financial adviser and other American fiscal experts who had been appointed under the Firestone agreement of 1926, would administer the affairs of Liberia; a moratorium on interest and principal payments to the Finance Corporation of America, a Firestone subsidiary; a reduction in the 7 percent interest on Liberia's debt to the Corporation; a reduction in the size of the land concession to Firestone; and an increase from 6 to 50 cents per acre in the annual rental which Firestone paid for the land it leased from Liberia. In September 1932, the United States proposed a modification of the League proposals so as to increase the powers and authority of the chief advisor to the point that he would, in effect, replace the government of Liberia as the ruler of that country, especially when the Council of the League, to whom he would be exclusively responsible, was not in session.[57]

As could be expected, the American proposal, subsequently adopted in a modified fashion by the League Council, provoked strong protests from NAACP spokesmen. Enunciating the position that the NAACP and it allies on the issues were to adhere to for the remainder of the crisis, Du Bois and White sent a telegram to Secretary of State Stimson exclaiming that:

> We are writing to express our grave concern at the position taken by the American Government in regard to the League plan for the reconstruction of Liberia. Without entering into the question whether the proposed amendments of the Liberian Government to this plan are acceptable, we strongly believe that the State Department is unjustified in imposing what amounts to a veto upon the original League recommendation. In providing for the appointment of nine foreign officials and a League Chief Adviser we believe the League has worked out a system which will insure the regeneration of Liberia without impairing its independence. Should the League adopt the American suggestions of imposing upon the League Adviser dictatorial powers the result would be . . . a destructive occupation similar to that which the United States has carried out in another Negro Republic namely, Haiti. The League of Nations in our judgment cannot possibly adopt any such plan. If the State Department persists in its attitude the only result will be that the League will discontinue its efforts toward Liberia's regeneration. In such a case the same logic which causes the United States to oppose the League plan would lead the present administration to embark upon unilateral intervention in Liberia's affairs for the protection of the Firestone interests. We are sure that the Negroes of the United States will vigorously resist such an intervention not only because it will be utterly inconsistent with the recent opposition expressed by the United States to the intervention of Japan in Manchuria. We cannot lay down one rule for Japan and another for ourselves. If the League of Nations is willing to assume responsibility for the future of Liberia the State Department has no valid ground whatever for imposing a veto on the only system whereby Liberia can be restored and its independence maintained and developed. If the Department does not change its attitude on a question of vital importance to colored voters in the United States we should not be able to avoid attributing its position to the hostility of the Hoover administration to the negro [sic] race.[58]

Secretary Stimson, in a telegram drafted by Ellis O. Briggs, responded promptly to the NAACP protest. He reaffirmed the government's commitment to the proposal of increased authority to the foreign advisers "sufficient . . . to make them useful" and capable of carrying out the responsibilities assigned to them. He denied that the United States sought "dictatorial powers" for them or that it had any "desire or plan to intervene in Liberia." Stimson then proceeded to undermine the credibility of these assurances by concluding with the manifestly false statement that "The Firestone interests have no immediate connection with the present problem. Their conduct in Liberia has not been the subject of criticism by any investigating body. The present problem is not one of business interests but of order and humanity."[59]

White and Du Bois were not swayed by Stimson's assurances, and they continued to protest American insistence upon increased powers for the foreign advisers. Moreover, the Board of Directors of the NAACP insisted that the chief advisor should not be a national of powers having colonies in Africa, but that he be an impartial American who would be tied neither to the State Department nor to Firestone. More importantly, he should be someone "who believes that Liberia has a right to her independence and that the Negro race has proven its capacity for self-government."[60]

Although the State Department did not change its policy in response to these protests, it obviously was concerned about them, and its concern was undoubtedly heightened when an official from the White House expressed some alarm that the policy, when publicized, would "raise the devil with the colored people," and that the Hoover administration would lose support among black Americans because of it.[61] It is not unreasonable to assume, therefore, that the views of Afro-Americans and their white liberal allies, notably the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (WIIPF), strengthened Secretary Stimson in his resolve after October 5, 1932 to resist the efforts of the Freestones to get the United States to support their demand that the chief advisor should be an American with virtually dictatorial powers, a demand that Stimson had appeared ready to accept two weeks earlier.[62]

We may also assume that the remonstrance's by the NAACP and the black press contributed in some measure to the decision reached by Stimson in February 1933 to attempt to break the impasse that had developed between the Firestones, Liberia, and the League over Liberia's unilateral suspension of payments on the Firestone loan by replacing Charles M. Mitchell, the American minister in Liberia, with special emissaries General Blanton Winship and Ellis O. Briggs, the former a white southerner and the latter a white State Department official. When Mitchell, a black Republican, was sent to Liberia as American minister in February 1931, he was instructed not to present his credentials to the Liberian government. For the next two years he occupied the anomalous position of being the representative of the United States to a government that the United Stated refused to recognize.

In the early months of his sojourn in Liberia Mitchell attested to the sincerity of Barclay's motives and repeatedly urged the State Department to recognize him.[63] Barclay properly refused to accord Mitchell and his communications with the Liberian government official cognizance and tended to ignore Mitchell's advice. By 1933, the relations between the two men had so deteriorated that when Liberia suspended payments to Firestone and dismissed American officials administering the loan, Mitchell strongly advocated that the United States forcefully intervene in Liberia, establish control over the country, and compel Liberia to rescind its actions and apologize for the disrespect accorded American nationals and American interests.[64]

In early February, 1933, Barclay demanded that Mitchell be recalled on the grounds that the latter "had overstepped the bounds of courtesy in writing personal letters to the President of Liberia which were so offensive that they could not be overlooked." While protesting Barclay's action, Secretary Stimson nevertheless obliged, and in March, shortly before the Roosevelt administration came into office, Winship and Briggs replaced Mitchell in Liberia.[65] Thus, contrary to what some Afro-Americans may have assumed, Mitchell's removal represented an attempt to improve relations with Liberia rather than facilitate the feared white takeover of that country.

After Hoover was succeeded in the White House by Franklin D. Roosevelt, the NAACP continued its assault on American policy. In a telegram to Roosevelt in early June 1933, White protested the reported State Department's support of Firestone's demand for an American chief adviser and urged the President to place the wishes of Liberia above the interests of Firestone. He concluded by asking: "Does not the New Deal include Liberia as well?"[66] Seven weeks later White, Du Bois and Mordecai Johnson, president of Howard University, led a delegation of prominent black Americans and representatives of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom to the State Department to confer with Under Secretary of State Williams Phillips. Du Bois served as the spokesman for the group, and read the delegations prepared statement to Phillips. Du Bois excoriated the policy which the European colonial powers and the United States were pursuing toward Liberia as a continuation of the historical pattern of white exploitation of yellow, brown, and black people (of which the American intervention in Haiti was merely one example) "for the benefit, power, and luxury of white folk." Such exploitation, Du Bois continued, increasingly "astounded and embittered" the growing number of college-educated black people in the United States.

Still reading from the prepared statement, Du Bois proceeded to denounce as fraudulent the Firestone loan agreement with Liberia of 1926 and to accuse the State Department of currently supporting the efforts of the Firestones to maintain their financial control over Liberia through the instrumentality of a financial adviser. He urged the State Department to "use its good offices to dissociate Mr. Firestone from his apparent control over the finances of the Government of Liberia," to recognize the Barclay regime, and to use its influence to change the League's proposal to Liberia from the form of an ultimatum and to assure that its plan for reform provided funds for the control of education by the Liberian government rather than by missionaries, who often served, he contended, as "handmaiden of capitalistic and imperialistic designs." The proposed chief adviser under the plan, he asserted, should be preferably from a non-colonial neutral country and someone the Liberians found acceptable, and not a dictator representing American investment interests.

In the ensuing discussion with Phillips, the delegation was able to extract from him a promise of American support for a provision in the League plan for increased funds for education that would not be administered by missionaries and for the removal from the plan clauses "suggestive of an ultimatum." Phillips also assured the delegation that the United States would not back Firestone in insisting that the chief adviser be an American. On the other hand, nor would the United States oppose the selection of an American to the position. Beyond these assurances, Phillips, who boasted to the delegation that he was a nephew of the abolitionist Wendell Phillips, would not go. He stated categorically that the United States would not soon recognize the Barclay government, nor would it withdraw its protection from the Firestone interests in Liberia. And he reaffirmed the American commitment to the League plan. [67] Most members of the delegation left the Department with the feeling that their visit had accomplished little.[68]

Although they were unaware of it, the Du Bois-Johnson group accomplished more than it perhaps expected. As Phillips had promised, the United States did move to secure provisions in the League plan for greater funds for government-supported education. In addition, preliminary explorations were made of ways to lessen Firestone's control over Liberian finances. While at the State Department, the Du Bois-Johnson group had discussed the possibility of divorcing the Firestone rubber concession from the Firestone loan to Liberia by spreading the loan among other American financial institutions. Phillips took this proposal seriously and subsequently discussed the proposal with Colonel Blanton Winship, the special American emissary to Liberia, who suggested that the Du Bois-Johnson group be approached concerning their willingness to take over the loan by purchasing the bonds from the Finance Corporation.[69] Although nothing came of this proposal, it is significant to note that in 1934, the State Department did take note of the fact that William Jones's plan for Afro-American assistance to Liberia involved the purchase by black Americans of the Finance Corporation's bonds.

Perhaps the most important result of the delegation's audience with Phillips was that it caused the State Department to review America's Liberian policy with the President. Phillips reported to Roosevelt that the policy of the United States had been severely criticized by "a number of aggressive negroes [sic]" and their white allies "on the ground that we are selling out Liberia for the benefit of the Firestone interests." He asked Roosevelt to reaffirm the American policy of cooperating with the League in preference to the demand by Firestone that the United States assume exclusive responsibility for Liberia or of going to the alternate extreme of withdrawing from all responsibility for Liberia's welfare. As requested, Roosevelt approved the State Department's policy, but with the important proviso, however, that there should be the "clear understanding that we are not guaranteeing money's due the Firestones or making our continued interest depend upon Firestone's interest. . . . At all times . . . we should remember that Firestone went into Liberia at his own financial risk and it is not the business of the State Department to pull his chestnuts out of the fire except as a friend of the Liberian people."[71] In late September, in accordance with Roosevelt's views, the State Department informed Harvey Firestone, Jr., that the United States would not push for an American chief adviser under the League plan,[72] thus signaling the declining influence of the Firestone company upon America's Liberian policy.

Meanwhile other elements within the Afro-American community were making their voices heard on the Liberian controversy. Chiefs among these were representatives of black religious denominations having missions in Liberia. In March 1932, Dr. J. E. East, executive secretary of the Foreign Mission Board of the National Baptist Convention and a former missionary to Liberia, visited the State Department and advised officials there that Afro-Americans would oppose any League plan for international control over Liberia unless the persons chosen to administer the plan were black. The appointment of white men to such positions would be regarded by black Americans as being tantamount to selling out Liberia "to the whites", he declared, and would lead them to demand that the United States intervene to remedy the situation.[73]

Six months later the Reverend W. H. Jernagin, pastor of Mt. Carmel Baptist Church in Washington, D.C., and three ministerial colleagues presented to State Department officials a letter from the executive secretaries of the Lott Carey Baptist Foreign Mission Society and the foreign missions boards of the National Baptist Convention, the A.M.E. Church, and the A.M.E. Zion Church, all Afro-American religious bodies which had been engaged in missionary work in Liberia for several decades. The letter expressed grave concern for Liberia's sovereignty and pointed out how deleterious Liberia's loss of independence would be to the black American missionary work in Africa since the European colonial powers discouraged black Americans from conducting missionary activities in their African possessions. The letter therefore urged the State Department to assist Liberia in perfecting and carrying out the reforms that the Barclay government was undertaking and to take the lead in assuring that Liberia's sovereignty would be safeguarded. In the ensuing discussions Jernagin reemphasized the opposition of Afro-Americans to the appointment of a white man as chief adviser under the League plan and their determination to insure that Liberia continued to be governed by black people.[74]

Up to this point, the State Department had perceived black American opinion on its Liberian policy as falling within two camps. It referred to those favoring its policy as the "more conservative negro [sic] element" such as Robert Russa Moton, president of Tuskegee Institute; Fred R. Moore and Lester Walton, publisher and associate editor, respectively, of the *New York Age*; George S. Schuyler; Charles S. Johnson; and the Foreign Mission Board of the National Baptist Convention. It perceived the principal white support for its policy as coming from the Advisory Committee on Education in Liberia, whose constituent organizations, in addition to the black National Baptist Convention, were the American Colonization Society, the New York Colonization Society, the Phelps-Stokes Fund, the Trustees of the Booker T. Washington Agricultural and Industrial Institute, the Boston Trustees of Donations, the National Council of the Protestant Episcopal Church, and the foreign missions boards of the Methodist Episcopal Church and the United Lutheran Church.

In opposition to its policy the State Department included such "aggressive negroes" [sic] as W. E. B. Du Bois, Mordecai Johnson, Rayford Logan, and John R. Murphy, the editor and publisher of the Baltimore *Afro-American*. Raymond Leslie Buell of the Foreign Policy Association, Robert M. Hallgren of *The Nation*, and Dorothy Detzer of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom were listed as the white allies of this group.[75]

With respect to white opinion, the State Department was essentially correct in its assessment. From near the end of 1931 onward the Department received repeated assurances of support from Thomas Jessee Jones, educational director of the Phelps-Stokes Fund; Robert W. Patton, director of the American Church Institute for Negroes; Samuel M. Cavert, general secretary of the Federal Council of Churches in America; and officials of other white philanthropic and religious organizations having sentimental or material interests in Liberia.[76] Although spokesmen for these groups preferred direct American administration of Liberian affairs, they supported the League plan as the next best alternative, provided the chief adviser was an American with greatly increased authority. They were also inclined to defend the claims of the Firestone Company against Liberia as just and its operations in Liberia as being in the best interest of the country. On the other hand, the most consistent white critic of the State Department's policy were Dorothy Detzer and her colleagues in the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom.[77]

As indicated by the representations of the black missionaries, however, the State Department's categorization of Afro-American opinion was a gross oversimplification. Despite disagreements and ambivalence among black leaders over the question whether the League or the United States should play the major role in Liberia's rehabilitation, black Americans were virtually united by 1934 in their insistence that Liberia's autonomy and sovereignty should not be seriously compromised and that as a symbol of the right of black people to self-determination and self-government it should continue to be ruled and administered by black people. The WILPF was the white organization which most consistently shared the black perspective on this issue. Undoubtedly the discussion of the Liberian controversy in the black and white press in the United States contributed in part to the developing consensus among black Americans. More importantly, however, was the steadfast position taken by Liberia and the skillful presentation of that position by its representatives at the League of Nations and in the United States. Ernest Lyon, the consul general of Liberia at Baltimore and formerly the American minister to Liberia from 1903 to 1910, not only presented the Liberian case to the State Department but assiduously cultivated the Afro-American press and other opinion leaders within the black community.

The distance between most whites and blacks on the Liberian controversy was clearly revealed at a "roundtable" conference of representatives of foreign mission boards of black and white church bodies which convened in Washington, D.C., on February 7,1934. Harvey Firestone, Jr., William N. Jones, Emmett Scott, Lester Walton, and Henry L. West, president of the American Colonization Society, also participated in the deliberations. Virtually all of the whites in attendance, including Harvey Firestone, Jr. (now resigned to accepting the League proposals) and Thomas Jesse Jones, urged the church people to recommend that Liberia accept the League plan of assistance. Several black participants, however, led by the Reverend Walter Brooks, a Washington Baptist minister, and Bishop William W. Matthews, resident bishop of the A.M. E. Zion Church in Liberia, strongly demurred.[78] On the previous day Bishop Matthews had met with Under Secretary of State William Phillips to urge that the United States recognize the Barclay government, resume its traditional friendly relations with Liberia, and render that country assistance in its hour of critical need.[79]

Matthews reiterated these views at the conference and criticized the United States for severing relations with the Liberian government while failing to even approach Spain for its involvement in the exploitation of the Liberian laborers sent to Fernando Po. He defended Liberia against the charge made by one of the white participants that Liberia's mistreatment of the indigenous people necessitated League control by asserting that black Mississippians were even more abused and exploited with no one suggesting that Mississippi lose its sovereign rights as a state.[80]

A committee chosen to reconcile the opposing views, consisting of Matthews, Emmett Scott, Lester Walton, and the Reverend W. H. Jernagin, drew up a set of resolutions which the conferees subsequently adopted. The resolutions appealed to the United States and Liberia to resume normal diplomatic relations and their traditional ties of friendship, affirmed the commitment of the missionary organizations to Liberia's sovereignty and autonomy, called for reconsideration of the League plan of assistance "in the light and spirit" of recent Liberian reservations to the plan that were designed to insure Liberian independence, and pleaded that the missionary enterprise in Liberia "remain under the guidance of American influence."[81]

Despite the fact that the resolutions embodied "the general feeling of the conference" that Liberia should accept the League plan provided it was modified to meet Liberian objections and provided the chief adviser was an American, most of the black participants left the conference with serious reservations about entrusting the fate of Liberia to the League. Consequently, three months later representatives of the black missionary boards, led by the Reverend J.E. East, again visited the State Department. They sought assurances that if Liberia rejected the League plan, the United States would not abandon her to the interested European powers, but would do "everything possible . . . to keep Liberia intact as a Negro Republic, so that we might have an open door at least in place on the great Continent of Africa for Negro assertion, Negro self-determination, and . . for social, industrial and religious work where our color will be no barrier to our efforts."[82] Although Phillips refused to offer the desired assurances, prominent Afro-Americans continued to press the State Department and the Roosevelt administration to come to Liberia's assistance.[83]

Meanwhile, William N. Jones of the *Afro-American* was proceeding with his plans to aid Liberia. On his return from Liberia in 1933 he brought copies of a resolution passed by the Liberian Legislature and approved by President Barclay creating an organization of Liberians and black Americans called the Afro-American-Liberian

Association. The organization was to be headquartered in the United States, and its objectives were to assist Liberia in improving its educational system, trade relations, and road building program and to promote the emigration of black Americans to Liberia. In early January 1934 the Baltimore *Afro-American* announced that its president, Carl Murphy, was preparing to convene an early meeting in Washington to study ways in which the black community in the United States could cooperate with Liberia in solving the latter's financial problems and in promote its development. Late in January, Jones, Liberian Consul General Ernest Lyons, and Willard W. Allen, grand master of the black Masons, met with William Phillips at the State Department and informed him of their plan to aid Liberia. Subsequently, the *Afro-American* listed the names of nearly every nationally known black American as members of a special committee that would take the plan to President Roosevelt and explore various ways in which the plan could be put in effect.[84]

Apparently, the plan did not go far beyond this stage. The State Department gave Jones no encouragement,[85] and not all Afro-Americans favored it.The *Pittsburgh Courier* denounced it as an "incredible philanthropy" in light of the pressing economic needs of blacks in the United States, and Harry Haywood, a black communist, condemned the scheme as an effort by the black bourgeoisie to serve as agents of American imperialism in Liberia.[86]

It may well be that the plan was not carried forward because of a change in America's Liberian policy. By the spring of 1934 it was becoming increasingly apparent that the State Department was becoming weary of the Liberian problem. When, because of Liberian opposition, the League of Nations withdrew its plan on May 18, 1934, the United States did not remonstrate with Liberia. Instead Roosevelt sent Harry McBride, an emissary friendly to Liberia, to that country to investigate conditions there and to find out if the Liberian government continued to want American assistance and, if so, to what extent and in what form. McBride reported that the Barclay government sincerely desired to carry out its own program of reform. He therefore recommended that the United States recognize Barclay and offer him support. In October, the State Department endorsed McBride's recommendation,[87] and on June 11, 1935 the United States resumed diplomatic relations with Liberia. Shortly thereafter, Lester Walton went to Liberia as the new American minister.[88]

Although black Americans played a prominent role in exposing the abuses in Liberia and in demanding reforms, their influence upon American foreign policy during the ensuing crisis is difficult to assess. As the principal domestic link between the United States and Liberia and as a potentially significant voting block in presidential elections they were in a stronger position to solicit the State Department's attention than other groups having interests in Liberia. They could even pose an effective challenge to the influence of the Firestone Company for, despite that company's investments and concessions in Liberia, the American government refused to equate the interests of Firestone with American national interests. During the early 1930s American policy makers had yet to appreciate fully the importance of the Firestones concession as an independent source of rubber for the United States.[89] Therefore, they continued to regard Liberia as lying outside the geographical sphere of significant economic, strategic, and political concerns of the United States.

Further eroding Firestone's influence was the growing American sensitivity to the American occupation of Haiti and other Latin American countries and the resultant retreat of the Hoover and Roosevelt administrations from overt dollar diplomacy backed by military force. Early in 1933 Secretary of State Stimson informed the Firestones that, as indicated by the current American withdrawal form Haiti, he and President Hoover had concluded that the era of "back[ing] up business by force" was over and that only under "the most extreme circumstances" involving important or vital American interests would any American administration consider sending "a gunboat or other force across the Atlantic."[90] This revitalization of such traditional principles of American foreign policy as non-interference and self-determination further enhanced the potential influence of Afro-American leaders by providing them with a set of traditional American values around which to build moral and political support for the preservation of Liberia's political and administrative autonomy.

Afro-American leaders were unable to fully capitalize on these favorable circumstance, however. Because of the lack of organizations within the black community with a strong focus on international relations and with a program for the continuous study of foreign policy issues of potential concern to black Americans, and the consequent slowness on the part of black leaders to develop and articulate a position on the Liberian crisis that could command wide community support, Afro-Americans missed a crucial opportunity to directly influence American policy in its formative stages. By the time they had developed a consensus, the State Department had already staked out its position and was busily engaged in defending it.

Unable to actively participate in the initial formulation of policy, Afro-Americans made their chief contribution by narrowing the range of options which American policy makers could seriously consider. The State Department's assessment of Afro-American sentiment, combined with its desire to protect the interests of Firestone, precluded American abandonment of Liberia to the European powers. Nor, in light of black American criticism of American intervention in Haiti, the opposition of such organizations as the NAACP to dollar diplomacy in general, the Hoover and Roosevelt administrations' withdrawal from the policy of intervention, and the final consensus among Afro-Americans leaders that Liberia must retain its character as an independent black state, could the United States assume direct control over Liberia. Therefore, to escape charges that it was abandoning Liberia on the one hand or establishing unilateral control over Liberia on the other, the United States first decided to participate in international supervision of Liberian affairs. When Liberia rejected this policy, the only feasible alternative, as made clear in the strong representations of prominent black Americans and a few of their white liberal friends, was to render assistance to Liberia in that country's efforts to carry out its own program of reform. This course was all the easier to pursue because it accorded with traditional principles (if not always the practice) of American foreign policy and contradicted no major American group or American national interest.

If perceived as a case study of Afro-American influence on American foreign policy, the foregoing discussion leads to the conclusion that black Americans are likely to be most successful in influencing the foreign policy of their country when: (1) the area of the world is one in which they have manifested a traditional interest and with which they have had historical or long-standing sentimental ties, (2) the area is perceived by policy makers as lying outside of the sphere of significant American national interests, (3) the interests of other American groups in the area are minimal, (4) the questions at issue can easily be dramatized in terms of traditional American values and foreign policy principles, (5) organizations exist within the black community which, as a result of continuous study of international developments, can readily articulate an Afro-American position and rally the black community in support of that position, and (6) Afro-Americans establish a tradition of injecting foreign policy issues in which they are concerned into political campaigns, especially on the congressional and presidential levels.

FOOTNOTES

[1] The same report was received by the U.S. State Department on October 21, 1930 and by the Council of the League of Nations on December 15, 1930.

[2] The best published account of these developments is Wolfe W. Schmokel, "The United States and the Crisis of Liberian Independence, 1929-1934," in Jeffery Butler, ed., *Boston University Papers on African Volume II African History* (Boston: Boston University Press, 1966), pp. 303-337; but see also Balgit Singh, "The Survival of the Weakest: A Case History of the Liberian Crisis of the 1930's," *Journal of Human Relations* 14 Second Quarter, 1966), pp. 242-260. Among the several unpublished Ph.D. Dissertations in which the story is covered the best are Lloyd N. Beecher, "The State Department and Liberia, 1908-1940: A Heterogenuous Record" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Georgia, 1971) and Nancy K. K. Forderhas, "The Plans That Failed: The United States and Liberia, 1920-1935" (Ph.D. dissertation University of Missouri, 1971). Since this article was first published the above works has been superseded by I. K. Sundiata, Black Scandal: America and the Liberian Labor Crisis, 1929 – 1936 (ISHI: Philadelphia, 1980).

[3] Two Black Views of Liberia: Four Months in Liberia: Or African Colonization Exposed, by William Nesbit (Pittsburgh 1855) pp. 38-40; Four Years in Liberia. A Sketch of the Life of the Rev. Samuel Williams. ... by Samuel Williams (Philadelphia 1857; reprinted ed., New York: Arno Press and the New York Times Magazine, 1967,) pp. 58-59.

[4] Buckner to the Secretary of State, April 12, 1915, State Department Records, File Number 882.00/493, National Archives, Record Group 59. Hereafter cited as SD followed by decimal file number.

[5] Bundy to Secretary of State, August 21, 1920, SD 882.51/1169 and October 20, 1920, SD 882.5048/-.

[6] Francis to Assistant Secretary of State William R. Castle, January 16, 1928, SD 882.5048/1; March 22, 1929, DS 882.5048/19; April 20, 1929, SD 882.5048/20.

[7] Francis to Castle, March 22, 1929, SD 882.5048/19.

[8] Wharton to Secretary of State, July 30, 1929, SD 882.5048/68; August 11, 1929, SD 882.5048/85; *Foreign Relations of the United States*, 1929, III, 291,292,293.

[9] Memorandum by W. R. Castle of conversation with W.E.B. Du Bois, March 26, 1924, SD 882.00/742.

[10] Castle to Francis, January 16, 1928, SD 882.5048/1; Secretary of State Kellogg to American Consul (Geneva), July 28, 1928, SD 882.5048/1a; Memorandum, Castle to the Under Secretary and Secretary of State, April 25, 1929, SD 882.5048/22; May 29, 1929, SD 882.5048/24.

[11] Stimson to Francis, June 5, 1929; Francis to Stimson, June 13, 1929; Stimson to Francis, June 22, 1929; Wharton to Stimson, July 4, 1929; Foreign Relations, 1929, III, 274-75; 277-80; 286.

[12] Stimson to Wharton, July 22, 1929, ibid., p. 288.

[13] For a discussion of the role of the black press, see below, pp. 69-71.

[14] Castle to Trevor Arnett, November 26, 1929, SD 882.5048/215.

[15] Prentiss Gilbert to Rollin R. Winslow, September 12, 1930, SD 882.5048/300 ½.

[16] Memorandum, Henry Carter to Castle, November 18, 1929, SD 8822.5048/130.

[17] "African Diary, " Charles S. Johnson Papers, Box 22, Fisk University Library. By 1931 Christy had reversed himself on the desirability of Afro-American emigration to Liberia. See Cutbert Christy, "Liberia in 1930," *The Geographical Journal 77* (January 1931), p. 583.

[18] Johnson to Assistant Secretary of State, October 1, 1930, Johnson Papers, Box 22.

[19] Hall to Secretary of State, July 10, 1930, SD 882.5048/258.

[20] The Baltimore *Afro-American*, July 20, 1929, p. 6; July 27, 1929, p. 5; August 17, 1929, pp.1, 6.

[21] Ibid., November 8, 1930, p. 6; October 25, 1930, p. 6; January 17, 1931, p. 6.

[22] George S. Schuyler, *Black and Conservative: The Autobioography of George S. Schuyler* (New Rochelle, N.Y.; Arlington House, 1966), pp. 173-174, 186.

[23] (New York: Brewer, Warren and Putman, 1931).

[24] Baltimore *Afro-American*, June 10, 1933, p. 1.

[25] The Pittsburgh Courier, January 17, 1931.

[26] Ibid., January 24, 1931, p. 5: January 31, 1931, p. 5.

[27] The Chicago *Defender*, August 24, 1929, p. 2.

[29] *The Crisis 39* March 1931), pp. 101-102; (December 1932), pp. 387-388; Opportunity 9 (March 1931), pp. 70-71.

[30] Carter G. Woodson, "Proceedings of the Annual Meeting of the Association for the Study of Negro Life and History Held in New York City, November 8-12, 1932," *The Journal of Negro History 17* (January 1932), pp. 1-7.

[31] Ben Azikiwe, "In Defense of Liberia," ibid, pp. 30-50.

[32] Beecher, "State Department and Liberia," pp. 5-6.

[33] Ibid., p. 84.

[34] Ibid., pp. 130-131. For the DuBois' proposals see W. E. B. Du Bois to Harvey S. Firestone, October 26, 1925, in William E. B. Du Bois, *The Correspondence of W. E .B. Du Bois,* Vol. I: *Selections, 1877-1934,* edited by Herbert Aptheker (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1973), pp. 320-23.

[35] Reverend Daniel W. Hayes to Secretary Stimson, January [?] 1931, SD 882.5048/399.

[36] Beecher, "State Department and Liberia," p. 168.

[37] Memorandum, Castle to Stimson, September 18, 1930 SD 882.00/846.

[38] Ibid.

[39] Memorandum by Ellis O. Briggs, October 28, 1930, SD 882.01/5; December 31, 1930, SD 882.01 Foreign Control/7.

[40] Memorandum by Stimson of conversation with President Hoover, January 3, 1931, SD 882-01 Foreign Control/9. See also *Foreign Relations*, 1930, III, pp. 391-393.

[41] *Crisis 40* (November 1933), p. 245. See also ibid., (December, 1933), p. 293 for further criticism of Briggs by Du Bois.

[42] Memorandum, Briggs to Marriner, undated, SD 882.01 Foreign Control/p.908.

[43] Baltimore *Afro-American*, June 3, 1933, p. 7.

[44] Ibid., June 23, 1934, p. 4.

[45] *Pittsburgh Courier*, February 11, 1933, p. 10; August 19, 1933, p. 10; December 2, 1933, p. 10; May 26, 1934, p. 10.

[46] Chicago *Defender*, May 12, 1934, p. 14.

[47] Baltimore *Afro-American*, January 24, 1931, p. 6: May 28, 1932, p. 6.

[48] Ibid., September 30, 1933, p. 16; November 11, 1933, p. 1; December 2, 1933; p. 1; December 23, 1933, p. 1. See also memorandum by Pierreport Moffat of conversation with William Jones, Millard M. Allen, and Dr. Ernest Lyon, September 28, 1933, SD 882.01 Foreign Control/675; memorandum, Jones to Gabriel L. Dennis, Secretary of the Treasury of Liberia, undated, enclosed in McCeney Werlich to Secretary of State, November 23, 1933, SD 882.01 Foreign Control/752.

[49] Baltimore *Afro-American*, December 23, 1933, p. 1; December 30, 1933, p. 1; January 20, 1934, p. 17; January 27, 1934, p. 7; February 3, 1934, p. 17; February 10, 1934, p. 5.; March 3, 1933, p. 5; March 10, 1934, p. 5; March 17, 1934, p. 5; April 7, 19934, p. 5; June 23, 1934, p. 4.

[50] Werlich to Secretary of State, November 3, 1933, SD 882.01 Foreign Control/705a; November 7, 1933, SD 882.01 Foreign Control/724; November 17, 1933, SD 882.01 Foreign Control/724; November 23, 1933, SD 882.01 Foreign Control/752; Secretary of State Hull to American Legation, Monrovia, November 4, 1933, SD 882.01 Foreign Control/705; Acting Secretary of State Phillips to American Legation Monrovia, November 18, 1933, SD 882.01 Foreign Control 724; memorandum by Phillips of conversation with Ernest Lyon, W. W. Allen, and W. M. Jones, January 12, 1934, SD 882.01 Foreign Control/767.

[51] *Amsterdam News*, July 15, 1931, p. 8; May 25, 1932, p. 8; January 24, 1934, p. 6; May 26, 1934, p. 8.

[52] New York Age, February 4, 1933, p. 4; February 25, 1933, p. 4; May 27, 1933, p. 4; memorandum by Werlich of conversation with Lester Walton, September 22, 1933 in Werlich to Secretary of State, September 26, 1933, SD 882.01 Foreign Control/715; Walton to Moffat, December 23, 1933, SD 882.01 Foreign Control/724 ½; memorandum by Moffat of conversation with Walton, December 27, 1933, SD 882.01 Foreign Control/788; memorandum of conversation between William Phillips and Thomas Jesse Jones, Henry L. West, and Lester Walton, April 19, 1934, SD 8882.01 Foreign Control/805.

[53] Moton to Under Secretary of State William Phillips, March 9, 1934, SD 882.01 Foreign Control/793; March 14, 1934, SD 882.01 Foreign Control/796.

[54] Alain Locke, "Slavery in the Modern Manner," *Survey*, March 1, 1931, pp. 590-93, 629-31.

[55] *The Crisis 39* (November 1932), p. 362.

[56] Rayford W. Logan, "The International Status of the Negro," *Journal of Negro History 18* (April 1933) pp. 35-36.

[57] Schmokel, "The United States and the Crisis of Liberian Independence," pp. 326-327.

[58] Walter White and W.E.B. DuBois to Stimson, September 27, 1932, SD 882.01 Foreign Control/377.

[59] Stimson to White and Du Bois, ibid.

[60] White to Stimson, September 28, 1932, SD 882.01 Foreign Control /380; October 1, 1932, SD 882-01 Foreign Control/383; October 11, 1932, SD 882.01 Foreign Control/403.

[61] Memorandum, State Department, October 13, 1932, SD 882.01 Foregin Control/410.

[62] Schmokel, "The United States and the Crisis of Liberian Independence," pp. 327-328.

[63] Beecher, "The State Department and Liberia," pp. 179,181.

[64] Mitchell to Secretary of State, January 20, 1933, SD 882.01 Foreign Control/466; January 21, 1933, SD 882.01 Foreign Control/467; January 24, 1933, SD 882.01 Foreign Control/467; January 25, 1933, SD 882.01 Foreign Control/479.

[65] Memorandum of conversation between Castle and Liberian Consul General Ernest Lyon, February 11, 1933, SD 882.01FC/526; Stimson to Mitchell, February 21, 1933 SD 882.01 Winship Mission/10.

[66] White to Roosevelt, June 7, 1933, SD 882.01A/10.

[67] Memorandum by Phillips, July 31, 1933, SD 882.01 Foreign Control/612½. See also *The Journal of Negro Education 2* (October 1933), pp. 517-520 and Rayford W. Logan, "Liberia's Dilemma," *The Southern Workman 62* (September 1933), pp. 357-63. Other members of the delegation were Emmett Scott, Secretary of Howard University; Charles H. Wesley, Head of the Department of History, Howard University; Rayford Logan, Assistant to the Director of the Association for the Study of Negro Life and History; Archie Pinkett, Secretary of the Washington, D.C. Branch of the NAACP; Mrs. Addie Dickerson, President of the International Council of Women of the Darker Races; and Mrs. Addie Hunton, Mrs. Darrell Patridge, Jr., and Mrs. Dorothy Detzer of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom.

[68] Logan, Liberia's Dilemma," p. 361.

[69] Phillips to Winship, August 2, 1933, SD 882.01 Foreign Control/612A; Winship to Secretary of State, August 5, 1933, SD 882.01 Foreign Control/614; Winship to Secretary of State August 8, 1933, SD 882.01 Foreign Control/617; Secretary of State Hull to Winship, August 7, 1933, 882.01 Foreign Control/614.

[70] Memorandum by Phillips of conversation with Ernest Lyon, W.W. Allen, and W.N. Jones, January 12, 1934, SD 882.01 Foreign Control/767.

[71] Phillips to Roosevelt, August 16, 1933, SD 882.01 Foreign Control/620a; Phillips to Winship, August 22, 1933, SD 882.01 Foreign Control 625a.

[72] Memorandum by Moffat of conversation with Harvey Firestone, Jr., September 21, 1933 SD 882.01 Foreign Control/663.

[73] Memorandum of conversation between Ellis O. Briggs and Dr. East and Dr. Jennings, March 14, 1932, 882.01 Foreign Control/226.

[74] Memorandum by Ellis O. Briggs of conversation with Rev. W. H. Jernagin, September 2, 1932, SD 882.01 Foreign Control/348.

[75] Memorandum by Frederich P. Hibbard for the Secretary of State, August 16, 1933, SD 882.01 Foreign Control/620 ½.

[76] Thomas Jesse Jones to Stimson, January 12, 1931, 882.5048/391½; Ellis O. Briggs to Thomas Jesse Jones, January 4, 1932, SD 882.01 Foreign Control/458; Jones to Briggs, October 11, 1938, SD 882.01 Foreign Control/409; Jones to Stimson, February 24, 1933, SD 882.01 Foreign Control/538; memorandum by Frederich P. Hibbard, December 20, 1933, SD 882.01 Foreign Control/751; Jones to Hibbard, April 16, 1934, SD 882.01 Foreign Control/801 ½; Robert W. Patton to Briggs, September 9, 1932, SD 882.01 Foreign Control/352, September 24, 1932, SD 882.01 Foreign Control/375; Patton to Castle, September 10, 1932, 882.01 Foreign Control/353, September 24, 1933, SD 882.01 Foreign Control/374; Samuel M. Cavert to Secretary of State, February 1, 1933, SD 882.01 Foreign Control/530, May 20, 1933, SD 882.01A/10 ½. As early as October 1933, DuBois denounced the pressure exerted on Liberia by representatives of these groups, in "Again Liberia," *Crisis* 40 (October 1933), p. 236.

[77] Emily Green Balch to James C. Rogers, March 15, 1932, SD 882.01 Foreign Control/224; Dorothy Detzer to Stimson, March 19, 1932, SD 882.01 Foreign Control/225; memorandum of conversation between J. Pierpont Moffat and Annie Graves and Dorothy Detzer, January 23, 1933, SD 882.01 Foreign Control/489; memorandum of conversation between Detzer and Winship, June 17, 1933, 882.01 Foreign Control/599; between Moffat and Detzer, August 26, 1933, SD 882.01 Foreign Control/630, between Secretary of State Hull and Detzer, November 21, 1933, SD 882.01 Foreign Control/709; Missy A. Leland (White House) to Secretary of State, September 26, 1933, SD 882.01 Foreign Control/709; Detzer to President Roosevelt, October 10, 1933, SD 882.01 Foreign Control/667.

[78] J. E. East and H. T. Medford to Secretary Hull, February 9, 1934, SD 882.01 Foreign Control/905. See also Baltimore *Afro-American*, February 17, 1934, p. 21 and [George A. Kuyper], "Liberia," The Southern Workman 63 (April 1934) pp. 99-100.

[79] Memorandum of conversation between William Phillips and Bishop Mathews on February 6, 1934, February 16,1934, SD 882.01/33.

[80] Memorandum for Under Secretary Phillips, February 15, 1934, SD 882.01 Foreign Control/906.

[81] Baltimore Afro-American, February 17, 1934, p. 21; J. E. East and H. T. Medford to Secretary Hull, February 9, 1924, SD 882.01 Foreign Control/905.

[82] Memorandum by Hibbard of conversation with J. E. East and attachments, May 16, 1934, SD 882.01 Foreign Control/825. See also Baltimore *Afro-American*, May 19, 1934, p. 20.

[83] R. R. Moton to President Roosevelt, June 23, 1934, SD 882.01 Foreign Control/ 841 – 2/3.

[84] Baltimore *Afro-American*, January 6, 1934, p. 3; January 20, 1934, p. 3; February 3, 1934, p. 4. Among the familiar names were Carl Murphy, Charles S. Johnson, Oscar DePriest, C. C. Spaulding, Emmett Scott, Charles H. Wesley, Rayford Logan, W. E. B. DuBois, Mary McLeod Bethune, Carter G. Woodson, Channing H. Tobias, P. Bernard Young, Walter White, Eugene Kinckle Jones, Rev. J. H. Jernagin, Daisy E. Lampkin, Charlotte Hawkins Brown, William L. Patterson, E. Washington Rhodes, Henry Allen Boyd, John W. Davis, and Bishop W. Sampson Brooks. White members of the committee included Raymond Leslie Buell and Henry L. West.

[85] Memorandum by Phillips of conversation with Ernest Lyon, W. W. Allen and W. N. Jones, January 12, 1934, SD 882.01 Foreign Control/767.

[86] *Pittsburgh Courier*, February 3, 1934, p. 10; Baltimore *Afro-American*, August 4, 1934, p. 5.

[87] Schmokel, "The United States and the Crisis of Liberian Independence, " pp. 334-336.

[88] Although Walton assumed his duties within the optimistic and friendly atmosphere attending the renewal of relations between the two countries he, like many of his predecessors, was unable to remain immune to the adverse influence of intractable Liberian conditions on the attitudes of American ministers to that country. By 1940 he, too, was recommending that the United States show more firmness in dealing with Liberian officials, Walton to Secretary of State, May 28, 1941 SD 882.01/1151, cited in Beecher "The State Department and Liberia," p. 220.

[89] Frank R. Chalk, "The United States and the International Struggle For Rubber 1914-1941," (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Wisconsin, 1970), p.213.

[90] Memorandum of conversation between Secretary of State Stimson and Harvey Firestone, Jr., January 17, 1933, SD 882.01 Foreign Control/465.

AFRICAN AMERICAN REACTIONS TO WAR IN ETHIOPIA, 1936-1941

by

Joseph E. Harris

The invasion of Ethiopia ignited an emotional reaction among Africans and among descendants of Africans around the world, strengthening the bonds of pan-Africanism.[1] Africans who were themselves under colonial rule expressed indignation. Ethiopia held a historical appeal for them, and they were especially proud that the country had been a member of the League of Nations form 1923 and signed a treaty of friendship and arbitration with Italy in 1928. When Italy ignored that treaty, however, and Britain and France urged Ethiopia to recognize Italy's claim over Walwal, pay an indemnity, and apologize for the incident, African teachers, doctors, lawyers, journalists, civil servants, and other intellectuals were outraged. They quickly identified with the Ethiopians.

Their outrage intensified when, after the war began, Britain and France refused to supply the country with arms even though it had become clear that Ethiopia's armaments could not match Italy's. Then came the failure of the limited sanctions imposed by the League (which did not include oil, the one commodity through which there could have been leverage over Italy), the Hoare-Laval compromise (which would have made Ethiopia a colony), and Britain's recognition of the conquest, in May, 1936. All that not only ensured the conquest of Italy but also severely shook the confidence of African intellectuals in the leadership of the imperial powers.[2]

Mrs. G.S. Wynter Shackleford, on behalf of the Prominent Lagos Women's Society, sent a protest to the League of Nations, and the Ethiopia Relief Fund Committee to Enugu, Nigeria, passed a protest resolution. At a meeting in Accra, African politicians and veterans threatened not to "take up arms to defend European nations" if Britain recognized the conquest. And the dean of African journalism, Nnamdi Azikiwe, mobilized his newspapers in the Gold Coast and Nigeria to denounce the powers and to inform the public of the injustice they had perpetrated. As one scholar has written, "It was the Italo-Ethiopian controversy which provided a testing-time for the articulate nationalist groups, broadened their horizon, and intensified their nationalism, which took on a more pan-African perspective."[3]

Italy's aggression against Ethiopia also sparked a number of protests, demonstrations, physical clashes, boycotts, fund-raising activities, and recruitment and volunteer efforts in the African diaspora. Barbados' *Advocate* reported that on August 1, 1935, a mass meeting in Saint Lucia passed a resolution expressing grave concern over the crisis and deep sentiment for Ethiopia. A similar report came from Trinidad, where resolutions condemned Mussolini's actions and called Britain to intercede. On August 17, the *Advocate* carried an extended account of resolutions passed at Aggrey House, in London, by "students and others of African descent." The resolutions condemned by Italy, pledged support to Ethiopia, and called for the establishment of an Abyssinian relief fund. "Coloured people in England, in America, in Africa, and in the West Indies" were called on for support.[4]

One article in the *Advocate* judged that sentiment in favor of Ethiopia could bulk large in the West Indies because the communities were overwhelmingly of African descent. Attention was called to an article in London's *Sunday Times* that had said, "As the European power ruling the greatest number of African subjects, we have quite a special interest in the matter. An Italo-Abyssinian war would be a war between black and white... Reverses to the Italians-if such occurred-would excite the most dangerous feelings. Speedy victory for them won by mass bloodshed would be very unsettling too; and equally so would the prolonged guerilla warfare.[5]

The New Statesman and *Nation* voiced the opinion that "to coloured people everywhere, the war seemed a concerted attack of white against black." The *Advocate* observed that such a war would stir up "national and racial animosities throughout the world. It threatens a clash of colour, judging from the resentment which Negroes throughout the West Indies, in England and America are registering."[6]

On September 12, 1935, the American consul in Jamaica sent the secretary of state the report "Public Reactions in West Indies to the Italo-Ethiopian Question," with newspaper clippings about mass meetings that adopted a number of resolutions sympathetic to Ethiopia. Among Jamaica's predominately black population the feeling ran strong against Italy and assumed sharp racial overtones. According to one report, the rumor was that "the white man and the black man are going to have a war."[7] Just over a month later, after the war had begun, the consul sent another report to the State Department, "Reactions in Jamaica to Italian Ethiopian War." It remarked, "Jamaica's sympathies go out spontaneously to her stricken Abyssinian brother." It related that the local paper, the *Daily Gleaner*, had been filled with war news "for several weeks and supported sanctions. Blacks were observed reading the news on bulletin boards."[8]

The press, especially *Plain Talk* and *The People*, stimulated popular interest in the war among middle-class as well as rank-and-file Trinidadians. *Plain Talk*, edited by Alfred Mends, a Garveyite, carried a series of articles under the title "In Defense of Abyssinia and Its History." *The People* was edited by former New York Garveyite Leonard F. Walcott who returned to Trinidad in 1933. Walcott patterned his paper A fter Garvey's *Negro World* and published reprints from the *Blackman*. Also active in the campaign was Amy Jacques Garvey, who led a number of initiative in Jamaica, including some with recruitment as their aim.[9]

Several protest organizations in Trinidad made the Ethiopian cause popular, among the Trinidad Citizens Committee, the Afro-West Indian League, the Friends of Ethiopia, the West Indian Youth Welfare League, and the Negro Welfare Social and Cultural Association. Typical of the materials the Negro Welfare Social and Cultural Association distributed was a handbill appealing to Trinidadians to "join a protest meeting... Thousands of Abyssinian peasants...are being slaughtered by the bombing of the Fascist butcher Mussolini...Only the united action of all Negroes and oppressed people can stop this horrible mass murder."[10]

Trinidadians boycotted Italian businesses, refused to service Italian ships, organized fund-raising campaigns, and sent funds to the Ethiopian ambassador in England; former servicemen offered to join Ethiopia's military. In general, Trinidadians expressed an identity with Africa, with Ethiopians in particular. Anti-Italian protests and demonstrations also occurred in British Guiana (Guyana), Grenada, Saint Vincent, and among Trinidadians in Venezuela.[11]

Such reactions were multiplied many times over in the United States. Militants voiced their support for Ethiopia directly, vociferously, and sometimes violently, and the established civil-rights organizations, like the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, supported the cause as well. The NAACP's official publication, *Crisis*, informed the public about events in Ethiopia through articles, reviews, commentaries, and the like. In addition, the organization's board petitioned the League of Nations to safeguard Ethiopia's rights as a member of that body, it criticized the Soviet Union for supporting the Italians, and it lodged protests with Congress and urged its own membership to write to their congressional representatives in opposition to neutrality legislation that it held would benefit Italy. These were heady days for the NAACP as it shouldered the principle responsibility for promoting civil rights. Concerns like unemployment, voting rights, and antilynching legislation occupied most of its attention.[12]

Several months before Italy invaded Ethiopia, African Americans through much of the country began writing to the Ethiopian Research Council about the possibility of enlisting the emperor's armed forces. They wanted to know whether Ethiopia was "willing to use us [African Americans] in defense against Italy." And they raised questions premised on the assumption that it was: "Why is it that some preparation is made in order to prepare us?" "Why is no transportation provided?" "Will I violate United States law by enlisting?" "What must I do to enlist?" One simply stated, "I am a descendant of Africa and interested in our country." Another requested, "information regarding going to Abyssinia, passport, and the best route." Still another wrote, "Anything in defense of the African Race I am willing to support and you may call on me anytime to do so." There was the declaration "I want to go the land that my your [sic] father came from." The Pacific Movement of Philadelphia sent a flyer to the emperor and a copy to the council: "We earnestly pledge to you our support and assistance in every way possible for the cause of Ethiopia, our mother land, that we will dye if necessary for her protection to which we are interested."[13]

Sufo Abdul Hamid, a particularly visible black activist in New York City, wrote to Bayen urging Haile Selassie to serve as the worldwide leader of blacks, who would "die for him and his cause."[14] Hamid asked whether he should communicate directly with the emperor. British subjects "of the African race" in the United States also expressed a "desire to defend the King and Ethiopia and fellow countrymen in Africa."[15]

Not all communications concerned military enlistment. Samuel Albert, of New York City, wanted to open a factory in Ethiopia to produce ammunition and chemical products. He asked about the procedures he would have to follow and the arrangements that would be necessary, and he wanted to know what the country was like and what kind of reception he would be apt to find there.[16] Arthur Smith of Bakersville, California, wrote that a group of "tradesmen" were interested in serving Ethiopia in the event of war.[17] After Harry and Pearle Broome, of Hattiesburg, Mississippi, wrote the Ethiopian government and received no reply, they let the council know that they desired to go to Africa. Harry was a carpenter and cabinetmaker, and Pearle was a "feltmaker and designer." Not only were they prepared to serve the emperor, they said, but there were "thousands of others waiting to do likewise."[18]

The Broomes traveled about, exhorting African Americans to consider service to the emperor. Lige Green, also of Hattiesburg, heard the Broomes speak and wrote that he was "doing all I can to get all the names I can to enlist them for the Ethiopian war."[19] Another Hattiesburg resident, Mae Hicks, wrote on behalf of a "large group of young girls and boys" who constituted a club that had the education of its members as its purpose. They had heard a speech by the Broomes and wanted to help so that they could "come home." They longed to live "among our own color and nation of peoples over there."[20]

Some African Americans acquainted the council with their opinions about the war and about the position of the United States was taking. Joseph Green Johnson of Baltimore, arrived at the conclusion that the United States "will not help Ethiopia because she is black. She won't do no more for Ethiopia than she will do to stop mob rule in the south." He decided that blacks should unite in the way Marcus Garvey had advocated. Johnson recalled how he had wanted to go to Africa from when he was a small boy; he saw the war as an opportunity to fulfill a dream and to help at the same time. He showed a familiarity with Ethiopian history that was uncommon among Americans. Recalling Ethiopia's defeat of Italy in 1896, he was troubled that Ethiopia had not realized that Italy would seek revenge.[21]

As secretary of the council, William M. Steen tried to respond adequately to the flood of inquires. He sent out maps and fact sheets with his correspondence. He sometimes enclosed pictures of the emperor and an Ethiopian flag. But the distance from Ethiopia, a woeful lack of funds, and inadequate mode of communication, the thin network of dedicated members, and the shielding of policy makers and even their assistants from them were all obstacles to obtaining an disseminating the information people sought. Still, the organization provided prudent, helpful, and consistent answers.

When the war was near but the details of Ethiopian policy were still unclear, the council could tell aspiring soldiers only that the "Imperial Government has not yet worked out a policy of governing foreign enlistments in the Imperial Army." It could express thanks "on behalf of the Imperial Government for the interest Negroes throughout the world" had shown, but it always had to deliver the disappointing news that "no recruiting is underway." Later, it had to cite the neutrality of laws of the United States as a deterrent to enlistment. The council did not equivocate about its attitude toward the neutrality laws: it made it altogether plain that it did not encourage a violation of them.[22]

On the commercial opportunities of Ethiopia, the council explained that it was possible to obtain a permit to operate there provided that the license did not conflict with rights the imperial government had already granted. It referred several persons to the Societe Nationale d'Ethiopie, in Addis Ababa, which financed-and purchased interests in-business projects. The council itself furnished information on labor, the standard of living, and legalities affecting the purchase and rental of property.[23]

The council almost invariably encouraged its correspondence to look to the future with optimism: "Ethiopia will accept with open arms her black brothers from America, after the war, for she will need help of all in rebuilding herself." The council explained that the "situation prevents the acceptance by the Imperial Government of immigrants. However, after the war subsides, it is expected that American Negroes will be given a chance to take up residence in Ethiopia and participate in her rebuilding.[24]

Some African Americans addressed inquires and opinions to the White House. As early as July, 1934, Dan Homes wrote to President Roosevelt asking, "Why can't the black people fight against Italy?...We have fought out for the white peoples, why can't you help the black people out?"[25]

Since this letter was written prior to the Walwal incident, it is not evident what prompted the writer, unless he heard that in the event of war, government regulations would prevent blacks from enlisting. Reacting a year later to the neutrality legislation and in particular to an earlier statement that an "American citizen shall be deemed to have expatriated himself when he had been naturalized in any foreign state in conformity with its laws, or when he had taken an oath of allegiance to any foreign state," Orhardo Andrews, of New York City, wrote to put the viewpoint of the "majority of the Ethiopians or Africans who are residing in this country" on record: "First the Africans who are residing [here] and all over the West did not come here voluntarily, but by an act of kidnaping which today is punishable in the United States by death....As for loosing our citizenship of this country, we don't give a nick about that. This citizenship is of no value to us...If your country can not protect us when we are citizens living here, why should we worry about it[?]" Showing a keen knowledge of history and contemporary affairs, Andrews continued, "The Ethiopians who live in the United States fought for this country in the Civil War, the Revolutionary [War], the War of 1812, the Mexican, the Spanish American and the World War and yet they are treated the [same] way after every war [;]....you were the head into drawing of the Kellogg Peace Pact Treaty and now have deferred from your treaty. What must the world think of you? He informed the president that "we the Ethiopians are going to continue recruiting regardless of consequences, and what [is] more some of us will go even if we have to pay our fare from our labor and savings of years."[26]

Writing from Madison, Illinois, Sam Buck reminded President Roosevelt that blacks fought in the Spanish-American War, in Haiti, and in World War I, and he asked, "Why cannot American Ethiopians help their Black Race?" He appealed to the president and Congress "to make it possible that we as Negroes of the United [States] may have the privilege to enlist.[27]

Dr. H. Randall, of Kansas City, Kansas, writing as an "American Colored man," felt that his "duty" had been set before him, and he announced that he was "ready to go at the sound of the bell." Randall appealed for a proclamation to be issued for all "colored Americans at once."[28]

Letters like these to the president were referred to the Department of State, which sent standard acknowledgments calling attention to the legislation forbidding enlistment in foreign armies. The State Department also received a number of inquiries directly from African Americans. Some of them offered nonmilitary service, like W. P. Perkins, of Macon, Georgia, who wrote, "I am a carpenter...I am a colored person. Please send me over to Ethiopia to help in construction." Walter Johnson, of Plainfield, New Jersey, asserted, "My brother and myself, of the colored race, are planning to go to Ethiopia, if transportation can be arranged, in the hope that we might in some way be of use to our colored brethren, there as nurses or otherwise. We do not plan to enter the army, as we believe that is forbidden to American citizens." Johnson inquired if "the people of Ethiopia resent the sympathies of the colored people of the United States," as they were alleged to "in a book recently written by a Dr. [Carlton] Coon."[29]

A letter to the State Department from R.R. Walker, of Kansas City, Missouri, asked if there would "be any objection in this country should any African-American volunteer for military service in aid of his ancestral home." Henry Kimble, of Cincinnati, raised the question, "Can I get permission...to open a recruiting office of enlisting men for service in Africa. I have made a survey of the city, and I find there is a great number of men... and their ambition is to join the Ethiopian army...The way [and] means of transportation has been figure[d] out. I want to have efficient."[30]

Arthur P. Hayes, who graduated with cadet training at the Dunbar High School in the District of Columbia and received B.S. and M.A. degrees at Columbia University, had served in the United States Army and was honorable discharged. He became a captain in the reserves and requested the State Department's assistance in support of his attempt to win consideration for a military post with the Ethiopian government. Hayes's record was impressive. He had studied in the Ph.D. program at Columbia, served as professor of military science and tactics at Lincoln University, in Missouri, at Tuskegee Institute, in Alabama, and at Prairie View State College, in Texas; he had also been an instructor for the Army Extension School for Black reserve officers in 1932. His overseas experience included service in the Philippines, and at one time he worked under Colonel (later General) Benjamin O. Davis. But he became frustrated over his assignments and concluded that he could contribute more and receive better recognition in Ethiopia.[31] There is no sign that the State Department gave him any support. Anyway, he never served in Ethiopia.

From Bartlesville, Oklahoma, Shellie Nelson, a high-school teacher, wrote, "I am the representative of an organization of Bartlesville Negroes who are desirous of entering the conflict." An inquiry came from John A. Diaz, of Tucson, Arizona, affirming that "50,000 Americans of African descent [are] ready to leave for Ethiopia for the expressed purpose of defending that country's independence...In my lectures I come in contact with numerous African-Americans, ex-soldiers, mechanics, and professionals, who are eager to go to the aid of Ethiopia in her hour of suffering."[32] Diaz signed his letter as organizer of the Association for Ethiopia's Independence.

Joseph C. Coles, of the Detroit Committee for Aid to Ethiopia, wrote to Secretary of State Cordell Hull that "there are a number of sympathizers here of Ethiopian people...and [they] are desirous of doing something tangible in expressing sympathy." Coles wanted to know if his committee would be transgressing "the laws of raising funds, recruiting volunteers, and [doing] other things" that his group deemed necessary.[33]

An exceptionally militant piece of correspondence came from the International African Progressive Association, of Beckley, West Virginia. That organization wrote to Secretary Hull that

> the Black Man in America is not an alien in any State or District anywhere in Africa, he was simply taken away against his will...the black man in America is an aborigine, indigenous to Africa, torn

> from home[;]...he has never sworn allegiance to the New World...The black race is a much despised race by the white races [.]... What is the big reason that the U.S. objects to the Ethiopians in America going to the aid of his brothers in defending their ancient kingdoms, against their enemies?
>
> Our emperor Haile Selassie is calling upon the descendants of the very Africans who were seized and brought to this country by violence[;]...the insistent call of the Africans at home must be answered by the Africans abroad...It is all black folks['] duty to defend Africa, whether at home or abroad[;] Africa is the home of the black folks.[34]

This unsigned message came from an organization in a small town of a small, conservative, poor state. The International African Progressive Association manifestly had an articulate leadership that was aware of the relationship between Africa and its diaspora. Africa for Africans, the idea of Africa as home for African Americans, had emerged as a concept in this country around the 1850s. And black as the label for African Americans was an idea in the black legacy that would gain momentum in the 1960s and 1970s. But the State Department seemed to attach little importance to this correspondence, for there is no record of a response to it.

In Fort Worth, "Negroes met to consider going to Ethiopia...to spill their blood in behalf of our native land." Walter J. Davis, a World War I veteran and the apparent leader of the meeting, said that the gathering was called to "protest against the threatened war." He drafted an open letter, which was distributed:

> My dear Emperor:
>
> I herewith ask your permission to organize a company of men, by voluntary enlistment, for military duty in behalf of your country. There are a large number of local colored men who are ready to spill their blood...We are ready at your command, and will request only that your government pay the transportation expense to Ethiopia.[35]

From neighboring Okmulgee, Randolph Mitchell, an African American, reported that "100 Negroes of that city had signed to fight for Ethiopia in event of war and that a state-wide recruiting movement was under way."[36]

Observing that many African Americans were interested in enlistment, Robert Lee Vann, the publisher of the Pittsburgh *Courier*, requested information from the State Department on regulations governing enlistment of citizens of the United States in foreign armies. The department did not deviate from the position it had adhered throughout. It cited the relevant statutes of the United States, stated the purpose of neutrality legislation, and stressed security risks in Ethiopia. The usual reply was simply to present the relevant section of Title 18 of the United States Code: Section 21 (Criminal Code, Section 9), which provided that any citizen accepting a commission to serve against a country or territory at peace with the United States could be fined up to two thousand dollars and imprisoned up to three years. It also regularly cited Section 2 of the Act of March 2, 1907, regarding the loss of American citizenship by an oath of allegiance to a foreign country.

The State Department sought to discourage travel to Ethiopia even for nonmilitary purposes and when there was no intention of taking an oath of allegiance. A typical statement during the period was that "the Department has considered it necessary to advise American citizens to leave Ethiopia, and since it cannot therefore encourage the entrance of additional American citizens into that country at the present time it has been deemed advisable not to issue passports in general to persons who decided to proceed to Ethiopia."[37] No official position seems to have been in force for citizens already holding passports. The strategy, however, was to discourage recruitment and travel without exacerbating a highly sensitive and difficult matter-especially during the election year of 1936.

A few cases of recruitment, however, did cause deep concern on the part of the Department of State and the Department of Justice. Evidence of cooperation between Ethiopian students in the

United States and African Americans came to light early in 1935. Malaku Bayen, while a medical student at Howard University, was turning out to be an important liaison with African Americans and with the State Department. He sought to ensure that the department received information reflective of the Ethiopian perspective. In December, 1934, he confided to the Division of Near Eastern Affairs of the State Department that he had a telegram from the Ethiopian government explaining how the Walwal incident occurred. He stressed that he thought the matter "extremely grave," for Italy had been "planning to attack for a long time." He also offered his judgement that neither the British nor the French would oppose the Italian aggression.[38] Bayen's entree to the State Department aimed not only at promoting the Ethiopian perspective but at winning American support despite his country's lack of official representation.

At the same time, Bayen was establishing an African American connection. He was especially popular as a spokesman for Ethiopia at African American gatherings. His commitment to black solidarity led him to welcome black expressions of support, which sometimes included a desire to enlist in the emperor's forces. To one group he said, "The American Negro, through racial kinship, is duty-bound to support Abyssinia." That kind of statement caused some journalist to portray him as the emperor's representative for enrolling volunteers. On one occasion he felt compelled to respond to the editor of the *Afro-American*, "I think it is a fine spirit for the American to be showing, inasmuch as Ethiopia is contending for a principle. I am sure that my country would be pleased to know of such willingness. I do not see why the Ethiopian Government would refuse such help provided such volunteers can find a way to keep within American neutrality laws."[39] But Bayen was quick to explain to the State Department that he did not intend his statements to be interpreted as recruiting volunteers. He was eager, though, that African American sympathies not be dampened. Whatever signal he wanted to give, several African Americans claimed to have been recruited because of him and his speeches.

One case that caused the United States government C. Malcome Ashe and Dutton Ferguson, both African Americans. Not much is known about Ashe except that he had a student's pilot license. Dutton Ferguson, who graduated from Howard University in 1929, was acquainted with Bayen and by 1936 had become editor for the Washington *Tribune*, a black American newspaper in the District of Columbia. He and Ashe acted on what they took to be a suggestion by Bayen that African Americans might be used by Ethiopia against Italy. They wrote to the Department of Commerce for a list of black pilots. They then sent some thirty letters to pilots on that list, inquiring about their availability and interest in serving Ethiopia.[40] The FBI launched an investigation and discovered several letters had gone to students enrolled in commercial aviation at Roosevelt Field, on Long Island. According to the instructor, Ernest Nathan, a transport pilot who also operated an auto parts business, he had drafted a model negative reply.[41] Nathan also explained that although Lola Jackson had told a journalist "she planned to go" to Ethiopia if she could be helpful there, she had no such plans. Cy Caldwell, an associate director for *Aero-Digest*, also assured the FBI that Nathan's students were not considering service in Ethiopia. Nathan's and Caldwell's assessments were reinforced by interviews the FBI conducted with some of the students. Leonard L. Yates, of the Bronx, had responded to Ashe but received no further correspondence. Thomas Mills had not responded. It is not clear whether Archie Smith, Harry Ross, Herbert Osborn, or Robert Thomas had. All the students denied any interest in enlisting for service in Ethiopia, however.[42] Ashe and Dutton told the FBI that they simply wanted to identify pilots and determine their availability for Ethiopia in the event of the war. Both men said that the Department of Commerce and the Department of War had held that their efforts were not illegal. Apparently the FBI was satisfied, for it declared the matter closed.[43]

What caused the FBI greater concern was a group of organizations and street speakers in New York City. One bureau report by T. H. Tracy mentioned that "street speakers were a common feature of Harlem, except in cold or inclement weather." The 32nd precinct, on West 135th Street had an officer who maintained close contact...regarded as "petty racketeers." The report explained that black officers could not gather much information and that white officers had even less success. Most of the street speakers, according to Tracy, were blacks form the Caribbean affiliated with the Garvey movement. The principle speakers were James Thornhill, of the Universal Negro Improvement Association; William Jordan, of the Ethiopian Pacifist Movement; Ira Kemp, of the African Patriotic League; Reggie Thomas, of a local branch of the International Labor Defense; and Charles T. Romney, of the American Civil Rights Association. The report called Sufi Abdul Hamid, of the International Black League, a "decidedly interesting" speaker who dressed like an Arab and was a "linguist" commanding "about six languages." Samuel Daniels was described as founder and spokesman of the Pan-African Reconstruction Association (PARA), the "largest and most active of the new organizations." Other active groups included the Afro-American Producers' and Consumers' League and the Ethiopian Guild of the Latter-Day Garveryites.[44]

Tracy reported that officers listened to all the speeches, in order to gauge activity in Harlem. His allegation was that the Italo-Ethiopian War served to attract crowds who contributed money that resulted in little more than the personal gain of some individuals. What most of the speakers called for was the boycotting of white businesses, especially those operated by Italians. Evidently the recommended tactic bore results, because some Italians were forced to move their businesses from Harlem and some of the larger stores were forced to employ blacks for the first time. But according to the report, "very little recruitment" was conducted, because the police kept the speakers "informed of the law."[45]

The most popular venues for street speakers in New York were at 130th Street and Seventh Avenue, where as many as five hundred listeners and spectators sometimes congregated, and at 132nd Street and Lenox Avenue, 133rd Street and Seventh Avenue, 138th Street and Lenox Avenue, and 135th Street and Seventh Avenue. Pictures of Haile Selassie and books on black history were for sale at the meetings. The normal pattern was for the speakers to perform nightly until about eleven and then to adjourn to a more secluded place with the "more faithful." In refuges like the long, dark sidewalk next to a school on Lenox Avenue between 134th Street and 135th Street, groups of between five and twenty-five persons could discuss matters more privately. Whites were not welcome then.[46]

Hamid and Daniels became preoccupations of the FBI. Hamid, who was born in Pennsylvania, appears to be self-trained, especially in languages, and he was a charismatic speaker capable of attracting large audiences. Although the bureau listed him as being involved in several organizations, he seems to have played a key role mainly in the African Legion and the International Black League. Investigators gave his headquarters as Dunbar Hall, on Seventh Avenue.[47]

Hamid also extended his efforts to the South. The New York *Herald Tribune* carried a story about his launching a campaign in Goldsboro, North Carolina, to raise funds for a plane for T.H. Hawkins, a flier in Harlem who had been born in Wilmington, North Carolina. The Goldsboro *New-Argus* referred to Hamid as the "Black Hitler of Harlem" because of his "radical" and "fiery" racial comments and his passionate recounting of the causes of the Italo-Ethiopian War. Later interviews by FBI agents showed that Hamid's audiences in North Carolina did not regard his remarks as either radical or fiery. Whether he adjusted his speeches to the fervor of his audience or whether what was radical and fiery depended on the listener, he was well received by several African American groups, including the African Methodist Episcopal church in Goldsboro, Dillard High School, and the "colored Baptist Church in Mt. Olive."[48] He made a number of unconfirmable claims, however. He spoke of having a summer camp in upstate New York for training recruits, and in Goldsboro he gave assurances that he had a food production plant in Harlem and that he had "sent [Herbert Julian] to Ethiopia" to train pilots. The last of these assertions was pure fabrication, casting doubt on the others, since there is no evidence substantiating them. Hamid also had a prison record for petty offenses, including "preaching Atheism without a license." But he was popular to street audiences in Harlem, particularly. It is possible that the police of the FBI harassed Hamid to contain him, for there were stretches of time when the police did not report seeing him in the streets.[49]

Daniels attracted the attention of the FBI when the United States attorney's office in New York sent to the attorney general's office, in Washington, some information, including a newspaper clipping, about Daniels' involvement in recruitment activities. The attorney's office in New York "deemed it advisable to submit the matter for consideration before taking any steps." The clipping showed a group of blacks looking at a sign labeled, Ethiopian Volunteers Register Here! Daniels and PARA were apparently enlisting volunteers, who paid twenty-five cents "for office overhead."[50]

Daniels said he was born in Tanganyika and became an American citizen in 1934. He seems to have traveled in Europe and possibly the Caribbean. The New York *Evening Journal* mentioned his "clipped English accent which he picked up in London after he fled his tribal home in Africa."[51] Daniels hoped PARA would help "bind Liberia and Abyssinia together industrially." What he meant by that and how he planned to achieve it remain unclear. Police officers and businessmen interviewed by the FBI related that in the beginning the organization was "very active with large crowds of people around, blacks and whites," and that there was considerable talk about military enlistments for Ethiopia. At that early period there were nightly meetings in the street and at Daniels' headquarters, on West 135th Street. A PARA truck passing up and down the streets of Harlem advertised the organization and its activities. According to Daniels, there were fifty thousand military volunteers in Detroit and seventy-five hundred in Chicago. He spoke of plans to obtain a ship to transport the volunteers to Ethiopia.[52]

On July 11, 1935, the New York *Evening Journal* bore the headline "Harlem Calls for Men to Fight Duce," under which it was observed that "porters, mechanics, bottlewashers, and cooks 'paid' twenty-five cents to register." Four days later, on July 15, the New York Times carried a story on a rally that PARA had organized in Harlem at the Trade and Commerce Building on Seventh Avenue, to elicit support for Ethiopia. Among the speakers was the Reverend Harold H. Williamson, an organizer for PARA, who exhorted, "Let's get right up and tell why we want to knock out Mussolini like Joe Louis did Carnera." Daniels urged African American "technicians and industrialists to apply their skill in Negro land-Liberia or Abyssinia, preferably, Abyssinia." He conceded that it was illegal for Ethiopia to recruit in the United States, but he maintained that volunteers would be "welcomed and accepted." Transportation was to be "guaranteed." He also appealed for shoes for the Ethiopians. Some of the speakers extolled Marcus Garvey; a frequent assertion was that "Africa is for Africans." Several participants said they would fight for Ethiopia. One speaker allowed that liked "the word African. No more Negroes or shines 'an coons.' African!"[53]

During the summer of 1935, not only PARA but other groups were aggressively asserting themselves. In New Haven, newspapers reported planning for a rally by PARA. Accounts multiplied about the recruitment of volunteers and the raising of funds for airplanes. But by the time the war officially began, on October 3, the United States had left no doubt about its determination not to be drawn into the hostilities and had communicated to Americans, directly through legislation, public announcements, and investigations, that the government would not countenance involvement and was unable to guarantee personal security in Ethiopia. The press and police officials, especially the latter, made sure that the American policy on recruitment and service in foreign armed forces was known by those likely to enlist.[54]

Although the attorney general's office concluded that Daniels was "engaged in a petty racket" and made no serious effort to recruit, it felt that the "violent nature of the social propaganda"rife at the meetings would become more virulent if it interviewed Daniels. It also feared that Daniels would depict an interview as proving his "victimization," to rally others around him.[55] In the end, the FBI did not take additional action against him, because it saw no serious danger in the enlistment he was conducting and did not regard his "racket" as inflicting enough pain to compel facing the indignation and controversy that would have attended its suppression.

What seems to have been another potential national recruitment movement was led by the Universal Multitechnic Association (UMA), a religiously based organization whose objective was "to study and discover means of bettering humanity and to apply these findings to the uplift of all people." The UMA called on all major social institutions-churches, states, schools, businesses, and homes-to reexamine themselves and adjust to the "human society" of the day. Although its aims were lofty and vague, and the means of achieving them were murky, the organization succeeded in attracting a large following, largely because of its emphasis on self-help and social programs in poor communities.[56]

The origins of UMA are obscure, but it was in existence in Washington, DC by July, 1935, with an office on Eleventh Street in the northwest section of the city. The organization seems to have had a relationship with the Good Samaritans, which produced the pamphlet, *The Good Samaritan*, that the UMA distributed. The Good Samaritans were located on D Street in the northwest quadrant, and it appealed for clothes and furniture for the needy, and toys for children, and arranged for the delivery of the donations. It also sought funds for establishing a camp for young boys and girls. Both the UMA and the Good Samaritans were influenced by Jane Adams and the work at Hull House.[57]

The FBI turned its attention to the UMA's alleged recruitment activities. The Washington *Times* carried an article on July 13, 1935, with the caption "Colored Group Recruites Here for Ethiopia." According to the story, a group of over two hundred, headed by former Howard University students, was mounting a "boycott and a war move against Italy." The newspaper identified the group as the UMA, which it said had opened a recruitment office in the 1300 block of U Street, NW.[58] It listed J. Van Bruner as president, James Y. Eaton as vice-president, Bernard Hampton as secretary, and the Reverend Ulyses S. Edwards as treasurer. The specific aim, it reported, was "to recruite several thousand volunteers and sympathizers." As the "first colored group to give its active support to the Ethiopian cause," the organization had passed at an earlier meeting a "resolution urging the boycott of all Italian merchants in Washington and vicinitity who refuse to protest in writing to [the] Italian government officials against the invasion of Abyssinia." The *Times* also mentioned that the association had decided to establish branches in Maryland and Virginia.[59]

On July 14, the Washington *Herald* informed its readers that "white recruits [were] ready to fight for Abyssinia." Walter Isham, a former truck driver, explained that he liked "to be where there's trouble." He remembered "hearing his father...talk of his own youth in Abyssinia... and now a second-hand nostalgia has seized him." The *Herald* wondered if the UMA would "receive white recruits" as well.[60]

When the Department of State began receiving reports about the U Street recruitment operation, it initiated an investigation. Charles H. Simmons, a white man, told it that he had enlisted and that his transportation to Ethiopia would be paid. He added that he would receive no salary but would be covered by a thousand-dollar life insurance policy. The Justice Department began an immediate investigation.[61] Its inquiry confirmed that Edwards, Eaton, and Bruner were leaders of the UMA, but they all denied inducing anyone to enlist for services in the Ethiopian army. They maintained that they only collected names of sympathizers with the Ethiopian cause. It was not their intention to violate American statues, they assured the Justice Department.[62]

But according to the Washington *Times* the enlistment had been going on for several weeks and the department was unsure whether to proceed against it. One official, Frank Parrish, had been informed that recruitment was occurring in New York and other cities, but his position was that "we probably will take no action unless the State Department requests that we do."[63] Parrish also observed that the "recruiting in Harlem, New York, according to reports I have received, has all the earmarks of a racket...What puzzles me is the interest of the colored people in the Italo-Ethiopian developments. The reigning House of Ethiopia, unless I'm mistaken, does not belong to the colored race, but rather is Semitic. This appeal to the colored people along race lines seems to be to all poppycock.[64]

On July 30, the FBI submitted a copy of its report on the UMA to the State Department. Edwards and his associates seem to have convinced the bureau that their activities were not ill intentioned and did not violate the law. Edwards insisted that the names and addresses of the sympathizers were collected for possible future reference and that there was no obligation on anyone's part. There was no commitment to issue insurance policies, and such funds "could not possibly be raised by the association." Edwards stressed tht there were no plans to hold mass meetings or to collect funds, munitions, or supplies on behalf of the Ethiopian cause. The FBI ruled, "This case is closed subject to being reopened if the Bureau or Department denies further investigation."[65] There appears to have been no desire to continue this investigation.

Obviously, considerable exploration of ways to join Ethiopia's armed forces took place among black Americas. In the final analysis, though, economic depression and increasingly persistent government restraints and harassment prevented all but two African Americans from participating in the war. The two who went to fight were pilots, Hubert Julian and John Robinson. Julian, who was born in Trinidad, migrated to the United States in 1921. Robinson, who was born in Florida and educated at Tuskegee Institute, resided for many years in Chicago.

Julian, an early supporter of Garveryism in New York an a largely self-trained pilot and parachute jumper, organized a number of flying and jumping exhibitions that earned him the title of Black Eagle. Bayden heard about Julian's exhibitions and recruited him as a pilot for the emperor in 1930. Hiring was part of the general campaign to employ African Americans in Ethiopia. When Julian arrived in Addis Ababa, he attested to the United States legislation that he had several years' experience as a flyer and trainer and that he had was the only black with a flying license in the United States. Neither of his statements were correct, however. His flying experience was very limited and not consistently successful, and at the time he had received only a student pilot's permit such as others too had obtained for ten dollars. The permit merely indicated interest in seeking a regular license later. Julian acquired his license in 1935.[66]

Within two weeks, Julian succeeded in having the emperor arrange and witness his successful parachute jump. That won him a medal, the Order of Menlik. Ethiopian officials, the local media, and the diplomatic community were highly impressed by Julian's performance. The French diplomates and aviation advisors, however, were conspicuously cool to the demonstration of prowess, and no doubt for good reason. Not only had Julian expressed disdain for French advisors, the French were anxious about their future in Ethiopia. The American charge d'affaires had informed the State Department that the emperor wanted to break the French monopoly in the country's aviation program.[67]

After the successful jump, Bayen recieved a sizable allocation of funds for the introduction of an avaiation training program under Julian, who later maintained that the emperor awarded him the title of colonel. Julian hoped to use his prestige to help him sell aircrafts to the emperor. On leaving Ethiopia, a few weeks later for a short visit to the United States, he portrayed himself as chief of the Ethiopian air service, with authorization to purchase planes for the government.[68] His statements caused the American consul to inquire into their authenticity. The Ethiopian minister of the foreign office answered, "I have the honor to inform you that on his departure Mr. Julian received from the Emperor *only* a promise for an ordinary job, for which he might have qualifications, in a Department of the Government, and that he had not been given any other orders."[69]

The American legation had been pleased with the positive image of the United States that Julian's early impact fostered, though he really was a

British subject from Trinidad and only identified locally as an American. Concern began to grow, however, about his "boastfulness." The foreign minister's statement made the legislation even more suspicious and more attentive to the aviator's activities and claims.

When Julian returned, the Ethiopian government put him to work installing electric-light poles for the coronation. In spite of his self-advertisement, he did not have a high-level position and was probably not close to the emperor. It is a telling detail that he had no role in arranging the flying program for the Ethiopian student pilots at the emperor's coronation. If he had been chief of the air service, he would have been involved. He would not have been reduced to making an unauthorized flight in the emperor's favorite aircraft, which, to the embarrassment of the emperor, he crashed at the ceremony. According to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the government at first considered disciplining Julian and fining him for the cost of the plane. The eventual decision was to "expel him from the country," however, and "to have nothing to do with Mr. Julian." The Black Eagle later denied that he had been forced to leave.[70]

Although Julian was embittered and critical of the Ethiopian government, he returned to the country when the war began in 1935, planning to join the emperor's armed forces. In spite of his and others' statements, there seemed no evidence that he became supervisor of the Ethiopian air force, nor does it appear that he had any combat duty. He may have helped train ground troops, but the idea that he assumed an important position and fought for Ethiopia very likely goes back to gullible journalist eager to accept flamboyant rumors about the Black Eagle's exploits.[71]

John Robinson was a man of a different cast. Although he had been denied entrance to several pilot classes in the United States because he was black, he persisted, eventually becoming the first black graduate of the Curtiss-Wright Aeronautical School, in Chicago. Later he was one of the school's instructors.[72] Robinson was not a headliner. He did not perform in exhibitions but taught others and flew private planes. He was much less widely known than Julian, but he gained considerably more experience as a pilot.

When Bayen was in medical school, he wrote to Claude Barnett, the publisher and director of the Associated Negro Publishers (ANP), and African-American new agency, expressing interest in black technicians: "As I see it now, my country will not [73]get very far with the help that is rendered by the white man for the development of the country." Bayen elaborated on his country's need for chemists, mechanics, engineers, and other such specialists, and he requested Barnett's assistance in identifying and selecting black candidates: "I hope to make one of my points to have our Government convinced that their cooperation with western Negroes would be a quick solution to our need." Barnett recommended Robinson, whom Bayen interviewed and selected as a pilot. The two men sailed together for Ethiopia on May 2, 1935.[73]

Bayen and Barnett had discussed the utility of informing African American about developments in Ethiopia. Bayen had agreed to translate Ethiopian news items for Barnett, and the publisher arranged for Robinson toserve as a reporter for the ANP in Ethiopia. Robinson went to Ethiopia with more than one mission.[74]

Notwithstanding the experience the Ethiopian government had had with Julian, it recieved Robinson well, appointed him a pilot in the Ethiopian air force, which at the time may have included only nineteen vintage planes. Robinson flew several missions for the emperor, and some say that during the war he was the principle means of communication between the government and the front lines of battle. Reportedly, he also flew the emperor on several reconnaissance inspections over the battle zones. On two occassions, his planes may have taken hits, but he sustained no serious injuries. Because of his aeronautical virtuosity, he became known as the Brown Condor.[75]

Unlike the Black Eagle, whose departure brought relief to the Ethiopians and whose return to the United States elicited denunciations of him as a coward and a traitor, Robinson was popular among both Ethiopians and Americans. The Brown Condor received a hero's welcome in the

United States, and he was determined to support the cause to the end. Over the following years, he toured the nation as a lecture and fund raiser for Ethiopian defense and played a larger role in the organization and development of the Ethiopian World Federation. He returned to Ethiopia to participate in its postwar reconstruction and died there in 1954.

There is a final, somewhat tragic note on Julian. In November, 1935, a rumor circulated in Addis Ababa that a high-ranking American was in league with Italians to assassinate the emperor. Although Julian was not a high-ranking official, suspicion came to rest on him, especially after a newspaper reported that the suspect was a "colored American." Although Julian was among those the government interrogated in its investigation, it filed no charges against him. Still, it had become clear that his presence in the country was a burden on him and his hosts. In November, 1935, he left on short notice, after a stay of only four months.[76]

In view of Julian's unremitting efforts to obtain a ranking position in the armed forces and his posturing about his influence in the country, his frustration over the way he had been treated is understandable. He felt that his "service and knowledge were not appreciated," and he became openly critical of the Ethiopians. Calling the country backward, he predicted an Italian victory. He was careful, though, not to attack the emperor, whom he admired but thought poorly advised. It was because of his public attacks on the country and the war effort, and his "threatened 'exposure' of conditions in Ethiopia," that a number of African Americans denounced him as a "traitor" and "Judas."[77]

In the United States, Julian announced a national tour to lecture on Ethiopia and his experiences there, at a fee of a thousand dollars an appearance. As flamboyant as ever, dressing and traveling in style, he struck pro-Ethiopian leaders and their groups as a threat to fund-raising efforts being launched. Some African Americans talked of blocking the tour and appealed to the State Department to deport Julian. Willis Hugging announced that mass meetings were being planned to discredit him.[78] None of this, however, silenced the Black Eagle. If anything, he was emboldened. One newspaper account quoted him as saying, "It would certainly be an act of God if some well-meaning civilized nation would go to Ethiopia and try to lift that country out of the rut of backwardness...That mission of mercy could certainly be performed without the aid of guns and the ruthless destruction of life, limb, and property." He argued, "His majesty, Haile Selassie, is all that an honorable, sincere, courageous human being could be, but he is being weighed down with tremendous handicaps of internal strife, brought on by the lack of discipline, class hatred, and many other outmoded evils which go to make a backward and non-progressive country." Julian hurled his strongest criticisms against the award of key government positions to whites: "There surely must be something radically wrong when a human being volunteers to die, if need be, for a country that is populated by black people from the ruler down to the most humble peasant, and that human being finds...that all government jobs and positions of responsibility are being held by white men."[79]

The class conflict and internal strife that Julian perceived did hobble Ethiopia, as they did many other countries. But Julian worsened the problems by his ineptitude, his gross exaggerations of his skills and contracts, his intrigues, and his distortions of the facts. Several whites occupied crucial advisory positions in the government, but Ethiopians also held responsible posts. The truth was that Ethiopians-Bayen and others-recognized that not enough of their countrymen possessed the skills the nation required.

Many African Americans no doubt shared some of Julian's dissatisfactions with the Ethiopian regime, including those about the autocratic and feudal manner in which it proceeded. But Paul Robeson probably expressed sentiments of most: "There may by serious problems-slavery, for example-but Ethiopia could work out her own problems in time. There is no reason to believe that Italy can work them out for her."[80]

Rebuffed by the greater number of African Americans, Julian sailed for France in January, 1936, and in June he announced in Naples that he had become an Italian citizen with the name Huberto Fauntleroyanan Juliano. That was the last piece of evidence many people, especially among African Americans, needed for believing the Black Eagle was an agent of the Italians. They thought they at last understood why he had been able to travel in luxury, dazzle with is wardrobe, and flaunt a fat wallet.[81]

The Federal Bureau of Investigation had decided that Julian was a personality to be watched: "Subject who fought in the Ethiopian Air Force for Haile Selassie during the war with Italy is reported to have visited the N.Y.C. Italian Consul General after his return to the U.S. in [19]36 and to have been given three free trips to Italy thereafter on Italian Line Ships. The Consul General is reported to have financed him to the extent of $1500 for propaganda work among the Negroes in Harlem, N.Y.C. where he is now to be continuing pro Axis speeches and attempting to cause Negro dissatisfaction."[82]

Julian later tried to pass off his involvement with the Italians as a stratagem he had advised with Bayen to win an audience with Mussolini so he could assassinate him. But nothing corroborates that story. Bayen, who appears to have severed relations with Julian after the plane crash in 1930, had repudiated him in public speeches and was to denounce him as a fraud in his book. Julian's attempt at vindicating himself appears in his autobiography, published nearly thirty years after the events. The book is poorly documented and is very sketchy and inaccurate on many matters.[83] Without independent confirmation, that source remains unreliable, especially in view of Julian's well-documented distortions earlier in his life.

The Black Eagle probably had the best intentions at the outset, but his misunderstanding of the Ethiopian milieu, his several disheartening encounters in the country, and his diminished prestige in the United States and Ethiopia after he had greatly exaggerated his status all contributed into making him and easy prey for the Italians. His penchant for grandiose schemes renders it at least conceivable that he thought he could carry out the assassination of Mussolini, however preposterous that seems in light of his many other failed ventures. Julian was naive and confused by the momentous events into which he had been trust. He seems to have had virtually no pro-Italian effect on African Americans and may have fortified black resolve regarding the Ethiopian cause.

Ironically, though, a greater number of African Americans fought in an approximately concurrent non-African war than participated in Ethiopia's resistance. Just two months after Selassie's self-imposed exile and nine months after Italy's full-scale invasion, the Spanish civil war erupted. About a hundred African Americans volunteered for combat in what was essentially an internal conflict in Spain. How is it possible to account for the heavier involvement of black Americans there than in Africa? In the first place, the Spanish recruitment was better organized and financed and centered on a transnational objective. It was a worldwide effort promoted in large measure by Comintern, which instructed Communist parties everywhere to recruit volunteers to fight fascism in Spain. Conscious of the menace of European fascism and nazims and alarmed by Italy's victory over Ethiopia, an estimated thirty to forty thousand came from England, continental Europe, Canada, Latin America, and the United States. The Socialist party in the United States, under Eugene Debs, solicited funds and sought volunteers. The labor unions were a wellspring of contenders against fascism, as were the college and university campuses, where the fight for democracy became, for some, a moral crusade.[84] Some of the participants were Communist, some were not. But the appeal was strong for all, and it had a powerful resonance with the concerns of black Americans. Leonard L. Yates, who had been approached earlier about serving in Ethiopia and who joined the contest in Spain, wrote afterward, "It is a sad indictment of American politics that the only political platform that seemed to recognize the reality of my life belonged to the Communist Party." Its call for equal rights, the vote, an end to segregation, discrimination, and lynching was attuned to the experiences of black Americans.[85] Some black volunteers also recalled that enlisting in the Spanish civil war compensated for their debarment from the Ethiopian conflict by American law.

Between January, 1937, and October, 1938, something in the neighborhood of a hundred African Americans fought in Spain with other Americans in the Abraham Lincoln an George Washington battalions-later merged as the Lincoln-Washington Battalion-and in other units of the International Brigades. Along with the moral appeal, the promised compensation drew some during the Depression years. But the desire to combat fascism and racism seemed the major motivation for risking the loss of life. One who fell was Oliver Law, a black American commander of the Lincoln-Washington Battalion.[86]

The United States had no compelling financial interest in Ethiopia, but there were an estimated seventy million dollars of American investments in Spain. American citizens remained in Spain throughout the civil war. The government of the United States attempted to follow a policy of neutrality and nonintervention, but the Roosevelt administration is thought to have been sympathetic to the Spanish Republicans and to have known that supplies and volunteers were arriving to assist them.[87] In the Ethiopian conflict the American government was more vigilant, enforcing special restrictions against travel.

But the lasting importance of the black activism in behalf of Ethiopia arises less out of the numbers enlisted than out of the demonstration it afforded of a pan-African commitment on the part of African Americans, the diaspora, and the residents of the African colonies, and across class lines. That commitment extended beyond the emotional response to united in battle and persisted in fund raising, in diplomatic activities, and in post-war reconstruction.

Writing in Foreign Affairs, W.E.B Du Bois captured both the historical significance of the war and the reality of the black condition; "Italy has forced the world into a position where, whether or not she wins, race hate will increase...Black men and brown men have indeed been aroused as seldom before... If there were any chance effectively to recruit men, money, and machines of war among the one hundred millions of Africans out side of Ethiopia, the result would be enormous."[88]

Notes

[1] Among the many valuable books on the Italo-Ethiopian War are Angelo del Boca's *The Ethiopian War, 1935-1941*, trans. P.D. Cummins (Chicago, 1969), Brice Harris' *The United States and the Italo-Ethiopian Crisis* (Stanford, Calif., 1964), F. Hardie's *The Abyssinian Crisis* (London, 1974), Alberto Sbacchi's *Ethiopia Under Mussolini: Fascism and the Colonial Experience* (London, 1985), and S.K.B. Asante's *The Pan African Protest: West Africa and the Italo-Ethiopian Crisis, 1934-1941* (London, 1977). See also Harold Marcus, *Haile Selassie I: The Formative Years, 1892-1936* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1987), Chapter 8.

[2] S.K.B. Asante, "The Italo-Ethiopian Conflict: A Case Study in British West African Response to Crisis Diplomacy in the 1930s," *Journal of African History*, XV (1974); M.B. Akpan, "Ethiopia and Liberia, 1914-1935: Two Independent African States in the Colonial Era," in *General History of Africa*, ed. A. Adu Boahen (8 vols.; Paris and Berkeley, 1985), VII.

[3] Asante, "The Italo-Ethiopian Conflict," 301.

[4] *Barbados Advocate*, August 2, 1935, August 17, 1935. For reactions in Africa, see Asante, *The Pan African Protest*.

[5] London *Sunday Times*, July 21, 1935.

[6] *New Statesman* and *Nation*, July 20, 1935; *Barbados Advocate*, August 24, 1935.

[7] 765.84/1481 ½, Public Reactions in West Indies to the Italo-Ethiopian Question, September 12, 1935.

[8] 765.84/2037, Reaction in Jamaica to Italo-Ethiopian War

[9] Brian L. Friday, "The Impact of the Italo-Ethiopian Crisis in Trinidad, 1934-1937" (Ph.D. dissertation, Dalhousie University, 1986), 9.

[10] Ibid.,

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[12] James W. Ivy, "Traditional NAACP Interest in Africa as Reflected in the Pages of the Crisis," in *Africa As Seen by American Negroes*, ed. American Society of African Culture (Paris, 1958); Rodney A. Ross, "Black Americans and Haiti, Liberia, the Virgin Islands, and Ethiopia, 1929-1936" (Ph.D. D dissertation, University of Chicago, 1975); "Neutrality Bill Amendment Would Aid Italy in War" (NAACP Press Release, n.d., in Files for 1935, ERC). For a general discussions of the NAAACP, see Warren D. St. James, *The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People: A Case Study in Pressure Groups* (New York, 1958).

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[13] Pacific Movement, Philadelphia, "To the King of Ethiopia," September 9, 1935 In ERC.

[14] Sufi Abdul Hamid, International Black League, to Malaku Bayen, February 26, 1935, in ERC.

[15] Selwyn W. Lucas to Malaku Bayen, March 25, 1935, in ERC.

[16] Samuel Albert to Ethiopian Research Council, July 5, 1935, in ERC.

[17] Arthur Smith to Ethiopian Research Council, July 16, 1935, in ERC.

[18] Harry L. Broome and Pearle F. Broome to Ethiopian Research Council, August 24, 1935, in ERC.

[19] Lige Green to Ethiopian Research Council, August 26, 1935, in ERC.

[20] R. Mae Hicks to Ethiopian Research Council, September 19, 1935, in ERC.

[21] Joseph Green Johnson to Ethiopian Research Council, July 8, 1935, in ERC.

[22] Howard Moore, acting secretary, Ethiopian Research Council, to Selwyn W. Lucas, June 17, 1935, Howard Moore to R. Mae Hicks, October 10, 1935, Howard Moore to Arthur Smith, July 20, 1935, Howard Moore

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[24] Howard Moore to Will W. Trimble, October

[25]

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[27] 884.2221/12, Sam Buck to President Roosevelt, July 20, 1935.

[28] 884.2221/33, A. H. Randall to President Roosevelt, October 7, 1935.

[29] 884.208/8, W.P. Perkins, Macon, Georgia, to State Department, October 6, 1935; 884.208/9, Walter Johnson, Plainfield, N.J., to State Department, October 7, 1935.

[30] 884.2221/7; Memorandum by Wallace Murray, July 16, 1935; 884.2221/14, R.R.Walker to secretary of state, July 20, 1935; 884.2221/10, Henry Kimble to secretary of state, July 19, 1935.

[31] 884.20/20, Arthur P. Hayes, New York, to secretary of state, July 19, 1935.

[32] 884.2221/16, Shellie Nelson to Department of State, July 25, 1935; 884.2221/46, John A. Diaz to Cordell Hull, December 30, 1935.

[33] 884.2221/23, Joseph C. Coles to secretary of state, August 24, 1935.

[34] 884.2221/12, president general, I.A.P.A., to Cordell Hull, July 24, 1935.

[35] New York *Times*, July 14, 1935.

[36] *Ibid.*

[37] 884.2221/31, Wallace Murray to Norman Yoder, October 16, 1935; Philadelphia *Tribune*, June 13, 1935, P. 1.

[38] 765.84/100, December 17m, 1934.

[39] 765.84/178, February 23, 1935.

[40] 884.2221/52, March 30, 1936.

[41] 884.2221/50, February 17, 1936.

[42] 884.2221/511, April 10, 1936; New York *Times*, July 25, 1935.

[43] 8834.2221/52, March 30, 1936.

[44] 884.2221/51, April 10, 1936.

[45] Ibid.

[46] 884.2221/50, February 17, 1936.

[47] Ibid.

[48] Ibid.; New York *Herald Tribune*, August 31, 1935; Goldsboro (N.C.) *News-Argus*, August 30, 1935; J. Edgar Hoover to Hon. Stephen T. Early, secretary to the president, Memorandum on Colonel Hubert Fauntleroy Julian, November 13, 1940.

[49] 884.2221/50, February 17, 1936.

[50] 884.2221/8, July 19, 1935.

[51] 884.2221/50, February 17, 1936; New York *Evening Journal*, July 11, 1935.

[52] 884.2221/50, February 17, 1936

[53] Ibid.

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[54] Ibid.; 884.2221/51, April 10, 1936.
[55] 884.2221/22, September 13, 1935.

[56] 884.2221/6, Memorandum with Attachments, July 17, 1935.

[57] Ibid.; *Good Samaritan*, July 13, 1935.

[58] Washington *Times*, July 13, 1935.

[59] Ibid.

[60] Washington *Herald*, July 14, 1935.

[61] 884.2221/3. Memorandum, July 16, 1935; 884.2221/4, Wallace Murray to William Phillips, July 16, 1935.

[62] 884.2221/6, Memorandum, July 17, 1935.

[63] Ibid.; 884.2221/5, Memorandum, July 18, 1935.

[64] Washington *Times*, July 17, 1935.

[65] 884.2221/5, Phillips to attorney general, August 2, 1935; 884.2221/22, legal advisor, State Department, September 13, 1935; 166.121/54A, Pual Alling to Addison E. Southard, July 29, 1930; 166.121/41, Park to secretary of state, May 26, 1930.

[66] 166.121/49, James L. Park to secretary of state, June 4, 1930.

[67] Ibid.; 166.121/50, James L. Park to secretary of state, July 12, 1930; 166.121/57, James L. Park to secretary of state, July 7, 1930.

[68] 166.21/62, Addison E. Southard to secretary of state, September 15, 1930.

[69] 166.121/64, Addison E. Southard to secretary of state. October 14, 1930; 166.121/65, Addison E. Southard to secretary of state. October 20, 1930.

[70] 166.121/65, Southard to secretary of state, October 20, 1930. For Julian's account, see *The Black Eagle: Colonel Hubert Julian, as Told to John Bulloch* (London, 1964), 90-91.

[71] John Peter Nugent has explained in *The Black Eagle* (New York, 1971) that Julian trained ground troops, was appointed military governor of Ambo, and participated in combat. Nugent, however, presented no documentation for the assertions in the book, many of them at variance with available evidence. He did not explain his methodology, although it seems that the book resulted from interviews with Julian, who must be regarded as highly questionable, if not reliable, source. See *The Black Eagle*, 95-100.

[72] James William Cheeks, unpublished manuscript; John Robinson, "Wings Over Ethiopia," *New Masses*, July 7, 1936; James William Cheeks', Thurlow Evans Tibbs', and William Steen's interviews with author, 1981-85.

[73] Claude Barnett to Malaku Bayen, January 8, 1935, Malaku Bayen to Claude Barnett, May 6, 1935, both in Barnett Papers, Chicago Historical Society (Microfilm at Moorland-Spingarn Research Center, Howard University).

[74] Claude Barnett to Malaku Bayen, February 5, 1935, Malaku Bayen to Claude Barnett, January 21, 1935, January 30, 1935, William Robinson toClaude Barnett, November 21, 1935, all in Barnett Papers.

[75] Robinson to Barnett, November 21, 1935, in Barnett Papers, "Wings."

[76] Nugent, *The Black Eagle*, 101-103.

[77] Philadelphia *Tribune*, November 14, 1935, December 19, 1935, February 6, 1936. For Julian's explanations, see *The Black Eagle: Colonel Hubert Julian as Told to John Bulloch*, 113-116.

[78] *The Black Eagle: Colonel Hubert Julian as Told to John Bulloch*, 113-116.

[79] News clipping in Hubert Julian File, Moorland-Spingarn Research Center, Howard University.

[80] New York *Herald Tribune*, January 12, 1936.

[81] Ibid.; January 13, 1936, January 18, 1936; *Pittsburgh Courier*, January 1, 1936, January 11, 1936; New York *Times*, June 19, 1936; William Randolph Scott, "Hubert F. Julian and the Italo-Ethiopian War: A Dark Episode in Pan-African Relations, *UMOJA*, n.s., XI (Summer, 1978), 89.

[82] Department of the Army, Intelligence, and Security Command, Dossier No. X8438938, pp. 104, 105.
[83] Malaku Bayen, The March of Black Men (New York, 1939), 6; The Black Eagle: Colonel Hubert Julian as Told to John Bulloch, 113-16.

[84] F. Jay Taylor, *The United States and the Spanish Civil War* (New York, 1956), 104, 106; Hugh Thomas, *The Spanish Civil War* (New York, 1961), 298; Gabriel Jackson, *The Spanish Republic and the Civil War* (Princeton, 1965), 336-38; Richard Traina, *American Diplomacy and the Spanish Civil War* (Bloomington, Ind., 1968), 88.

[85] James Yates, Mississippi to Madrid (Seattle, 1989), 98-99.

[86] Taylor, *The United States*, 102-103, 109; Thomas, *The Spanish Civil War*, 461, 464-465; Yates, *Mississippi to Madrid*, 137, 138.

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[87] Taylor, *The United States*, 54-108.
[88] W.E.B. Du Bois, "Inter-Racial Implications of the Ethiopian Crisis: A Negro View," *Foreign Affairs*, XIV (1936), 88.

PART TWELVE

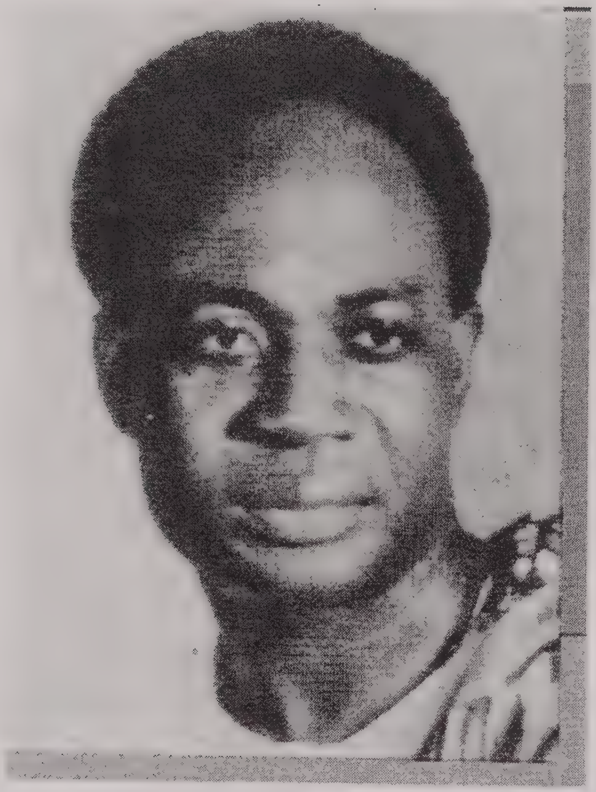
AFRICAN LEADERSHIP: THE DIASPORA CONNECTION

I am convinced that developments in my native land will do much to enhance the prestige of peoples of African descent who are scattered all over the world.

Nnamdi Azikiwe

Negro history was a most popular subject and the classroom was always packed to capacity. I think I enjoyed lecturing on this subject as much as my audience appeared to enjoy listening. Another course which I liked was social philosophy; this also attracted a lot of students to my class. However, I never considered myself to be anything more than a novice and it was consequently a very pleasant surprise to me when, in 1945, the year I left America, I was honoured by the Lincolnian (the magazine of Lincoln University), which voted me, the most outstanding professor of the year.

Kwame Nkrumah



Kwame Nkrumah

Nnamdi Azikiwe

ZIK IN AMERICA: SELECTED SPEECHES

by

Nnamdi Azikiwe

From a speech delivered when proposing the toast 'To the High School Department of Storer College' at the young Men's Annual Party which was held in the Anthony Memorial Hall, at Storer College, Harpers Ferry, West Virginia, in May 1927.

I am proud to have graduated from the High School Department of Storer in May last year. Since my experience of life is limited, all I can advise the upper class men and women is to remind them that this college stands for high ideals. It stands for purity of youth; it stands for the advancement of coloured youth; it stands for all that is good, noble and lofty in life.

Those of you who are on the threshold of graduating from this intellectual shrine should henceforth fashion your lives to the highest principles and ideals, so that when you depart from here to take your places in life, as men and women of our race, you will be worthy of emulation by posterity.

From what we have been told by our fathers and teachers, the ocean of life is tempestuous and it is filled with hidden rocks and shoals. However, we are encouraged to know that only lion-hearted men and women can endure and survive life's problems successfully. That being the case, it is my hope that high school graduates will gird their loins for the struggle and remember that in the final analysis, they are the captains of their fate and the masters of their destiny.

From Zik's eulogy on the late Hogan Edem Ani-Okokon delivered in the Rankin Memorial Chapel, at Howard University, Washington, D.C., on May 10, 1928.

Okokon was patriotic, but he was not parochially so. Although he loved Africa, he realized that America had a lot to offer Africans by showing them the way to real freedom and true democracy. He admired and respected the ideals and traditions which animated the founding of this great republic. He had visions of Nigeria becoming a great country, emerging from the continent of Africa, offering freedom to those in bondage, and securing the democratic way of life to those who have been lulled into a false sense of security under colonial rule.

It is my fervent prayer that God may sanctify the life of this young African so that we, his survivors, will not forget the sacrifice made by this pioneer of freedom in Africa. If God spares me to return home alive, I pledge that I will join crusaders for human freedom anywhere in the world and we shall intensify the struggle for democracy in Africa.

I will never forget to remind my fellow crusaders in Africa that, in the spring of 1928, we buried him in Washington, and that the spirit of Okokon stands guard over his grave which is now a land-mark in our journey from the world of darkness to the world of light. May the body and soul of Hogan Edem Ani-Okokon rest in peace, and may his memory be an inspiration to Nigerian posterity.

From an address delivered in the Abyssinian Baptist Church, New York, on November 10, 1931, during the annual meeting of the Association for the Study of Negro Life and History.

The eyes of the world are on Liberia. Men without appreciation for the contribution of the Negro to modern statesmanship are content to criticize this African Republic without deep thought on the onerous duty of statecraft. Greedy nations are lurking and watching Liberia like hawks. In this her hour of despair and universal condemnation, Liberia needs to take seriously the political philosophy of that great Cuban Negro, Senor Rafael Serra, who warned that it is necessary for the government to exercise more urbane and equal treatment and less oppression, so as to safeguard the security and liberty of the individual and the nation itself.

Ladies 'and gentlemen, I submit that eighty-four years of political autonomy are not sufficient to pass a final judgment on the political incapacity of the Liberian, Negro. Dr. Woodson states that Liberia's first century compares faourably with that of the colony of Virginia. While Liberia encouraged education and social uplift, Governor William Berkeley was narrow enough to 'thank God that there were no free schools or printing presses in the province.'

Let it be remembered also that it took Great Britain fourteen hundred years after the conquest of Boadicea to draft the Magna Carta. It took her several centuries more to pave the way for the English Revolution which established a constitutional democracy. It took France eighteen hundred years after Caesar's conquests in Gaul to dream up and effect the French Revolution, thereby founding a government of the people, for the people, by their accredited representatives. Even the United States of America spent one hundred and fifty-six years, after the landing of the Pilgrim Fathers, in political tutelage as a vassal of an alien colonial power. As judge T. M. Stewart pointed out, the United States was heir to generations of civilization and experience in government. Her builders were fresh from the schools and universities of Europe. British brains and capital laid the foundation of the American commonwealth of nations.

In spite of this unequal handicap, Liberia is still keeping pace. Commander A. H. Foote states the case for Liberia more tersely: 'Let then the black men be judged fairly, and not presumed to have become all at once and by miracle, of a higher order than old historic nations through many generations of whom the political organization of the world has been slowly developing itself.' Even acknowledged authorities in the field of politics and government recognize the evolutional nature of modern democracies. Liberia should not, therefore, be hastily condemned.

From an address in response to the message of greetings by the Deputy Mayor of New York on the occasion of Zik's visit to the City Hall, at New York, on June 11, 1947.

I come from a part of the world called Nigeria, in West Africa. When the foundations of democracy were rocked, during the World War II, my country played an honourable part in order to *preserve* this political philosophy from extinction. We sent our sons and daughters to the various theatres of war and we shed our blood in order to make the world safe for the democratic way of life. Side by side we fought and died with the American soldier, sailor and aviator; hoping, trusting and believing that, jointly, we should defeat the common enemy and that, side by side, we should win the peace. I and my inarticulate people hope that these gallant heroes and heroines have not died in vain.

I bring to you goodwill from across the Atlantic. We are thirty million. We have our own traditions and heritage which go back to ancient Egypt. Some of us are literate, articulate and able to adapt ourselves to the contradictory conditions of contemporary world society; but not all of us are literate and sufficiently advanced to appreciate the import and significance of the material and social techniques of modern industrial civilization. Nevertheless, we have the breeding and native intelligence to appreciate good neighbourliness in a world that is gradually becoming one through the magic wands of twentieth-century science and invention.

Twenty years ago, whenever I visited New York City on a short trip from my university, and found it uneconomic to seek for a house to pass the night, I learned from experience how to pass a comfortable night in the subways, so generously placed at the disposal of guests and residents of the city, for the nominal charge of a nickel! In those days, I was also acquainted with the methods of some employment agencies at Sixth Avenue where, on the payment of five dollars, one can be hired today and fired tomorrow; and on payment of another five dollars to the same agency, one can be re-hired by the same employer the following day. Naturally, such recollections are inspiring, for apart from helping me to cultivate a sense of humour, they strengthen my faith in American democracy, because, in spite of handicaps of yesteryears, I have forged ahead, I have realized my dreams, and I have learned to love America as 'God's Country.'

From a response to a toast made in his honour at the dinner arranged jointly by the Lincoln University Alumni Association and the African Academy in the Hotel Pennsylvania, New York, on June 27, 1947.

I wish to speak to you tonight on the subject of co-operation between the United States and dependent territories in West Africa.... As I see the issue, it is one of human contacts. The minds of men and women must be liberated from those social forces which foster intolerance and ignorance. The more we know each other, the more we will appreciate the oneness of humanity, and the more we will cultivate the urge to create goodwill, fellow ship and mutual understanding. Let us recognize and emphasize at once that such a task cannot be restricted to one continent alone. It must be a two-way traffic. This implies bridgeheads in Africa and America, in order to make co-operation worthwhile....

At present, the United States have many universities at their disposal and West Africans have none. But the idea of exchange implies equality of a basic nature. Here is where I think American educators and those interested in building up goodwill between the two countries can be of immense aid. The granting of scholar- ships to African students to study has its advantage. So too good- will tours to West Africa by Americans. But to broaden the base of operations and make this two-way traffic much more efficacious we have to make university education accessible to the Africans as well. By the establishment of a university in West Africa, organized and administered by the American and African peoples concerned and their friends, we should succeed in creating good-will centres where teachers and students from America can spend sabbatical leaves. Surely, if we can have 'Yale University in China', 'American University in Turkey' and 'American University in Beirut' I can see no reason why we should not have 'Lincoln University' or 'Howard University' in Nigeria. I trust that all who am interested in this project of adjusting human relations will bear in mind this idea of establishing a university in West Africa in order to make the bridge-head in Africa more secure and more valuable to the cause of understanding, goodwill and fellowship with the United States.

From an address delivered at the Banneker High School Auditorium, Washington, D.C., on December 27, 1949, at the 3,5th Anniversary of the Phi Beta Sigma Fraternity.

I have travelled 8,500 miles in order to be present on this momentous occasion. It took me less than 40 hours to make the trip by aeroplane, in two stages, thanks to modern scientific knowledge. I bring you greetings from Sigma men who are scattered over the continent of Africa. In concert with their comrades-in-arms they are playing their part in the great awakening which has gripped that continent of everlasting spring, having been imbued with the idea of 'Culture for service and service for humanity'.

What is the nature of the struggle for national freedom in contemporary Africa? What are the forces at work to intensify that struggle? What is the reaction of the African people towards national realization? What is the role of the United States in this attempt of the African towards national self-determination? These are some of the issues I shall attempt to clarify within the limited time at my disposal. Throughout Black Africa, a struggle for national freedom is in the offing, because factors of imperialism have stultified the normal growth of Africans in the community of nations. Consequently, our indigenous people present a sorry spectacle of degraded humanity. Politically, they are dominated by alien races and are denied the basic human rights. Socially, the African has been made to witness discrimination of different kinds against him in his own native land. Economically, the African has been subjected to exploitation of a most heinous type, whilst he vegetates below the minimum subsistence level of existence.... Yet, in spite of his plight he has become self-assertive and he is demanding a place in the sun.

What forces have been at work to intensify this struggle of the African for self-determination ? Let me take the liberty of referring to comments made by Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt during the World War II, when it appeared that certain sections of American society were diffident in participating wholeheartedly in the war. She said: 'We are fighting a war today so that individuals all over the world may have freedom. This means an equal chance for every man to have food and shelter and a minimum of such things as spell happiness to that particular human personality. If we believe firmly that peace cannot come to the world unless this is true for men all over the world, then we must know in our nation that every man, regardless of race and religion, has this chance. Otherwise we fight for nothing of real value.... If the future holds only a repetition of the past, if in each nation there are to be real slaves, even though they do not exist in name, then the boys who say they do not know why they fight have a light to say so. There would be no world worth fighting for and the only men who would have any reason for fighting would be the professional soldiers who fight for the love of fighting.'

That was precisely what happened to the African. He was persuaded to fight in order to free European nations. His reward was denial of freedom and the tightening of the chains of servitude. Due to the forces of intolerance, prejudice, ignorance, pride, and superstition, those whose homes were bombed by the V1 and V2 bombs, those who had suffered the humiliation of the concentration camp refugees, displaced persons, kings without kingdoms, 'Governments, without countries—these ungrateful Europeans continued the enslavement of their former comrades-in-arms, after winning the war. Thus they have failed to win the peace. Today, man is still a wolf to man, and the teeming millions of Africans have been denied the heritage of democracy, despite their sacrifices in two world wars for its attainment.

... I think that the Government and the people of the United States can play a creditable role in the attempt of the African to achieve freedom in his life-time. Emerging from World War II not only as an arsenal but a bastion of democracy, the United States has been presented by history with an opportunity for constructive statesmanship on the continent of Africa. Having been educated in the United States, I could be expected to be steeped in the traditions of Jeffersonian democracy. But that cannot make me blind to any situation which might stunt the natural development of my people towards an independent national existence. At times, I am perplexed at the role of the United States on the African continent. Is this great nation buttressing the forces of European reaction so as to manacle the people of Africa and thwart their legitimate aspirations towards nationhood?

It is obvious that the United States Government is assuming some responsibility for the development of the under-developed areas of the world. We who live in some of these under-developed areas are profoundly gratified that such a great nation should realize the urgent need for this economic step. The proposal of the Point Four Programme by President Harry S. Truman is indicative that this part of the world feels that its economic life is affected by the conditions which have caused stagnation in under-developed areas, comprising more than half the people of the world. Perhaps it is fitting at this moment to interject an old adage familiar to all of you, that no economic chain can be stronger than its weakest link. From the fact that more than half the chain is weak, it follows that the economic mooring of the world is not too secure.

It is commendable that at this moment in the course of world history, when cold war propaganda has such an unnerving effect on the more highly developed nations, President Truman should propose something that should lighten the tension of this ideological warfare. Such a project is ripe with possibilities that may save the world from a war more devastating than the two struggles that most of us have witnessed in our life-time. The crux of this programme seems to me in a large measure to be the solution of the problem with which we are confronted in West Africa. Moreover, it is a denunciation of the old imperialistic policies based an exploitation of less fortunate people that has heretofore set the world asunder. It means that the people of the western world may look forward to a more bountiful life; that they may feel that they can enter more freely in the competitive struggle to satisfy their human wants. The effect on the people of Africa can be better imagined.

But is there a deeper economic significance to the Point Four Programme? Is it possible that the under-developed areas contain raw materials which the United States must have because the stock-pile reserves are getting dangerously low? To an African who has been conditioned to expect many strange behaviour patterns in international relations, in so far as these patterns have affected Africa, the questions seem to cast the twin shadows of doubt and fear. I am optimistic enough to believe that President Truman must have fully realized that in spite of the urgent need for replenishing the stock-pile of priority materials, such as cocoa, tin, columbite, bauxite, palm products, uranium and so on, which abound in my country, all under-developed areas must be invited to participate in a programme that has the potential ingredient for establishing more firmly the four freedoms so essential to a free world.

One feels that the President had rightly put the aims and objectives of his country first. It follows that all advantages for that country must be

considered. That, again, *is as* it should be for the best interest of this country. But we who live on the other side of the world could derive many benefits from these co-operative efforts. Naturally, our aim would be to work vigorously for the success of such a programme. In it we can visualize a turn of events which can lead ultimately to our independence'
However, the general nature of the President's Point Four Programme has elicited different interpretations from various interests. Big business in America, for instance, sees it as a new avenue for private ventures and from all appearances suggests that the Government guarantees security of operation against risk. While, on the other hand, the British authorities have interpreted the Point Four Programme as a new device for bridging Britain's dollar gap. In the light of this latter interpretation, which is very vital to the struggle we are making for freedom, it is heartening to know that the United States is not necessarily in accord with Britain on this score. This may suggest the reason for the Kennan Report's recommendation of an on-the-spot study of the African situation. It may hasten the day when the United States Britain must re-orientate their policies in respect of future relations with Africa as an under-developed area.

From an address delivered in the Abyssinian Baptist Church, Harlem, New York, on January 15, 1950, with Congressman Adam Clayton Powell as Chairman.

The importance of Africa in contemporary world politics becoming clearer, thanks to the emergence of certain forces which have affected the existence of Europe and America. Like it or not, Africa is destined to become the continent of the present century. What happens there today must be material to the future course of world history. Without exposing myself to the righteous indignation of well-meaning critics, may I be permitted to say that Nigeria is a key to the solution of the African problem. Every sixth African is a Nigerian. With its raw materials, Nigeria enjoys prestige in the forefront of African nations. In spite of the impact of Western culture, its institutions are basically African. The future of Nigeria is thus intertwined with the future of Africa, nay, the Negro race.

Two main problems have projected Nigerian affairs on the screen of world opinion: the demand for independence and the shooting of Nigerian coal miners. To have an intelligent grasp of these problems, you are entitled to be well-informed about their setting. This should enable you to pass a fair judgment on the crusades we have embarked upon for the emancipation of Nigeria in the life-time of those crusaders who have made this a life mission.

Nigeria is partly a Crown Colony, partly a Protectorate, and partly a Trust Territory. With a population of thirty million and an area of 372,000 square miles, it is easily the most important dependency in the British colonial system. By virtue of a Treaty of Cession negotiated in 1861, the sovereignty of Lagos and certain areas was ceded to Britain for ever. By virtue of over 400 treaties, the main areas of Nigeria were placed under British protection. Cameroons became a trust territory following the change from the mandate system. In spite of the well-defined status clarified above, Britain has ruled Nigeria as a British possession, thus embittering Anglo-Nigerian relations and leading to a demand for complete independence.
Protectorate status was established as a result of treaties which took the following pattern: the Nigerian signatories, in return for British protection against external aggression, agreed

to help in the suppression of the slave trade;
to abolish human sacrifice;
to co-operate in establishing British trade in the country;
to facilitate the activities of British missionaries;
to protect British subjects and their property.

Britain also guaranteed not to interfere in native law and custom, excepting where they were repugnant to conscience. In other words, the treaties creating such protectorate status reserved to the Nigerians the right to internal sovereignty, and conceded to the British the exercise of external sovereignty. The paradox of this situation is that the British, in spite of their solemn treaty obligations, have exercised both the internal and external sovereignty, without due regard to the objections of the Nigerians and contrary to the decisions of the British and international courts on protectorate status. Since it is obvious that our forefathers did not cede the Protectorate of Nigeria to Britain, we are determined to regain our territories in order to take our rightful place in the world community of nations.

The economic background of our problems is one of life and death. In spite of our natural wealth we are regarded as a 'backward, 'under-developed', and 'undeveloped', or 'non-self-governing' area. Our oil, coal, lignite, tin, iron, lead and uranium-233 deposits have not been utilized to transform Nigeria into an industrial and manufacturing country. Our agricultural resources are used to buttress the domestic economy of Britain. There is a restricted market for our raw materials, so that the world has no free access to them, contrary to the Atlantic Charter. The British have established a regime of monopoly in the commercial, ship- ping, banking, and mining enterprises of that country. Through their pools and chambers of commerce and mines they dictate the price to be paid to the Nigerian producer for his raw materials, and also dictate what price the Nigerian consumer must pay for imported and manufactured goods.

Taxation is both arbitrary and oppressive; although the necessary amenities for business and tax-payers are not provided, business and individuals are taxed almost at the rate obtaining in the United Kingdom. The cost of living is high owing partly to artificial scarcities created by the monopolies and combines in the essential supplies and necessities, and partly to the concentration of the farmers on economic crops which find a ready market, rather than food crops, with their price deteriorations. The wages-index has been erratic in that certain discriminatory practices have established bi-racialism in the domain of labour. The currency is con- trolled by Britain and Nigerians have no voice in determining its value the present devaluation of sterling has brought hardship to the Nigerian economy against which we have no remedy. Naturally, these economic factors have had an adverse effect on the standard of living of the people, most of whom may be said to be living below the minimum subsistence level. To the outside observer, it is clear that such a challenging situation can exist only in a country which is in political bondage. That is true.

An address delivered during the banquet arranged by the Board of Trustees of Howard University to honour the recipients of honorary degrees of that university, on June 4, *1954.*

Mr. President, distinguished guests, it is with humility and respect that I rise to place on record my gratitude and appreciation of the distinction which Howard University has conferred upon me today. In making me one of the recipients of your doctorate in Law, you have honoured my people and the Government of Eastern Nigeria, of which I have the honour to be Leader and Minister of State charged with the portfolio of Local Government.

As a crusader in the cause of human freedom in Africa, I am very grateful to Howard University for helping to mould my outlook at the formative stage of my intellectual and physical development. Here at the Hilltop, I learned the rudiments of the humanities, the anatomy of the social sciences, and the grammar of politics. Tunnell, Locke, Harris, Bunche and Hansberry were among my teachers. They gave me an insight into the complex problems of human nature.

My body was made beautiful as a temple to house the intellectual currents to be generated after my college days. Your athletic field and gymnasium gave me opportunity for rehearsing the battle of life, thanks to the skilful guidance of Watson, Pendleton, and Burr. That was twenty-five years ago.

Having been armed mentally and physically, I was ready to take my place in the romance called life. The academic back- ground served as a weapon to challenge cant and hypocrisy, to sift the chaff from the wheat, and to cultivate objectivity in assessing human situations and problems. 'Me training in physical education provided poise and the spirit of *noblesse oblige.*

For twenty years now, I have been comrade-in-arms with others in the crusade for human freedom in Africa. It has been an arduous struggle—long, tough, bitter and excruciating. Sometimes, one is tempted to surrender, especially when allies of yesterday become enemies of today. Sometimes one feels like a motherless child, hoping against hope to be transported to Nirvana, where it is hoped there will be no more sufferings, no more disappointments, and no more sorrow. Then out of nowhere will come the faint echo of the Spiritual: 'I will go, I shall go, to see what the end will be.'

The goal is now in sight. The Pharaoh of yesterday, who knew not Joseph, has now known him and found in him attributes of statesmanship. The lion and the palm tree have found much in common to make life worthwhile. It is no longer a question of might being right. The issue now resolves itself into what is right for humanity. Dr. Johnson, it is with happiness that I announce that a few months from now, your humble servant will become Premier of Eastern Nigeria, an autonomous Government within the Federation of Nigeria, whose cabinet of twelve ministries will formulate policy for the maintenance of law and order for the eight million inhabitants living within its jurisdiction. Her Majesty the Queen will sign the constitutional instrument by an Order-in- Council which will be promulgated immediately. In other words, the 32 million inhabitants of Nigeria are now on the threshold of independence; other things being equal, by 1956, the world will witness the emergence of a new State in the family of nations.

I have outlined the course of our national struggle because I want to emphasize the point that, in spite of its magnitude and the length of time involved, not a drop of blood has been shed towards winning our freedom. We were provoked beyond description perennially—some of us were jailed, fined heavily, exiled temporarily, and some of us died in the course of the struggle. But we did not allow ourselves to be deflected from our goal, nor did we lose our heads, in spite of handicaps. Rather, we inched along patiently, tactfully, confidently.

I can never forget the opportunity which Howard University offered me to be of service to humanity. I fought the fight as a member of a team, obeying the rules of the game, yielding ground gracefully when I must, making no excuses, and being noble with- out ostentation even in the finest hour of victory.

From *an address delivered in the Harold Fetter Grim Gymnasium, Lincoln University, Pennsylvania, at the Banquet of the General Alumni Association, on June 6, 1954.*

Fellow alumni, I am very proud to be a Lincoln man because I know what Lincoln has done for me. This great institution gave me an opportunity to develop my personality in an environment which tested my character almost to the limit of human endurance. Claude McKay said that although United States fed him with bread of bitterness and sank into his flesh its tiger's tooth, yet he loved this 'cultured bell'. Many times I have often felt that way too, but I have faith in this country as a bastion of democracy. However, I must warn that times are changing and we must not only evaluate the present in terms of the past, but we must bear in mind what the future holds in store for humanity at large.

Lincoln University has equipped me for the great task ahead by making me appreciate that although the continent of Africa is rather late in the race for progress and advancement in the world, yet handicaps were made to be overcome and barriers to be hurdled. I am, therefore, ready for this glorious task. I have faith in humanity. I have the vision and the imagination to appreciate the need to dedicate myself selflessly to this romance of nation-building in Africa.

At this stage, I would like to say that the struggle for national self-determination with which I have been actively associated in the last twenty years has not been without its toll of penalties. Provocations were many, not to speak of the numerous persecutions, prosecutions, victimizations, ostracizations or the galaxy of fines inflicted on my business enterprises in order to crush my spirit. Need I remind you of the numbers of my comrades in arms who were imprisoned or those who died while furthering this noble cause? Nevertheless, we have fought the good fight without shedding one drop of blood, without violence, without bitterness, and we have gained a grand and glorious victory. Today, the lion and the palm tree have cultivated mutual respect. Having under- stood each other, they now realize that the world is big enough to contain them, and they have decided to co-operate to mutual advantage.

An address delivered at the celebration of the fiftieth anniversary of the National Association for the Advancement of Coloured People, held on the Polo Grounds, New York City, July 19, 1959.

I am greatly indebted to the National Association for the Advancement of Coloured People for the invitation to speak on this occasion of the celebration of its fiftieth anniversary. For five decades, this organization has been in the vanguard of the struggle for human freedom in America. Its objective has been the attainment of equal rights for people of African descent and other peoples of colour who are citizens of this great bastion of democracy.

In the thoughts of Abraham Lincoln, this country was conceived in liberty of the individual and it was dedicated to the idea that democracy as a way of life can only be meaningful not only to its inhabitants but to the rest of the world if all facets of its society respect human dignity in the noble attempt to create equality of opportunity for all.

For 183 years, the people of the United States have been involved in a historic experiment to determine whether democracy can survive as an ideology which places a high premium on the value of the individual in a society which is heterogeneous. Throughout this period, this great country has been the cynosure of the world. Every little mistake in human relations has been magnified out of its proportions. Every error of judgement in the relations of the races has been critically analysed. And every act of injustice based on such extraneous factors as race, colour, creed or station in fife has been subjected to the most severe strictures.

Such a negative attitude has not been due to any inveterate hatred of the United States per se (although we must admit that those with axes to grind cannot but make capital out of such slips), but the main reason is the universal respect which the world has for this country. Because of this high esteem, the outside world expects the United States, like Caesar's wife, to be beyond reproach, so far as respect for human dignity is concerned, bearing in mind 'the spirit of 1776'.

As students of human relations we know the fundamental social problems which confront those who are privileged to rule others. We also realize the impossibility of changing human nature in particular areas of social activities. But any Government which makes the slightest pretension to be democratic must prove itself equal to its responsibility by ensuring the application of the rule of law in the maintenance of order in a stable society, and by guaranteeing to its citizens the enforcement of fundamental rights.

What are these fundamental rights? They are the window display by which democracy advertises itself as a way of life. They are the yardstick by which the success or failure of democracy as an ideology can be most accurately assessed. These imply the exercise of freedom of speech, the freedom of peaceful assembly, the freedom of association, the freedom of movement, the freedom of private property, the freedom of public trial, the freedom from want and the other essential human freedoms which are enumerated in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

For fifty years the NAACP has weathered the storm in the challenging situation of the American scene, which finds American citizens of colour in the ironical position of constantly reminding certain segments of American society, through the due process of law, that American democracy must be a living reality in American society. That this point of view has been stressed with all constitutional means at their disposal is very commendable indeed because it demonstrates their implicit faith in and unalloyed loyalty to the American way of life.

The NAACP has been an inspiration to me and to my colleagues who have struggled in these past years in order to strengthen the cause of democracy and revive the stature of man in my country. As a student in this country from 1925-1934, 1 had the opportunity of being fed with my American cousins what Claude McKay called the 'bread of bitterness'. But I have also had the unique honour of sharing with these under-privileged God's own children the challenge to conquer man-made barriers and to forge ahead to the stars, 'in spite of handicaps'.

This spirit of the American Negro, as exemplified in the constitutional struggles of the NAACP, has borne fruits of victory in the course of the years. It has given the United States a fair chance of reconciling the theory of democracy with its practice in America. It has also fired the imagination of the sleeping African giant, who is now waking up and taking his rightful place in the comity of Nations. What a glorious victory for the American Negro!
Since the historic decision of the United States Federal Supreme Court in 1954, the Government and people of this country have been alive to their duty to the people of America and to the world. They have worked assiduously to enforce the constitutional guarantees of the fundamental rights of the citizen within the territorial limits of this country. And they have proved their genuine desire to improve race relations in this great country.

It is true that the NAACP, as one of the watch-dogs of the less privileged people, is still on the warpath; nevertheless history has provided the answer to the question whether the American Government believes in and practises democracy. Any serious student of race relations in America must admit that there have been radical changes for the better in the last quarter of a century. Only Governments which believe in democracy are capable of allowing themselves to be influenced by organized public opinion, and this is a credit to the present Government, in spite of what its critics may honestly choose to add to the other side of its balance sheet.

In Africa, the NAACP spirit of active resistance to the forces which are inconsistent with democratic principles has fired our imagination. We have relentlessly fought any attempt to foist upon us the horrible stigma of racial inferiority. We have successfully challenged cant and hypocrisy among those who pay lip service to democracy. And we have severed for ever the chains of autocracy in many African countries where millions of Africans were held in political bondage. We are proud that today Egypt, Ethiopia, Ghana, Liberia, Libya, Morocco, Sudan and Tunisia am free sovereign and independent States; and we look forward with joy to the celebration of the independence of French Cameroons, Nigeria, Somalia and French Togoland in 1960.

Since I come from Nigeria, it may be pertinent for me to say a few words about my country and our plans for the future. Nigeria is a country which, in area, population and potential, can stand comparison with all but the largest countries in the world today.

Our population is estimated between 34 and 40 million. This is three times the population of the Union of South Africa and 10 million more than the population of Egypt. We are the largest populated country in Africa and the thirteenth in the world. In size, we are thrice as large as Great Britain and larger than any country in Europe except Soviet Russia.
Our mineral resources include large reserves of coal, iron ore, tin, lead, zinc, limestone, petroleum and natural gas; and our agricultural resources include palm oil and kernels, cocoa, rubber, groundnuts, cotton, timber, hides, and skins. Ours is an expanding economy. We have had a favourable balance of trade for many years now and, judged by our sterling balances aboard, not only is our currency very stable but our public finances are viable.

It is true that our languages are multifarious and give the impression to the outside world that Nigeria is a mere geographical expression because the British are said to be the only cement which holds Nigeria together. But the fact remains that Nigeria is also a historical reality, since social forces have caused the people to live together and to become integrated as a nation in the last fifty years. Factors which led to the building of America, Canada, Switzerland, and other nations, in spite of their racial, cultural and linguistic differences, are also at work in Nigeria, and we are optimistic that, other things being equal, our similarities are bound to outweigh our dissimilarities in the long run.

I therefore appeal to the Press and journalists, particularly of the Western democracies, to display statesmanship and be more objective in analysing our internal problems and not to exaggerate them, since these differences are not unique or peculiar to us but also exist among peoples of other continents who have ultimately resolved them and forged themselves into one nation. I have been obliged to mention the Press and journalists of the Western democracies, because, to my knowledge, the Press and journalists of the Soviet bloc have neither exploited our differences to their advantage nor used them in order to mislead the- outside world or to knock our heads together as the former had done and are still doing.

Our people are essentially democratic and our major political parties are working hard to establish parliamentary democracy in Nigeria. Having experienced the tutelage of British rule, we have learnt to appreciate the traditions of constitutional government, and we are all geared to continue the rule of law and respect for human dignity, on the attainment of independence in Nigeria, next year, as we are successfully doing today.

As far as I and my Party are concerned, we shall continue the difficult task of inculcating a sense of one-ness in our people so as to crystallize common nationality. We believe in the creation of one country and we will always eschew the idea of breaking Nigeria permanently into three or more divided and weak which would be innocuous as a factor to be reckoned with either in Africa or in the community of free nations. I speak in this vein because, like many other Nigerians, I have lasting connections with all the three Regions which now form the Federation Nigeria.

I was born in Northern Nigeria, where the boundaries of country lie on the verges of the Sahara Desert, and where majority of the inhabitants worship God according to the tenets of Islam, and where the camel caravans still ply to and fro in their various missions across the desert to the Middle East. I was educated in Lagos, the capital of Nigeria and a great seaport, where the ships of various nations anchor to trade with us. When the Ministerial system of government was introduced into Nigeria, I represented Lagos in the Legislature of Western Nigeria, where I still reside, in spite of my temporary absence in Eastern Nigeria.

My parents are natives of Eastern Nigeria, the arsenal of republicanism in Nigeria. Although I am lbo, yet I speak Yoruba and I have a smattering of Hausa. I am now Premier of Eastern Nigeria, the land of my fathers, which lies five hundred miles from Lagos and almost a thousand miles from the place of my birth in Zungeru, in Northern Nigeria. Each of our three Regions is vastly different in many respects, but each has this in common: that, despite variety of languages and custom or difference in climate, all form part of one country which has existed as a political and social entity for fifty years. That is why we believe that the political union of Nigeria is destined to be perpetual and indestructible.

This, then, is the Nigeria which in fifteen months' time will become a free, sovereign and independent State. It will be, by a very large margin, the biggest State in Africa. It will be no vassal State depending for its existence on the sufferance of other Powers. It will formulate its foreign policy in its national interest, but it will not be neutral on any issue which effects either the destiny of peoples of African descent anywhere on this planet or the peace of the world. Sustained by its connection with the democratic world, and powerful through the number of its inhabitants and the extent of its resources, Nigeria will be a country of consequence and, I am convinced, a force in world affairs.

Let me also emphasize that it will be a democratic country. In recent years great efforts have been directed actively towards building the institutions of democracy, and the fruits of these endeavours, together with the essentially democratic character of indigenous African society, give hope that Nigeria will be a country where the rights of the citizen will be respected, and where freedom under the law will be guaranteed to all. In Nigeria, we are building a country of which the whole black race can be justly proud. We have entrenched in our Constitution such fundamental human rights as civil liberties and freedom from discrimination of any kind.

Although Nigeria enters a future rich in promise, problems remain in plenty. The greatest of these is to raise the standard of living of our people, and it is in this connection, in particular, that we of Africa seek the co-operation of citizens of African descent in the United States. As I have shown earlier on, we have vast human, vegetable, animal and mineral resources awaiting development. All we need is capital investment, technical and managerial skills before these resources can be put to their fullest uses for the benefit of the people of my country and the investors.

You can help us by ensuring that this great country of America expands its existing trade relations with Nigeria. You can encourage our endeavours not only by opening the doors of your seats of learning to students from Africa, but by giving us the desired technical, technological and managerial co-operation in the development of our natural resources.

At this Convention today, we look back over the fifty years since the NAACP was founded. That period has seen great strides made in the struggle for justice for peoples of African descent, both here and in Africa. Today, we in Nigeria stand on the threshold of great events and we enter a future bright with promise.

I am convinced that developments in my native land will do much to enhance the prestige of peoples of African descent who are scattered all over the world. Your kindness in inviting me to speak today underlines the basic community of feeling between coloured Americans and their brothers in Africa. We struggle towards the same ultimate objective: to revive the stature of man so that man's inhumanity to man shall cease. Your success shall be our success and your failure shall be our failure. In this basic unity lies the promise of great advancement for the black race throughout the entire world.

THE AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF KWAME NKRUMAH

AMERICA

Early in 1935 I realized that more decisive efforts would be needed if I was ever to get to the United States. Although I saved every penny I could lay hands on there was still not enough to pay for a passage. Then I thought of a relative who might help, a man who had moved years ago to Lagos in Nigeria.

To Lagos I went. Rather than dip into my precious savings to meet the cost of transport, I decided to stow away on a boat which was leaving Axim for Lagos. Mingling with the crew I slipped on board and stayed down with the firemen for the whole of the voyage, sharing their food and the extreme discomfort and heat of the boiler room. It was my first experience at sea and I was violently sick the whole time. Consequently when I arrived in Lagos I looked like nothing on earth. Unwashed, unshaven and with tattered clothing I certainly looked as if I had worked my passage, and no questions were asked when I got off the boat at Lagos.

It would have been unthinkable to visit anyone in such a filthy condition. There was nothing for it but to go to the market and buy a new pair of flannels and a shirt. Hiding behind the mass of clothing on the market stall, I hurriedly changed and emerged looking a more respectable being. It was not until I arrived at my relative's house, however, that I was able to wash and shave.

I spent several days here, for my host had many questions to ask about our relations and friends. When the time came for me to leave he kindly gave me money to supplement my savings, and also paid my passage back to Axim. I thanked him in high spirits; my trip to America was at last becoming a reality.

Some months before, I had successfully applied to Lincoln University for admission, but only one or two close friends with whom I stayed knew of my plans. Now I strove to complete my arrangements. As there was no American Consul in the Gold Coast at the time I should have to travel first to the United Kingdom to obtain a U.S. visa. Thanks to my kinsman's generosity I had one hundred pounds. To this the Chief of Nsaeum, another relative, added fifty pounds, out of which I paid for a third-class passage from Takoradi to Liverpool. Within a month of my return from Lagos everything was in order and I waited impatiently for the day of departure.

My joy was overshadowed, however, by the thought of having to break the news to my mother. I knew how much I meant to her and how deeply she would grieve over my going. Accordingly I went home and stayed with her for a few days but it was not until the night before I was due to leave that I had the courage to tell her. She was obviously very shocked but showed no sign of grief and we sat up talking the whole night through. I cannot recall all we discussed during those hours, but I remember very clearly my mother listing carefully all that I should do and all that I should avoid whilst I was away. She also related in detail the history of my ancestors, of the chief Aduku Addaie, the first of my forbears to settle in Nzima centuries ago, whose sister Nwia gave birth to my matrilineal line. She also told me of my claim to two stools or chieftancies in the country, those of Nsaeum in Wassaw Fiase, and Dadieso in Aowin. I took notes of all that she told me and always carried them with me until one day I lost them in a New York subway. The following morning I packed my few possessions into the canoe which was to take me across the Ankobra river on the first stage of my journey to Takoradi. As I looked up-river where the swirling muddy waters disappeared among a mass of jungly growth, I saw the women and children of the village standing knee-deep in the water unconcernedly bathing or washing clothes. At this peaceful picture of African rural life, I felt my first pang of homesickness. I took a deep breath and forced myself to smile as I came back up the bank to say a final goodbye to my mother. Then I saw that she was in tears. In spite of trying so hard to hide her feelings this final parting proved to be too much. With tears in my own eyes I told her that if she would rather I stayed behind she had only to say so. She stood and looked at me for a few minutes, 'It cannot be helped,' she said, 'may God and your ancestors guide you.'

And so, with very heavy hearts, we waved goodbye, little knowing that it would be twelve years before we saw each other again.

I boarded the motor vessel *Apapa* at Takoradi and was shown into a third-class cabin. In these strange surroundings I felt desperately alone and sat on my bunk close to tears. But as providence would have it, looking suddenly on the bed I saw a telegram. When I opened the envelope I found it was from Nnamdi Azikiwe and read : ' Goodbye. Remember to trust in God and in yourself.' These few words, so well timed, at once cheered me. I began to count my blessings and to remind myself that this, after all, was the beginning of all that I had planned and saved for.

The journey was uneventful except for one quite unforgettable experience. I had struck up an acquaintance with an Indian passenger, and when we arrived at the Canary Islands he invited me to go ashore and take a look at Las Palmas, the capital. I accepted gladly and together we went into the town. Not knowing anything of life outside my native country I followed him in all innocence into a building which looked like a hotel. We sat down at a table and, although I only wanted a glass of water—which was all I ever drank—he insisted on ordering beer from an old woman who was hovering about in the shadows. The beer arrived and was immediately followed by two elegant Spanish girls in negligées. I kept my eyes glued to the table legs and prayed that they would hurry up with their business and vanish as quickly as they had come. But to my utter horror and embarrassment one of them came over, planted herself on my knee and began stroking my hair and generally enveloping me with her limbs. I had only seen white women from a distance and the fact that one of them should approach me at such uncomfortably close quarters completely unnerved me. I uttered a cry, jumped up, spilling both the woman and the beer on to the floor and ran as fast as my trembling legs would carry me back to the ship. My Indian friend found this so amusing that he never ceased to laugh about it for the rest of the trip.

On arrival in Liverpool I was met by the agent of George Grant, a timber merchant in Nzima. (*Affectionately known as ' Pa ' Grant and 'the father of Gold Coast politics,' George Grant was first President of the United Gold Coast Convention, and had a long and distinguished public career until October 1956 when he died at Axim, aged 78. I was able to visit him shortly before he died The expression on his face then and his attempts to rise from his sickbed to embrace me, moved me deeply. Now he is dead, I realise that the gesture was his way of expressing satisfaction at the thought that he had lived to bear the announcement of a date for Ghana's independence.)* I stayed in a hotel for the first week then I travelled up to London in order to have my passport visa-ed for the United States. Bewildered and very much out of my depth I began to wonder if it would not be better to give the whole thing up and return home. But just as I was feeling particularly depressed about the future, I heard an excited newspaper boy shouting something unintelligible as he grabbed a bundle of the latest editions from a motor van, and on the placard I read: *'MUSSOLINI INVADES ETHIOPIA'*. That was all I needed. At that moment it was almost as if the whole of London had suddenly declared war on me personally. For the next few minutes I could do nothing but glare at each impassive face wondering if those people could possibly realise the wickedness of colonialism, and praying that the day might come when I could play my part in bringing about the downfall of such a system. My nationalism surged to the fore; I was ready and willing to go through bell itself, if need be, in order to achieve my object.

When I returned to Liverpool the timber agent invited me to stay with him and his wife, and they were both so hospitable and welcoming that I began to feel less bitter. I was also learning that the ways of the western world were very different from those of my country. One evening as we were talking over a meal the woman said to her husband: 'Oh, don't be silly !' My eyebrows shot up in surprise and I waited, anxious and embarrassed, for the man's rebuke. But he took not the slightest offence and carried on talking. in Africa I dread to think what would have happened to the woman who told her husband not to be silly. Such a remark could have been used at that time as grounds for divorce. To-day, of course, with the influence of the West, our women say pretty well what they are thinking without reserve and their husbands have had to resign themselves to it.

After a fortnight's stay in Liverpool I set sail for the United States in one of the boats of the Cunard White Star Line. This trip was very much better than my previous one from Takoradi to Liverpool because I made several friends. One of them, a young Dutchman, who was going out to finish his theological studies at Harvard Divinity School, remained a good friend of mine the whole time that he was in America. Once we went to a service at the Abyssinian Church in New York, one of the biggest Negro churches that I have ever known. On that Sunday the church was so packed with people that we could not get inside and we had to go to an annexe adjoining the main building where another Negro minister was preaching. Acting in a most dramatic fashion, he began to tell us the story of how Jesus carried the cross to Calvary. After some time the women in the congregation were completely overawed and began to weep and to shout: 'It is Jesus ! Have mercy ! Hallelujah !' There must have been as much noise in that church as from the crowds in Jerusalem centuries before.

It was very embarrassing. Here was a European witnessing a most undignified Negro service. As we left the church I tried to apologise but he seemed surprised at this and said, with all sincerity, that it was the most beautiful thing he had seen so far in any church. If other denominations introduced something like it, he added, they might have a greater following. It was my turn to be astonished and I believe it was this young man who got me interested in theology. I arrived in New York towards the end of October. London and Liverpool had prepared me for America, otherwise I think the shock of New York after the peace and quiet of my native land would have finished me. I stood open-mouthed at what I saw. There was so much going on that it was a job to focus my eyes on anything for long enough to find out what it was. I was conscious of being hemmed in by the most gigantic buildings, so high that surely they must pierce the heavens; of being jostled about by the never-ending crowd; of being hooted at by what seemed like a hundred impatient drivers every time I thought about crossing the road, but somehow I felt neither lonely nor afraid, for there was an air of suspense, of excitement and gaiety and I felt rather as if I had wandered on to the stage during the performance of some revue.

I knew nobody in New York but had been corresponding with a Sierra Leonean who had graduated from Lincoln University. He was not expecting me so I called a taxi and directed the driver to the address in Harlem that he had given me in his last letter. Luckily he was in and he made me very welcome. I felt immediately at home in Harlem and sometimes found it difficult to believe that " was not Accra. I would have been very happy to stay longer but two days was all I could spare. I was already nearly two months behind schedule, the school year had begun and I was in a hurry to get to Lincoln and begin my studies. I had written to the Dean, both from the Gold Coast and again from Liverpool, explaining the delays but I could not feel secure until I presented myself and was admitted.

Lincoln University, founded in 1854, was the first institution in the United States to give higher education to Negroes and to train these students for service and leadership within the Negro population of the States. The idea and its achievement were the direct result of the inspired efforts of the Reverend John Miller Dickey, a Presbyterian minister, and his Quaker wife, Sarah Cresson Dickey.

When I arrived at Lincoln I had only the equivalent of forty pounds in my pocket, a second-class teacher s certificate and a letter of introduction from Mr. S. R. Wood. I went to the Dean and explained my financial difficulties, that forty pounds was all the money I possessed but that I was prepared to work my way through College. He did not take readily to this—no doubt he had heard the same tale too many times before—but as the only alternative was to ship me back to the Gold Coast and as he was too kind-hearted to resort to such a measure, he accepted me.

I was put on probation, on the understanding that if I did well in the forthcoming examination I would be allowed to enter the Freshman Class. It was a challenge because I was two months behind the rest of the students but after much hard work I sat the examination and was awarded a scholarship. Lincoln was small; competition for places was severe and it was made very clear to us all that there was no room for slackers. There was accommodation for only about two hundred students and so, if anyone dropped consistently much below the second grade, he was asked to leave in order to make room for the next and possibly more conscientious applicant on the waiting list. When a student was classified as

Grade One or Grade Two he was awarded a scholarship which meant that each semester a certain amount of money was allowed him by the university for his fees. Luckily I always made the first or second grade and so, during the whole of my time at Lincoln, I was helped by scholarship money. Although this paid only part of my expenses, it was of vital importance to me.

There were two opportunities of earning money which were open to scholarship holders only. We could act as library assistants and also wait in dining hall. As it happened the work in the library was a great pleasure to me, but in any case there was no job, however distasteful, that I would not have attempted at that time.

I found another profitable occupation later on when our sociology and economics gave us a lot of private reading to do from which we had to make reports. Many of the students made very heavy weather of these reports and grudged having to spend their spare time writing them up. So, ever on the lookout for means to line my pockets, I undertook to write the reports for them at a dollar a time. In this way I raised quite a few dollars towards my out-of-pocket expenses. I was still very interested in speech-making and during my first year took part in the Freshman oratorical contest where I gained second place and won a gold medal. Unfortunately this medal was later taken from me as a souvenir by one of the many girls whom I knew but with whom I could spend very little time. Another girl relieved me of my Frat Pin. This was a mark of membership of the Phi Beta Sigma Fraternity of Lincoln, the motto of which is 'Culture for Service and Service for Humanity'. It was a source of wonder to me that, after the grueling initiation ceremony, members were not left with more permanent marks of membership. I remember it as one long period of torture and humiliation, the most memorable moments being when my trousers were ripped off in front of everyone, when I was chased like a fox by the hounds across fields, captured, beaten and then pushed blindfolded through a hedge. I must admit that the ordeal nearly got the better of me. I suppose there is nothing like suffering and hardship to bind people together for, once you had made the grade, it was a great fraternity to belong to. I also became a Freemason of the thirty second degree for as long as I was in the United States.

I had never experienced any difficulty in getting along with my fellow students but I was very touched and highly honoured when they voted me as being the 'most interesting' among them, recording this in the Class Year Book of 1939.

I graduated from Lincoln in 1939 a Bachelor of Arts with a major in economics and sociology, but could not get my degree straight away as I still owed the University some money. My original intention on leaving Lincoln was to enter Columbia University School of journalism, but I was so financially crippled that this was quite out of the question, for the time being at any rate. I was again very despondent, but just when my prospects seemed at their blackest I received a letter from the Professor of Theology and Philosophy at Lincoln, Dr Johnson, inviting me to return there as an assistant lecturer in philosophy. This was quite an honour but not what I had planned for myself. However, I really had little option, for the nature of my passport as a student was such that I was not allowed to stay 'out of school', during the winter months. I sat and thought about it. The offer had certainly arrived at a most opportune moment. I was desperately broke. Maybe it was the hand of fate. In the end I accepted and so, in the autumn of that year, returned to Lincoln as a philosophy assistant.

I thoroughly enjoyed it as it turned out. But I was not fully occupied. To my way of thinking, unless I was busy pretty well the whole of the twenty-four hours of each day I was wasting my time. I spent my spare moments reading every book on modem philosophy that I could lay my hands on. After acquainting myself with the works of Kant, Hegel, Descartes, Schopenhauer, Nietzsche, Freud and others, I appreciated the truth in the saying that law, medicine and the arts are the arms and legs of learning but philosophy is the brain.

Later in the same year I gained admission to the Lincoln Theological Seminary and at the same time arranged to continue my studies in philosophy and education at the University of Pennsylvania in order to get my Master's degree. The previous July I learnt that I had been awarded a scholarship of one hundred dollars by the presbyter of Washington. This was really wonderful news and it could not have come at a better time, for with this money I was able to pay for some of the courses at Pennsylvania.

I graduated from the seminary at Lincoln with a Bachelor of Theology degree in 1942 at the head of my class. As was the custom, the duty fell to me to deliver the seminary graduation oration that year. The subject I chose was 'Ethiopia shall stretch forth her hands unto God . . .' It was delivered extempore and I was a little dubious as to its success. However, when professors and past students rushed forward at the end to shake my hand enthusiastically, I knew that they had appreciated it.

In the same year I received my Master of Science degree in Education from the University of Pennsylvania. By this time I had also become a full instructor in philosophy, first year Greek and Negro history. Negro history was a most popular subject and the classroom was always packed to capacity. I think I enjoyed lecturing on this subject as much as my audience appeared to enjoy listening. Another course which I liked was social philosophy; this also attracted a lot of students to my class. However, I never considered myself to be anything more than a novice and it was consequently a very pleasant surprise to me when, in 1945, the year I left America, I was honoured by the *Lincolnian* (the magazine of Lincoln University), which voted me, the most outstanding professor of the year .

In February 1943 I received the Master of Arts degree in Philosophy from the University of Pennsylvania, where I had studied under Professor Edgar Singer Jr., and began to prepare myself for the Doctorate of Philosophy examinations. In spite of the fact that, apart from teaching and studying, I was having to travel backwards and forwards three times a week from Lincoln University to the University of Pennsylvania, a distance of well over fifty miles, I managed within two years to complete the courses and the preliminary examinations for the doctorate. All that remained before the degree could be conferred on me was the writing of the thesis.

But at that time there were other demands on my energy in order to keep body and soul together, I got a job as a counter in the Sun Shipbuilding Yard at Chester where I worked in all weathers from twelve midnight until eight the following morning). It froze so hard on several occasions that my hands almost stuck to the steel and although I put on all the clothes that I possessed, I was chilled to the marrow. At 8 a.m. I used to return to my lodgings, have breakfast, sleep for a few hours and then begin research for the writing of my thesis.

One morning when I arrived home I had my breakfast as usual then went to sleep and did not wake up until four the following morning, a sleep of about eighteen hours. When some of my friends called for me to go to work at the shipyard my landlady, receiving no reply to her knocks on my door, assumed that I had already left. Without doubt I was getting to the end of my tether and it was soon after this that I caught pneumonia.

It was a bitterly cold night and I was shivering more violently than usual. At about four in the morning I began to feel very ill and simply did not know how to carry on. I went to the company's doctor to ask if I could be excused further duty. I felt that if only I could get home to bed all would be well. When he took my temperature, however, he immediately summoned the ambulance and rushed me off to Chester hospital where I was put into an oxygen tent in a supposedly critical condition. In spite of this, I was fully conscious and my mind was perfectly calm and clear. As I lay in bed I had time at last to view my life in reasonable perspective. It seemed folly to struggle on as I had been doing, trying to use all the twenty-four hours of each day. Coupled with this, probably because I realised how close I had been to death, I longed to see my mother again more than anything else in the world. By the time I was able to get out of bed I had made up my mind that I would leave America and return home as soon as ever this could be arranged.

HARD TIMES

My ten years in America had been happy and eventful, but at the same time they had been remarkably strenuous. Life would have been so much easier if I could have devoted all my time to study. As things were, however, I was always in need of money and had to work out ways and means of earning my livelihood.

When the first summer vacation came round at Lincoln I was at a loss to know what to do because it was a rule that no student could remain on the campus after term had ended. I went to New York and stayed with a Sierra Leonean friend in Harlem. He was in no better straits than I was and so we immediately set about planning how to get a job. We thought we had a brainwave and went to the fish and poultry market early each morning, bought fish at wholesale prices and spent the rest of the day trying to sell it on a street corner. This job was particularly uncomfortable for me as I seemed to have some kind of an allergy towards fish. Although both my arms and eventually my body became covered in the most irritating rash I would willingly have stuck it out if the job had shown the least bit of profit. After a fortnight of this, however, it was clear that I was losing what little money I had and so I decided to pack it up. This caused a row between us, which was a pity, for it meant that I was not only without a job but also without a place to stay.

I was wandering down Seventh Avenue in Harlem wondering where I could turn next when I suddenly ran into a fellow student from Lincoln who came from Demerara in British Guiana. I told him of my difficulties; no money, no job and nowhere to go. 'Don't worry, old chap,' he said encouragingly, 'I think I can solve the accommodation problem as a start.' He explained that he knew a West Indian family who were extremely kind and sympathetic and that if he went along and put my case before them, he felt they might help me out. Sure enough, by the time I had told my story tears were in the eyes of the womenfolk who offered me their small spare room, and added that I was not to worry about the payment until I managed to find a job. It was through a doctor friend of this family that I was introduced to my first girl friend in America. This was Edith, a nurse in Harlem hospital. I must have been a great disappointment to her. I was quite penniless so, apart from taking her for walks and gazing into shop windows, I could not offer her much in the way of entertainment. And I must have been a bit of a bore because my favourite amusement at that time was to stand and listen to the soap-box orators at the street corners. I was quite happy to spend my evenings there either quietly listening or, as was more often the case, provoking arguments with them. Poor Edith! She was crazy about dancing, the movies and the gayer things of life. It was not surprising, therefore, that she slowly drifted away from me.

It was round about this time that I found a job in a soap factory. I had imagined that I would leave work each day exuding the scent of roses or honeysuckle but this was far from the case. It turned out to be by far the filthiest and most unsavoury job that I ever had. All the rotting entrails and lumps of fat of animals were dumped by lorries into a yard. Armed with a fork I had to load as much as I could of this reeking and utterly repulsive cargo into a wheelbarrow and then transport it, load after load, to the processing plant. As the days went by, instead of being steadily toughened, I had the greatest difficulty in trying not to vomit the whole time.

At the end of two weeks I was almost fit to be transformed into a bar of soap myself My limbs ached so much at the day's end that I had to rub myself nightly with liniment before I could hope to get any sleep and build up enough energy to tackle the next day. A doctor friend of mine advised me strongly to leave the job. If I did not, he said, I would certainly never complete my education in America.

Taking his advice I began to look for other work. Job hunting in America at that time was most difficult because the country was just emerging from the depression. Life was so hard on some people that sometimes I would see men and women picking scraps of food from out of the dustbins. in fact, had it not been for the generosity of my landlady, I should have been doing the same thing.

As I seemed to have no luck in finding a job I decided to go to sea. In order to do this I became a member of the National Maritime Union, a body affiliated to the Congress of Industrial Organisations, which was at that time one of the most active trade union organisations in the United States. As the competition for employment was so great in New York I went to Philadelphia where the demand was less. There I was lucky in getting a job aboard the *Shawnee*, a ship of the Clyde Millory Line plying between New York and Vera Cruz in Mexico.

Every summer thereafter, until the outbreak of the second world war in September 1939, I managed to get employment at sea. When I first applied for a job, the official of the shipping line asked me brusquely, 'Can you wait, boy ?' At first I *thought* he was asking me to postpone my application and when I hesitated, he raised his voice and said: 'Well, come on' Can you wait at table?' Terrified of being turned down, I assured him that I could wait. So I was sent to sea as a waiter.

I was dressed up smartly in clothes to suit my new position and the time for the first meal approached. The dining room started to fill up and the head waiter told me to 'Get along, then!' I felt like a frightened rabbit as I looked helplessly around the kitchen for somebody to give me a lead. And I had said I could wait ! The head waiter glared at me and shouted-'Well, take in the soup!' I mumbled 'the soup', as I looked round for it. When I found it I betrayed myself completely by pouring it into, or rather on to a flat plate. This was not discovered until I had carried it carefully into the dining room and placed what little there was left of it before the first passenger I saw with nothing in front of him. I was in too much of a hurry to get back to the kitchen and crawl in with the next plate to notice the strange looks that were appearing on the faces of the passengers. When I got into the kitchen, however, I found the head waiter almost ready to throw a fit. He got hold of my collar and started to shake me. How dare I say that I could wait, he demanded. When I could get my breath back I apologised profusely and pleaded with him not to be too hard on me because I was so desperately in need of the job. Luckily, underneath his stiffly starched exterior he had a very soft heart. He hastily put another man into my uniform and told me that I could wash pots for the rest of the trip. This was a soul- destroying job, but at least it did not require experience. Later I was promoted to dish washing. I was extremely careful with the dishes but one day as I was taking them out of the huge steam contraption through which they passed, one broke and cut my hand so deeply that I still have the scar to-day.

For the next trip, having learnt a little about dining room routine and the names of various foods, I was promoted to Mess Room Waiter. The officers were not quite so tricky as the passengers and after being chivvied around a bit, I soon got into the way of things. Eventually I managed to get the cream of jobs, that of bell-hop. This was most sought after as the tips were good and a smart uniform was provided, complete with a pill-box hat. It had embarrassing moments, however. One day a bell rang from one of the cabins. I knocked on the door and a lady's voice told me to enter. The next moment I beheld a most attractive woman reclining on her bunk almost completely naked. I was so taken aback that I rushed out again before she had time to speak. The bell went again, and with cheeks aflame under my dark skin, I once again knocked on the door. The voice, full of laughter, called out that I could come in, that all was safe and I had no need to worry. I went in with my eyes respectfully on the ground and took her order. When I looked at her, at her request, she was quite covered up.

This kind of life was a new experience to me. I had no knowledge of the ways of sailors and I was sometimes pretty shocked at their topics of conversation and the pornographic literature that used to be handed round among them. They used to try to persuade me to go ashore in the various South American ports where we docked. Sometimes I would join them, just for the fun of it and because I didn't want to be thought of as something unusual, but after my experience in Las Palmas, I was always a little wary of such pastimes. I did meet a French woman, however, who seemed to be of a rather better sort and I used to visit her every time the boat went to Mexico. But somehow or other she got the idea that I had promised to marry her. Perhaps it was the language difficulty, anyhow, rather than argue the point, I said that I would be back the following trip to stay. I had not lived with sailors for nothing !

I was really sorry when war broke out and my sailor days came to an end, for apart from the lighter side of it, the pay was reasonably good and we were always assured of three good meals a day.

On the other hand, except for the camaraderie which existed among the crew boys, there was always a most haunting feeling of loneliness, not just being without companions, but of being nobody's concern. Many times as I walked in the streets of Vera Cruz or in other foreign ports the thought struck me that anybody could have set upon and killed me and nobody would have missed me unduly. I don't suppose any steps would have been taken to discover even my identity.

I learned too, that to sleep under the stars in my native Africa was, in spite of the raiding mosquitoes, a far happier prospect than sleeping out in the cities of America. When I first visited Philadelphia with a fellow student neither of *us* had any money for lodgings and, as we had nowhere else to go, we walked back to the railway station and sat on one of the benches intending to pass the right there. We had not reckoned with the ubiquitous American police. At about midnight we were rudely shaken out of our doze and greeted by a firm but not unkind voice saying, 'Move on, chums, you can' t sleep here.'

With aching limbs and eyes almost blind for want of sleep, we felt that it was the most cruel thing that had yet been done to us. We shuffled out of the station and wandered into the nearby park. Luckily, unlike the London parks, the gates were not locked against us, and we managed to find a couple of benches where we thought we could spend the rest of the night undisturbed. Again fate was unkind for no sooner had we closed our eyes than the rain started. it came down so heavily that we were forced to abandon our makeshift beds and spent the remaining few hours of darkness standing about in doorways with other tramps, trying to keep dry.

For wet nights thereafter I devised another plan. The idea came to me in New York one night after I had been ejected from my room and had nothing in my pockets except twenty-five cents. During the day the problem of shelter had not seemed so acute, but when night came and I found that the streets had been taken over by stray cats and down-and-outs like myself, it was a very different picture altogether. Suddenly I got an idea. For a nickel I bought a subway ticket and boarded a train plying between Harlem and Brooklyn. With this ticket I travelled backwards and forwards on the train the whole night, getting what sleep I could. It was, of course, a very disturbed night for every time the subway reached its destination I got out and changed coaches in case the guard became curious about me being in the same coach for so long.

Poverty and need drive one to surprising ends. For want of something better to do and because it provided me with an evening's free entertainment, I used to go round quite a lot to various Negro religious gatherings and revivalist meetings. The only one that I gave much attention to was a movement headed by Father Divine, and then only because of the privileges attached to membership. By being a follower of Father Divine I discovered that it was possible to obtain a good chicken meal for half a dollar, instead of the usual two or three dollars charged at other restaurants, and also a hair-cut at a certain barber's shop for only ten cents instead of a dollar. To an impoverished student this was quite enough to attract him to any sort of movement and as long as I could be fed and shorn at cut prices by merely raising my arm above my head and whispering 'Peace', I fear I did not concern myself with the motives of Father Divine's group.

One thought did cross my mind, though. It was a condition of membership that no one should be married because they were ' married' to the church. If a couple were legally married before they entered Father Divine's mission, then the union was in name only. I wondered whether this was not a movement backed financially by some white Americans to exterminate the Negroes, for, apart from the marriage ban, as far as I could see nobody ever paid anything towards the movement and yet it never lacked funds. Anyhow, I was truly grateful at the time for the benevolence of Father Divine.

While I was studying theology at Lincoln Seminary I spent much of my free time preaching in Negro churches. Almost every Sunday I was booked to preach at some church or other and I really enjoyed doing it. I had made many friends, for the Negro churches play the part of community centres more than most places of worship. It was after I had been preaching in a Baptist Church in Philadelphia that I was introduced to Portia and her sister Romana. They invited me back to their house for dinner and from that time on a strong friendship existed among the three of us. It was Portia, however, who became my special friend. She was extremely generous and many times provided me with pocket money when I was out of funds. It was she who taught me the meaning of a 'Dutch treat', when we shared the expenses on an outing. I was really not worthy of such a devoted girl friend for, as usual, I neglected her shamefully. I was always pleased to see her but I never wanted anything permanent to develop from our friendship. It often amazed me how Portia stuck by me so long. Probably she believed that with patience even the most stubborn of men will give in in the end. I remember one day thinking that she must be psychic. I had struck up a mild friendship with some girl or other and the second time I saw her I had to go on to Portia's house for dinner. When I arrived looking, as I hoped, innocent and composed, Portia took one look at me and accused me of ' two-timing' her, as she put it. I denied it but she insisted and she said that she would go as far as to say that that very night I had embraced another girl. I felt it was impossible to hold out against anybody with second sight and I confessed that some girl had in fact kissed me but that there was nothing in it, which was quite true. Then she said smugly, 'It might be a good idea if you washed the lipstick off your collar before you do anything else.'

Unfortunately, the fact that I enjoy women's company has led to a great deal of misunderstanding from those who look at my life from outside. I have never wanted to become too entangled with a woman because I know that I would never be able to devote enough attention to her, that sooner or later whether she was married to me or not, she would begin to wander away from me. I was afraid too, that if I allowed a woman to play too important a part in my fife I would gradually lose sight of my goal. Few people have been able to understand this attitude of mine and I have been described by various people as a Don Juan, an impotent man and even a eunuch! Those who know me, however, regard me as a very normal man with probably more than average self-discipline.

When I was in Philadelphia I carried out an intensive survey of the Negro from a religious, social and economic standpoint. This work, which was given to me by the Presbyterian Church, took me to over six hundred Negro homes in Philadelphia alone, as well as many others in German Town and Reading. I enjoyed the work immensely and it was certainly an eye-opener to the racial problem in the United States which, particularly in the Southern part, was acute. When I compared this racial segregation with the modernity and advancement of the country it made my heart sink.

I well remember my first experience of active racialism below the Mason-Dixon line. I was travelling by bus on one of my lecture tours from Philadelphia to Washington and the bus stopped en route at Baltimore for the passengers to refresh themselves. I was parched from thirst and I entered the refreshment room at the terminal and asked the white American waiter if I could have a drink of water. He frowned and looked down his nose at me as if I was something unclean. 'The place for you, my man, is the spitoon outside, he declared as he dismissed me from his sight. I was so shocked that I could not move. I just stood and stared at him for I could not bring myself to believe that anyone could refuse a man a drink of water because his skin happened. to be a different colour. I had already experienced racial segregation in the buses and in restaurants and other public places, but this seemed to me to be stretching it rather far. However, I said nothing but merely bowed my head and walked out in as dignified a manner as I knew how.

While at the University of Pennsylvania I helped to set up an African Studies Section there. it was there also that I began to organise the African Students' Association of America and Canada. This was actually the beginning of my political activities in the United States. When I first arrived this Association was only a small gathering of African students who used to meet occasionally but who, because of lack of organisation were not strong enough to achieve anything effective. I arranged things so that the organisation took in not only the students but also Africans engaged in other types of work in the country. By this means I was able to bring them all together. At the first conference I was elected president, a position I held until the day I left for England.

With the assistance of fellow African students, in particular Ako Adjei (now Minister of the Interior in my Government) and Jones Quartey (now in the institute of Extra-Mural Studies at the University College, Achimota), I arranged for the publication of the Association's official newspaper which was called the *African Interpreter*. Through the medium of this newspaper we tried to revive a spirit of nationalism.

It was not easy going by any means for we were continually coming up against internal conflict between the Nigerian and Gold Coast elements. The Nigerians claimed that there was no question of considering African or West African unity at the existing stage of colonial dependency and insisted that we should leave these colonial territories to struggle for themselves, each one working out its own salvation as best it could, without any link or co-operation with the other territories. I and the Gold Coast students, on the other hand, felt strongly that the question of territorial solidarity—that is to say, each territory mapping out and planning its own liberation—could not hope for ultimate success until it was linked up with the other movements in West Africa. We believed that unless territorial freedom was ultimately linked up with the Pan African movement for the liberation of the whole African continent, there would be no hope of freedom and equality for the African and for people of African descent in any part of the world.

The idea of West African unity, which, of course, I strongly supported, became the accepted philosophy of the African Students' Association and we directed the students that when they returned to their respective territories they should work hard politically to organise particular areas, but that in so doing they should maintain close contact with the political activities of their territories. By this means they would maintain not only unity within their own territories, but would pave the way for unity among all the territories in West Africa.

At that time I was interested in two sociological schools of thought in the States, one represented by the Howard Sociologists led by Professor Fraser [Frazier] and the other led by Dr. M. J. Herzkovits, Professor of Anthropology at Northwestern University. The Howard school of thought maintained that the Negro in America had completely lost his cultural contact with Africa and the other school, represented by Herzkovits, maintained that there were still African survivals in the United States and that the Negro of America had in no way lost his cultural contact with the African continent. I supported, and still support, the latter view and I went on one occasion to Howard University to defend it.

Apart from all my academic work and the various activities that I have mentioned, I had time to acquaint myself with as many political organisations in the United States as I could. These included the Republicans, the Democrats, the Communists and the Trotskyites. It was in connection with the last movement that I met one of its leading members, Mr. C. L. R. James, and through him I learned how an underground movement worked. I was also brought into contact with organisations such as the Council on African Affairs, the Committee on Africa, the Committee on War and Peace Aims, the Committee on African Students, the Special Research Council of the National Association for the Advancement of Coloured People and the Urban League. My aim was to learn the technique of organisation. I knew that when I eventually returned to the Gold Coast I was going to be faced with this problem. I knew that whatever the programme for the solution of the colonial question might be, success would depend upon the organisation adopted. I concentrated on finding a formula by which the whole colonial question and the problem of imperialism could be solved. I read Hegel, Karl Marx, Engels, Lenin and Mazzini. The writings of these men did much to influence me in my revolutionary ideas and activities, and Karl Marx and Lenin particularly impressed me as I felt sure that their philosophy was capable of solving these problems. But I think that of all the literature that I studied, the book that did more than any other to fire my enthusiasm was *Philosophy and Opinions of Marcus Garvey* published in 1923. Garvey, with his philosophy of 'Africa for the Africans' and his 'Back to Africa' movement, did much to inspire the Negroes of America in the 1920's. it is somewhat ironical that the white Americans in the South supported Garvey in these movements of his. They did this not because they were interested in the emancipation of the Negro as such, but because they wanted to get rid of the black man from the South and felt that this would solve the Negro problem. It was unfortunate that I was never able to meet Garvey as he had been deported from the country before I arrived, in connection with some kind of alleged fraud that he had got involved in. He eventually went to England where he died in 1940.

In an attempt to put into writing some of the experiences and philosophies I had gained from my association with the various organisations and how these could be best employed in dealing with the colonial question, I started writing the pamphlet which was later entitled 'Towards Colonial Freedom'. Although the first draft was completed in the United States, it was not until I was in London that I managed to scrape up enough money to publish it.

In a short preface I stated my point of view as 'an uncompromising opposition to all colonial policies' and put forward supporting arguments of which the following is a brief summary:

> Existence for the colonial peoples under imperialist rule means their economic and political exploitation. The imperialist powers need the raw materials and cheap native labour of the colonies for their own capitalist industries. Through their system of monopolist control they eliminate native competition, and use the colonies as dumping grounds for their surplus mass-produced goods. In attempting to 14timise their presence they claim to be improving the welfare of the native population. Such claims are merely a camouflage for their real purpose of exploitation to which they are driven by economic necessity. it is from this that the African peoples must constantly strive to free themselves.
>
> The whole policy of the coloniser is to keep the native in his primitive state and make him economically dependent. To ensure increased efficiency in the local handling of the colonies' resources, the coloniser grants loans and invests capital in improving internal communications, social and welfare services, ostensibly to better the native. The big trade combines exert a rigid monopolist control which effectively prevents the native from sharing in the capitalist profits, but without native labour such profits would never be made. The history of the colonies shows throughout that they have been mere pawns in the hands of the imperialist powers, who have vied with each other in their race to acquire untapped resources. This has reduced the native population to economic slavery and degradation from which it must free itself.
>
> Whether the dependent territory is administered as a colony, protectorate or mandate, it is all part of an imperialist plan to perpetuate its economic exploitation. The colonies gain no advantages whatsoever from being dependent; socially and technologically their progress is hindered; they pay for a nominal protection against aggression by providing troops for the mother country in time of war and their political freedom will never be automatically granted but won by their own endeavours. Britain may claim that she holds the

colonies under trusteeship until they are capable of self-government, but it is not in her interests to relinquish her stranglehold. The African, however, was perfectly capable of governing himself before the advent of the white man and should be allowed to do so again.

The problem of land ownership in the colonies has arisen because the colonial powers have legally or illegally seized valuable mining and plantation rights. The British are more careful than other imperialists to legitimise this seizure, but even their semi-legal methods do not disguise the fact that they have no right to rob the native of his birthright.

The national liberation movement in the African colonies has arisen because of the continuous economic and political exploitation by foreign oppressors. The aim of the movement is to win freedom and independence. This can only be achieved by the political education and organisation of the colonial masses. Hence workers and professional classes alike must unite on a common front to further the economic progress and indigenous enterprise of the people which is at present being stifled.

Re-reading the pamphlet to-day with the events in the Gold Coast from 1948-51 in mind I am not surprised that my views remain the same. Consider this:

> 'The idea that Britain, France or any other colonial power is holding colonies under " trusteeship " until in their opinion, the colonies become "capable" of self- government is erroneous and misconceived. Colonial powers cannot afford to expropriate themselves. And then to, imagine that these colonial powers will hand freedom and independence to their colonies on a silver platter without compulsion is the height of folly.'

Few subject territories have so far been able to take up the challenge implied in these words. But it is worth noting, that those who have built up a political organisation against colonialism have quickly been successful.

MALCOLM X: AN INTERNATIONAL MAN

by

Ruby M. and E.U. Essien-Udom

One of the most prominent black leaders to appear on the Harlem scene in the 1960's was Malcolm X of the Black Muslims. Convinced that the Civil Rights movement had become at worst a misguided social effort, at best enlightened colonialism, Malcolm sought to bring new dimensions to the black struggle in asking for human, as opposed to civil, rights for black Americans.

Move than any black leader before him, except perhaps Marcus Garvey, Malcolm X, especially in the last years of his life, realized that the black struggle was an international one. As the Essien-Udoms explain in the following selection, Malcolm appears to have concluded that any meaningful program toward black liberation in the United States must be linked with the struggle of the revolutionary non-white world. Black brotherhood for him, and increasingly so for the Black Power advocates of today, offers a meaningful basis for action toward international black emancipation.

On January 7, 1965, or about forty-five days before his assassination, Malcolm X spoke in New York City on the topic "Prospects for Freedom in 1965." [1] This address as well as others he made and his public activities in the period following his rupture with the Nation of Islam in March 1964 till the time of his assassination on February 21, 1965, clearly mark him out as "an international man," a leader and spokesman of the oppressed and exploited peoples of the world. In that address there was something of world leader about his survey of international affairs in 1964, something of an intellectual in his analysis of the prospects for freedom and peace in 1965, and something of a convinced and committed world revolutionary. For Malcolm 1964 was important because of the measure of progress he believed the oppressed people in Africa, Asia, Latin America, and the Caribbean had made. Comparing the progress made by the oppressed elsewhere in the world with that of Afro-Americans, he said 1964 was for the latter the "Year of Illusion and Delusion," although in official American circles it was regarded as the "Year of Promise" for them. In Africa, Zambia and Malawi had gained political independence and were admitted to member- ship of the United Nations, a revolution had swept out a reactionary, neocolonialist government in Zanzibar, and the Union of Tanganyika and Zanzibar—named the Republic of Tanzania—was a reality. He spoke of the treacherous repression and defeat of the revolution Of the People's Republic of the Congo at Stanleyville by Moise Tshombe aided by "hired killers from South Africa" and the combined Belgian-United States Paratroop assault of 1964. In spite of American military might, the oppressed of South Vietnam had continued their resistance to United States imperialism in 1964. He was especially delighted over the fact that the Chinese people who had been oppressed for many centuries, generally regarded as poor and backward, had made a scientific breakthrough with the explosion of the atomic bomb. Concluding this review of world affairs in 1964, he acknowledged that these were "tangible gains," and these gains, he said, were possible because the oppressed had realized that "power in defense of freedom is greater than power in behalf of tyranny and oppression, because power, real power, comes from conviction which produces action, uncompromising action. " [2]

By the time of his untimely death Malcolm X had moved from black nationalism to internationalism, and had completely identified himself as well as the Afro- American struggle with the revolution of the "wretched of the earth"[3]—the exploited people of the Third World. He had become a foe of the international capitalist system and a staunch Pan-Africanist. Internationally he had gained in stature and he was widely accepted in Africa and the Middle East and probably in Asia and Latin America as a legitimate leader and spokesman of black Americans. In this essay an attempt is made to describe some of the experiences which shaped Malcolm X's world view, and to analyze the intellectual and ideological transformations he underwent. In the light of this analysis Malcolm's stature as an international man clearly emerges.

The break with Elijah Muhammad's Muslim movement was the necessary precondition for this intellectual and ideological transformation because it released Malcolm from the constrictive doctrines of a religio-racial nationalistic mystique that had been a straitjacket to both his ideological growth and his nationalistic activities. It is very likely that if Malcolm had not been forced out of the Nation of Islam, he might eventually have withdrawn anyway because of the pressure building from both within and without for the Muslims to participate actively in the black freedom movement beyond their largely accommodationist program. In his *Autobiography,* Malcolm records in retrospect a gnawing dissatisfaction with the Nation of Islam which he had begun to feel in 1961:

> *If* I harbored any personal disappointment whatsoever, it was that privately I was convinced that our Nation of Islam could be an even greater force in the American black man's overall struggle if we engaged in more *action.* By that, I mean I thought privately that we should have amended or relaxed our general non-engagement policy.[4]

Once he had made the break, Malcolm passed successively from a narrowly defined. black nationalist outlook[5] to a Pan-Africanism that merged into a Third World political perspective. And at the time of his death he was on the verge of becoming a revolutionary socialist.

A great deal of prominence has been given to the impact of the African and Middle Eastern experiences of 1964 on Malcolm's thinking, and rightly so because the experience abroad strengthened his convictions and enabled him to sharpen his perspective on the relationship of the Afro-American community to Africa and the international community. We should recall that Malcolm had been subjected to two nationalistic experiences that predisposed him to a larger world view of the racial conflict. Malcolm's father was a Garveyite, and Garveyism has always had as an objective the linking up of the problems of the blacks throughout the world-in Africa, America, Latin America, and the Caribbean. From 1952 when he joined the Nation of Islam until he broke away, Malcolm was exposed to the interconnections between the Afro-American problem and those of the "Asiatics," as Elijah called all non-white peoples. While he was a minister in the Nation of Islam he had also had quite a bit of contact with Middle Eastern and African officials and students, and had visited Egypt and a number of West African countries in 1959 as a representative of Elijah Muhammad. These previous experiences and his earlier ideological orientation are important for understanding the broad international outlook which characterized his latter-day nationalist activities. During the last phase of his life the ideological strands of Garveyism merged with a modified version of Elijah Muhammad's doctrine of the Black Nation to form the core of Malcolm's thinking about the Afro-American's struggle and its relationship to Africa and the world.

The seeds of Malcolm's Third World view were actually contained in the doctrine of the Black Nation as taught by Elijah Muhammad. In Muhammad's teaching the world is divided into two groups of people: the Caucasian race and the Black Nation. The latter comprises the entire world population of the "black, brown, red and yellow races." The Nation of Islam, which consists of the black people of the United States, is an integral part of the Black Nation.[6] It is clear when one compares Malcolm's speech given at the Grass Roots Leadership Conference in Detroit in November 1963, when he was still a minister in the Nation of Islam, with his speech on "The Black Revolution," given in Cleveland on April 8, 1964, after his break with Elijah Muhammad, that Malcolm had retained the basic doctrine about the Black Nation. At the Grass Roots Leadership Conference, Malcolm urged his Afro- American audience to unite as the "Nations of Bandung" had done in 1955:

> In Bandung back in, I think 1954, was the first unity meeting in centuries of *black* people. . . . At Bandung all the nations came together, the dark nations from Africa and Asia . . . despite their economic and

> political differences they came together. All of them were *black, brown, red or* yellow. [Emphasis added.]
>
> . . I They realized all over the world where the dark man was being oppressed, he was being oppressed by the white man; where the dark man was being exploited, he was being exploited by the white man. So they got together on this basis-they had a common enemy.[7]

Five months later in Cleveland, after he had severed relations with Elijah Muhammad, Malcolm explained to his audience who the participants of the Black Revolution were and what the objective of the Revolution was:

> Now the black revolution has been taking place in Africa and Asia and Latin America; when I say black, I mean non-white-black, brown, red or yellow. Our brothers and sisters in Asia who were colonized by the Europeans, and in Latin America, the peasants who were colonized by the Europeans, have been involved in a struggle since 1945 to get the colonialist or the colonizing powers, the Europeans off their land, out of their country.[8]

The Black Nation as conceived by Muhammad was part of a religio-racial mystique involving notions of racial superiority combined with a prophetic struggle that would restore the Black Nation to its rightful place of predominance in the world. In spite of the ahistorical claims of Elijah Muhammad, the peoples conceived as comprising the Black Nation correspond in reality to the colonized and recently independent peoples of the world. In this view the Black Nation is currently engaged in a world- wide revolution to overthrow an international political and economic system which enriches the white world of Europe and America and leaves the darker peoples under- developed and impoverished. Largely because Malcolm had already been predisposed to think in such terms, he regarded the Afro-American liberation movement as part and parcel of this Black Revolution or the Third World rebellion against colonialism and imperialism. However, Malcolm's Third World view was not identical with Muhammad's doctrine about the Black Nation. He had sloughed off the ahistorical and irrational claims of the doctrine and looked at international developments from a historical, Political, and economic perspective.

The strand of Garveyism in Malcolm's thinking was apparent from a statement he made at the press conference on March 12, 1964, when he announced his break with the Nation of Islam. He still felt then that Elijah Muhammad had the best solution to the race problem in America, and, like Garvey, advocated the return of Afro-Americans to Africa as the long-range solution. He later modified this position and spoke in terms of a cultural and spiritual return to Africa by black Americans while remaining physically in the United States. But his choice of Africa was a distinct departure from Elijah's doctrines, which made the involvement of Afro-American nationalists with Africa sentimental, self-alienating, and escapist. Nevertheless, both his experience with the Nation of Islam and an earlier exposure to Garveyism pre-disposed him to greater international involvement.

Afro-Americans and the Black Revolution

Malcolm believed that the world was in the throes of a profound revolution-, the colonized and newly independent nations were rebelling and were seeking a way out of their economic and political subordination to the Euro-American powers. He felt that the darker nations were losing their fear of the invincibility of the white man and were successfully engaging him in guerrilla warfare, as attested by the French defeat in both Indo-China and Algeria, and the indecisive military contests of America in Korea and South Vietnam. For Malcolm not only were the colonial powers threatened with losing all their colonies, but they were aware of being minorities in a world sharply divided between the haves and have-nots. In his view the European monopoly of power was not only being challenged, but the balance of power was shifting in favor of the numerically superior darker nations.

In the light of the above analysis of the balance of forces in the world, Malcolm saw the necessity of linking up the Afro-American freedom struggle with those of the colonized and newly independent peoples of the world. He felt that the problem of the subordination of the Afro-American community to the dominant white majority could be resolved by linking it to this worldwide struggle. This shift in tactics was stressed in a speech entitled "The Ballot or the Bullet" given under the auspices of CORE in Cleveland on April 3, 1964. In this speech Malcolm discussed the necessity for black Americans to reinterpret the nature of the civil rights struggle and to seek new allies. He believed that the civil rights struggle should be seen in the context of a worldwide human rights struggle. Accordingly he proposed that the race problem in America should be brought before the United Nations where

> ... our African brothers can throw their weight on our side, where our Asian brothers can throw their weight on our side, where our Latin American brothers can throw their weight on our side . . . . [9]

Malcolm believed that by viewing the race problem in America in terms of the violation of human rights and by seeking understanding and support from countries of the Third World, the Afro-American would strengthen his relative position vis-a-vis the white majority in America. A broader human rights perspective would enable black Americans to realize that they are part of a global majority. Thus their approach to the freedom struggle would be a demanding rather than a supplicating one. He felt that the pendulum of time, that "great subversive," was swinging in favor of the darker people and therefore of the Afro-Americans-provided they had a correct understanding of the global balance of forces. As part of the global revolution, Malcolm believed that the Afro-American struggle would take on the same complexion as that manifesting itself in other parts of the world. He warned white America not to presume that the same guerrilla warfare tactics which have been successfully employed by peoples in the Third World were not a distinct possibility in the United States

> Just as guerrilla warfare is prevailing in Asia and in parts of Africa and in parts of Latin America, you've got to be mighty naive, or you've got to play the black man cheap, if you don't think someday he's going to wake up and find that it's got to be the ballot or the bullet.[10]

When Malcolm left America in April 1964 he thought of himself as a black nationalist in an inclusive racial and political sense of being connected with the darker, underdeveloped world of Asia, Latin America, and particularly Africa. His international activities grew out of his identification with Africa as well as his conviction that any progress that Afro-Americans had made between World War 11 and 1964 had come about largely because of international pressures on the United States. Malcolm felt that the Afro-American community had been historically and politically isolated from world currents, and that if its struggle was to be effective it would have to be brought in line with the overall global struggle that was taking place. He went to Mecca and Africa, therefore, as a self-assigned ambassador of the Afro-American freedom movement, to establish contacts that might enable him eventually to internationalize the Afro-American struggle by presenting a case of the violation of human rights before the United Nations.

The roving ambassador

In his *Autobiography,* Malcolm recalls how he weighed his probable success as a leader in the Afro-American freedom movement after his break with Elijah Muhammad. He realized that one of his assets as a leader was that he had an inter- national reputation which would be of incalculable value in getting his views and activities discussed and publicized. In addition to this, Malcolm had also developed important contacts in the Middle East and Africa during his years in the Nation of Islam. These contacts would later open doors to him to which he might probably not have had access. This point is important because it was one of the rewards which the Afro-American community reaped as a result of his prolonged association and dedication to nationalistic activities in the Nation of Islam. With the exception of the late Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., it would be hard to think of another Afro- American leader of that time who could have commanded abroad as much attention and respect as Malcolm did. Malcolm could, therefore, serve as a roving ambassador for the Afro-American community in its quest for international support and under- standing of the racial problem in America. When he came to the Middle East and Africa this time he also had the added advantage of being a truly independent leader-, except for his organizational connection with the Muslim Mosque, Inc., which he himself had established, he was in no way dependent on any kind of support from any quarter in America. This enabled him to speak out clearly, consistently, and uncompromisingly about the conditions and the aspirations of the black man in America.

the Hajj and a new perspective

No one who reads Malcolm's account of his haij to Mecca will doubt that this was one of the crowning experiences of his life. The magnanimous reception of him and what he was able to accomplish there came about through one of those many contacts that he had made in New York when he was still a minister in the Nation of Islam. When he applied for a visa to go to Mecca at the Saudi Arabia Embassy in Washington, D.C., Malcolm was told that he would have to seek approval from Dr. Mahmoud Yousseff Shawarbi. Dr. Shawarbi, whom Malcolm had met previously, was a professor at the University of Cairo, a United Nations adviser, and while on leave in New York served as the director of the Federation of Islamic Association in the United States and Canada. Dr. Shawarbi gave his approval for the visa and presented Malcolm with a book, *The Eternal Message of Muhammad*, which the author, Dr. Abd ar-Rahman Azzam, had personally sent to Professor Shawarbi to deliver to Malcolm. In addition, he gave Malcolm the telephone numbers of his own son, who lived in Cairo, and Dr. Azzam's son, who lived in Jedda in Saudi Arabia. The very gracious and generous reception of him in Jedda by the Azzam family, both father and son, and later by the royal family and other high dignitaries was rather overwhelming to Malcolm:

> Never have I been so highly honored. Never have I been made to feel more humble and unworthy. Who would believe the blessings that have been heaped upon an *American Negro?* A few nights ago, a man who would be called in America a "white" man, a United Nations diplomat, an ambassador, a companion of Kings, gave me *his* hotel suite, *his* bed. By this man (Dr. Azzam), His Excellency Prince Faisal, who rules this Holy Land, was made aware of my presence here in Jedda. The very next morning, Prince Faisal's son, in person, informed me that by the will and decree of his esteemed father, I was to be a State Guest. The Deputy Chief of Protocol himself took me before the Hajj Court. His Holiness Sheikh Muhammad Harkon himself okayed my visit to Mecca. His Holiness gave me two books on Islam, with his personal seat and autograph, and he told me that he prayed that I would be a successful preacher of Islam in America. A car, a driver, and a guide have been placed at my disposal, making it possible for me to travel about this Holy Land almost at will. The government provides air-conditioned quarters and servants in each city that I visit. Never would I have thought of dreaming that I would ever be a recipient of such honor, honors that in America would be bestowed upon a King—not a Negro .... [11]

In the passage cited, Malcolm emphasized the manner in which he, as a *Negro*, had been treated because it was in this respect that the Muslim world had its greatest impact on him. He told a gathering of Muslims with whom he had completed the hajj that what had impressed him most was the color blindness of the Muslim world, the brotherhood of all races, and people of all colors from all over the world coming together as one, His experience in Mecca reaffirmed his faith in Islam as a religion that nurtured fraternity and fostered human worth and dignity. When he was in Mecca, he wrote that Islam, if understood in America, might be able to save the United States from the cancer of racism. He also felt strongly that the importance of form which pervaded Islamic life could lend dignity, grace, and order to the lives of Afro- Americans.

Apart from his personal religious duty, Malcolm had a twofold purpose in making the hajj. First, he wished to establish a link between the Muslim Mosque, Inc., which he had founded with the estimated 750 million orthodox Muslims Of the world. Secondly, he wished to win support for his effort to bring a charge of the violation of the Afro-Americans' human rights before the attention of the world at the United Nations. The hajj would, of course, offer a very favorable opportunity for making valuable contacts, since important Muslim political and religious leaders from all over the world make this pilgrimage. Consider a brief listing of the men whom Malcolm met besides the Azzam family: He had an audience with His Eminence, Prince Faisal, the absolute ruler of Saudi Arabia, he met Sheikh Abdultah Eraif, the mayor of Mecca; Hussein Amini, the grand mufti of Jerusalem, to whom he had been introduced by a member of the Turkish parliament; he met a cabinet minister from black Africa, an Indian high official, and a Sudanese high official. It seemed to Malcolm that everywhere he went he was asked questions about America's racial discrimination. Needless to say, Malcolm performed his self-assigned duty as ambassador whenever the opportunity was offered:

> In a hundred different conversations in the Holy Land with Muslims high and low, and from around the world—and, later, when I got to Black Africa—I don't have to tell you never once did I bite my tongue or miss a single opportunity to tell the truth about the crimes, the evils and the indignities that are suffered by the black man in America. Through my interpreter, I lost no opportunity to advertise the black man's real plight. I preached it on the mountain at Arafat, I preached it in the busy lobby of the Jedda Palace Hotel . . . . [12]

Malcolm's experience in the Holy Land had a profound impact on his thinking about race, which he publicly admitted. Prior to, that time he had identified whiteness with arrogance and presumed superiority. Because of his experience in Mecca and the discussions with learned men in the Islamic world, he came to realize that the problem did not reside in whiteness itself but in the attitudes which the Western world and particularly America had vested in whiteness. As a consequence, Malcolm repudiated racist thinking, but this does not mean that he had in any way altered his awareness of the predominance of white power either on the international or the American scene. White power is a reality, but it has to be understood in terms of the imperialistic economic system of Western Europe and America. He clearly understood that this system is rigged against the political, economic, and cultural interests of the under- developed world, including such "internal colonies" as the Afro-America community. This was one of the insights Malcolm had gained and later would try to teach to Afro- Americans in his effort to reshape their orientation and approach to their problems.

When Malcolm left Mecca, he stopped briefly in Beirut, Cairo, and Nigeria. In Beirut, as he had done in Mecca and would do in Nigeria and Ghana, he spoke about the social, political, and economic injustices suffered by the black community in America. The American press reported that Malcolm had caused a near riot in Beirut, but Malcolm definitely denied this when he arrived in Nigeria. He has, how- ever, observed that he was decidedly pleased with the wholehearted acceptance of him by the African students who were studying in Beirut:

> When I was done, the African students all but besieged me for autographs, some of them even hugged me. Never have even American Negro audiences accepted me as I have been accepted time and again by the less inhibited, more down-to-earth Africans. [13]

the Omowale

From the time Malcolm came to Nigeria until he left he generated an unbelievable excitement. For those of us who had known Malcolm in the United States it was a joy to experience once again that rare combination of oratorical brilliance and fearlessness coupled with naked honesty and a genuine humility that made Malcolm so compelling and disarming. The African staff and students at the University of lbadan were notably impressed by the forcefulness and the obvious honesty of his account of the black man's conditions in America. In his speech at Trenchard Hall at the University of lbadan, Malcolm stressed the necessity for the African nations to lend their help in bringing the Afro-American's case before the United Nations. He argued that the Afro-American community should cooperate with the world's Pan-Africanists; and that even if they remained in America physically, they should return to Africa philosophically and culturally and develop a working unity within the framework of Pan-Africanism. Following his speech at Trenchard Hall, the Nigerian Muslim Students' Society had a reception for Malcolm in the Students' Union Hall and made him an honorary member of their society. They endowed him with a new name, Omowale, meaning "the son who has come home." This gesture symbolized the wholehearted acceptance of Malcolm as a person and leader which we clearly observed among the radical youths and intellectuals in Nigeria. In his television and radio appearances in Nigeria, Malcolm stressed the need for African support to bring the charge of violation of Afro-American human rights by the United States before the United Nations. Malcolm also met with highly placed Nigerian officials who tent a very sympathetic ear to his ideas. He reports one of them as saying that when the black people throughout the Americas and Africa link up their struggle, the political picture of the world would undoubtedly change. Such global, Pan-Africanist thinking from a highly placed African official was an added encouragement to Malcolm's internationalist approach to the Afro-American problem.

After leaving Nigeria, Malcolm visited Ghana, which at that time was the political Mecca of the Pan-Africanist movement. Short of a twenty-one-gun salute, Malcolm was accorded a reception in Ghana befitting a head of state. A contingent of the Afro-American expatriate community in Ghana had formed a Malcolm X Committee to receive him and escort him through a calendar-packed seven days. The members of the press were particularly generous and helpful in making speaking arrangements for Malcolm and publicizing his visit. They offered their Press Club for his use as a headquarters and insisted on paying his hotel expenses. At the press conference they arranged for him, Malcolm stressed the need for establishing a dialogue between the African and Afro-American communities. He observed that if the 22 million Afro-Americans were properly organized and informed, they could be an effective force for Africa's good. On their part, he pointed out, the African nations needed to exert effort on a governmental level on America's racial discrimination and dehumanization of its black population. He pointed out that America had become the last bulwark of imperialism and colonialism, shoring up the Verwoerds and Salazars whose regimes had survived because of American support.

In the largest single audience that he had in Africa, Malcolm addressed the students and faculty of the University of Ghana, Legon, in the Great Hall. Miss Alice Windom, an Afro-American member of the Malcolm X Committee, has recorded the impact Malcolm had on the Legon students, who, on the whole, had an image in Africa of being politically conservative in a progressive political situation:

> I believe it is safe to say, from subsequent reports, that he worked a qualitative change in the attitudes of many shaky and downright reactionary students. For he brought home in vivid language the problems of African countries struggling to free themselves from the psychological and cultural as well as the economic and political legacies of colonialism. He thoroughly destroyed the U.S.I.A. image of America and exposed the plight of the Afro-American in terms new to many of the students.[14]

Malcolm also addressed the students at the Kwame Nkrumah Ideological Institute of Winneba, which was the training ground for the cadres needed to carry forward the ideological revolution in Ghana. At the end of his speech the students presented Malcolm with a set of the then President Nkrumah's works and escorted him on a tour of the school.

On this occasion Malcolm met most of the officials of Ghana. To crown this experience, Malcolm was invited to address the members of the Ghanaian parliament. Miss Windom has observed that to her knowledge this was a unique honor accorded to a foreigner by the Ghanaian parliament. In his address to the members of parliament, Malcolm stressed that it was inconsistent for African states to condemn the colonialism and racism of Portugal and South Africa and remain silent while black people in America were being oppressed. At the end of his talk Malcolm has reported one of the comments he heard: "Yes! We support the Afro-American morally, physically, materially if necessary!"

The pinnacle of honor conferred on Malcolm during his visit to Ghana was an audience with Osagyefo Dr. Kwame Nkrumah. Malcolm has given an account of his experience in his *Autobiography:*

> We discussed the unity of Africans and peoples of African descent. We agreed that Pan-Africanism was the key also to the problems of those of African heritage. . . . My time with him was up all too soon. I promised faithfully that when I returned to the United States, I would relay to Afro-Americans his personal warm regards.[25]

The Chinese ambassador and Mrs. Huang Hua gave a formal dinner in Malcolm's honor. Other guests included the Algerian and Cuban ambassadors and Mrs. W. E. B. Du Bois. The search for allies and support was paying dividends in Ghana. On Malcolm's last day there, the Nigerian high commissioner, the late Alhaji Isa Wati, gave a luncheon in his honor. His Excellency spoke of his own experience of discrimination when he lived in Washington, D.C., and stressed the brotherhood of the African and Afro-American people. He presented Malcolm with an African robe and turban worn by Muslims in Nigeria, and a translation of the Holy Quaran. Following the luncheon, Mrs. W. E. B. Du Bois, then the director of Ghana Television Service, invited Malcolm to her home so that he could see and photograph the place where Dr. Du Bois had spent his last days. That evening Malcolm was the guest of the Cuban ambassador, His Excellency Mr. Armando Entralgo Gonzalez. All the African ambassadors in Accra were invited to this occasion. The following morning when Malcolm was leaving Accra, a motorcade accompanying five ambassadors arrived to see him off at the airport. Malcolm was uncharacteristically speechless at this farewell tribute: "I no longer had any words." However, he later recorded his feelings about the reception given him in Ghana:

> I can only wish that every American black man could have shared my ears, my eyes, and my emotions throughout the round of engagements which had been made for me in Ghana. And my point in saying this is not the reception that I personally received as an individual of whom they had heard, but it was the reception tendered to me as the symbol of the militant American black man, as I had the honor to be regarded."'

From Ghana, Malcolm briefly visited Liberia and Dakar, Senegal. From Senegal he flew to Morocco for a day, where he visited the famed Casbah, a ghetto area created by the French settlers in Casablanca. The Casbah impressed Malcolm as another Harlem in North Africa. He also made a brief visit to Algeria before returning to the United States on May 21, 1964.

The impact of Africa on Malcolm

Malcolm's experiences in the Middle East and Africa strengthened his conviction about the necessity to internationalize the Afro-American problem, and under- scored the possibility of getting African support at the United Nations for a charge of human rights violation against the United States. When Malcolm arrived at Kennedy Airport, he told a large press audience that it was no longer necessary to continue thinking about the struggle in America purely in domestic terms, and stressed that a precedent had already been established internationally by the cases involving violation of human rights against South Africa and Portugal. He saw no reason why America could not be charged similarly. Malcolm told the reporters that he had ample evidence and was certain that Africans were deeply concerned about the Afro- American struggle for human rights and regarded the Afro-Americans as their long- lost brothers. In reply to a question about his letter from Mecca, he told the reporters that he was satisfied that he had established an affiliation with the 750 million orthodox Muslims of the world. He assured his audience that he had renounced racist thinking, but emphasized that this grew largely out of the climate of brotherhood which he had experienced in the Islamic world. He said—and the Kerner Commission Report on the Riots in America has recently affirmed this—that the seeds of racism were so deep in America that few whites were free of it; those who were not conscious racists were subconsciously so. He said that he had nevertheless withdrawn the blanket indictment of white Americans and would in the future judge a man by his deeds, and expressed a willingness to cooperate with those few whites who did not fall into either of the two categories. Malcolm would later make the observation that those whites who seemed to be free of racist bias were usually socialist because it was impossible to be a capitalist without being a racist. Malcolm observed that the peoples of African heritage were presently in a state of disunity, but raised the specter of Garvey when he wondered over the benefits which might accrue to them if the people of Africa and those of African descent in the New World were to unite for the achievement of their common goals.

Throughout Malcolm's stay in the Middle East and West Africa, reporters had tried to reach him to find out what he had to say about a "blood brother" group that was allegedly connected with Malcolm's organization. The first time Malcolm heard anything about this group was at our home in Ibadan when a lecturer at the university asked him a question about the group. Malcolm had known nothing about it, but commented that the conditions in the black ghettos might well engender such groups and that we should be concerned with the *cause* rather than the effect. On May 29, 1964, Malcolm spoke at a symposium sponsored by the

Militant Labor Forum on "The Harlem Hate Gang Scare." Malcolm's speech on the "Hate Gang" reflects a synthesis of the insights which he had gained abroad with his understanding of the American situation. His foreign experience had led him to see that the Afro- American problem is a part of a "system," both domestic and international, in which there is a vital relationship between capitalism, colonialism, and racism. He became convinced that the capitalist system fosters racism and uses it as an instrument of economic exploitation and political subjugation. The system establishes a colonial relationship between a dominant and subordinate group that is sustained by police brutality, calculated to keep the subjugated people terrified and psychologically castrated. Malcolm argued that Harlem and all the other black ghetto communities in the United States fall into this pattern. He compared Harlem with the Casbah, and he spoke of how his "blood brothers" in Algeria and Morocco had taken him into the Casbahs of their countries and had shown him the conditions and the suffering which their people had lived through under the French colonialists:

> Algeria was a police state. Any occupied territory is a police state; their presence is like occupying forces, like an occupying army. . . . They are in Harlem to protect the interests of the businessmen who don't even live there.[17]

Malcolm argued that the same conditions that prevailed in colonial Algeria exist in all the black communities in America. He refused to apologize for the existence of a blood brother organization if it existed at all and argued that the same common oppression, humiliation, and degradation that had made the Algerians realize they were blood brothers and had forced them to resort to terrorist tactics in order to liberate themselves would band together the frustrated and desperate youth of the black ghettos of America into blood brothers or Mau Mau groups. He warned that the young Afro-Americans were not going to be oppressed by people in either sheets or uniforms.

Malcolm did not present himself as a convinced socialist at this time, but he did say he noticed when he was traveling that some of the formerly colonized countries were turning away from capitalism and moving toward socialism. He said he did not quite know what kind of political and economic system could cure America of her racism, but he did know that the Afro-American could not achieve freedom under the present economic and political arrangements in America, and clearly asserted that there is a close connection between capitalism and racism. Two months later when he went to Cairo to attend the summit meeting of the Organization of African Unity (OAU), he summed up his opinion on the "American system" in an article published in the *Egyptian Gazette:*

> The present American "system" can never produce freedom for the black man. A chicken cannot lay a duck egg because the chicken's "system" is not designed or equipped to produce a duck egg. . . .The American "system" (political, economic, and social) was produced from the enslavement of the black man, and this present system" is capable only of perpetuating that enslavement. In order for a chicken to produce a duck egg its system would have to undergo a drastic and painful revolutionary change . . . or REVOLUTION. So be it with America's enslaving system.[18]

Malcolm and the OAU

On June 29, 1964, the Organization of Afro-American Unity (OAAU) was formed in New York with Malcolm as its chairman. July 1964 saw Malcolm in his role as roving ambassador back in Cairo again, this time to participate in the Head of States Summit Meeting of the OAU. Malcolm's appearance in Cairo caused quite a stir. This was the first time that a black American had made an effort to have the Afro-American's plight treated as an African problem. On his return from the conference Malcolm told one of the present authors in Lagos (Nigeria) that he had found no doors closed to him in any of the countries he had visited. In his highly resourceful way, Malcolm lobbied successfully and was admitted as an observer at the meeting. This was quite a feat! It must be remembered that this was a head of states summit meeting. It was an extraordinary concession to Malcolm and the Afro-American community which he represented since he was neither a head of an existing state nor a leader of a state in exile. In an interview with Milton Henry in Cairo played over the GOAL radio program in Detroit, Malcolm confessed that he had to lobby the various delegates to the conference because the information agencies of the United States Government had almost successfully convinced most Africans that the Afro-Americans did not identify with Africa and that Africans would be foolish to get involved with their problems. However, Malcolm eventually succeeded in making the African delegates understand that any improvement in the position of the Afro- Americans had in fact come about as a result of international pressure on America. He argued that it had taken the pressures of Hitler and then Stalin on the American system to bring about the modicum of economic improvement which the Afro- Americans have had since World War II.

In the memorandum which Malcolm submitted to the Summit Meeting he emphasized that the purposes of his organization, the OAAU, were consistent with the objectives of the OAU. Malcolm's main argument was that there was an identity of purpose and interests between the Afro-Americans and the African peoples; that the Afro-American problem was not just their problem or even an American problem but a world problem that had to be resolved by the international community. He argued that the deteriorating plight of the Afro-American community posed a threat to the peace of the entire world. Malcolm cited specific instances of police brutality and humiliation of African representatives and students in America to demonstrate that the racial problems in Africa would never be solved until racism had been destroyed in America. He contended that Africans would never be fully respected until their brothers in America were also recognized and treated as full human beings, Malcolm argued that if Arthur Goldberg, the former U. S. Supreme Court justice, could threaten to take the Russian Government before the United Nations for violating the human rights of 3 million Jews in Russia, there was no reason why the African members of the OAU should feel reluctant to bring the United States Government before the UN. He argued that if South African racism is not a domestic issue, then American racism should not be treated as a domestic issue. Malcolm pointed out that after ten years the U. S. Supreme Court's decision on desegregation of school facilities had not been implemented. He said that if the United States Government could not enforce the decisions of the highest court in America there was no need thinking that the passage of the 1964 civil rights law was going to be enforced. Because of U.S. propaganda and pressure which had been brought to bear on the African delegates and because of the likelihood of future pressure, Malcolm ended his memorandum with the warning "Don't escape from European colonialism only to become even more enslaved by deceitful, 'friendly' American dollarism."

For reasons which seem to us obvious the American press did not publicize the resolution which the Head of States Summit Conference passed, deploring racism in the United States. Malcolm's efforts were a decided success. Not only did the Summit pass the resolution, but some of the delegates promised officially to assist the OAAU in its plan and to give their support during the following session of the United Nations. The wording of the resolution, as might be expected from an international body with diffuse and often conflicting interests, was mild, but its intent was clear. The Head of States Summit noted "with satisfaction the recent enactment of the Civil Rights Act designed to secure for American Negroes their basic human rights." The OAU was "deeply disturbed, however, by continuing manifestations of racial bigotry and racial oppression against Negro citizens of the United States of America." The resolution reaffirmed the OAU's "belief that the existence of discriminatory practice is a matter of deep concern to member states of the OAU," and urged "the government authorities in the United States of America to intensify their efforts to ensure the total elimination of all forms of discrimination based on race, color, or ethnic origin." [19]

From Malcolm's point of view his participation at the OAU Summit Meeting had been a rewarding experience in many ways. It had given him contact with the revolutionaries from southern Africa and the Portuguese colonies. He told Milton Henry that he had benefited from the exchange of ideas with them; they had described in detail the brutal atmosphere in which they lived and had enlightened him on the means they were using to bring an end to their sufferings. Malcolm felt that Afro- American leaders should unite in a summit body as the African leaders had done, and go abroad as leaders to make their purposes understood by the African Government and to exchange ideas with African leaders.

Malcolm's impact on Africa

It might be difficult to gauge the actual impact Malcolm made on Africa, but a rather clear picture does emerge of a number of achievements. He initiated a dialogue between the Afro-American community and the African peoples on an official and unofficial level. By publicizing the nature of the problems confronting the black community and the worsening conditions in the ghettos of America, Malcolm presented a different image of the black man's outlook and mood in America from the image often portrayed by the information agencies of the United States and their official black representatives in Africa. He exposed the hypocrisy of America's African policies and her neocolonialist interests by underscoring the inconsistency of bypassing the black American and ignoring the conditions that were leading to violent racial conflict in America while sending "aid" and Peace Corps volunteers to the African continent. He received promises of support from a few African officials for bringing a charge of violation of human rights by the United States before the United Nations. It is certainly clear from the receptions he was given in the countries he visited and the access he had to African as well as a few Asian officials that they not only gave him a sympathetic hearing but welcomed the stand he took. To this extent he succeeded in taking the Afro-American problem out of isolation and casting it as an international problem that affected the dignity of African peoples in particular and the peace of the world in general.

John Lewis and Donald Harris, who were making a tour of several African countries as representatives of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee toward the end of Malcolm's second tour of Africa, have observed: "Malcolm's impact on Africa was just fantastic. In every country he was known and served as the main criteria for categorizing other Afro-Americans and their political views." [20]

As would be expected, the United States State Department also began to take an interest in the impact Malcolm was having on Africa. In an article in *The New York* Times (August 13, 1964), M. S. Handler noted official American concern regarding Malcolm's activities in Cairo:

> The State Department and the Justice Department have begun to take an interest in Malcolm's campaign to convince African states to raise the question of persecution of American Negroes at the United Nations. . . .
>
> After studying it [Malcolm's memorandum] officials said that if Malcolm succeeded in convincing just one African government to bring up the charge at the United Nations, the United States government would be faced with a touchy problem.
>
> The United States, officials here believe, would find itself in the same category as South Africa, Hungary and other countries whose domestic policies have become debating issues at the United Nations. The issue, officials say, would be of service to critics of the United States, Communist and non-Communist, and contribute to the undermining of the position the United States had asserted for itself as the leader of the West in the advocacy of human rights....
>
> According to one diplomatic report Malcolm had not met with success, but the report was not documented and officials here today conceded the possibility that Malcolm might have succeeded.[21]

If the State Department grudgingly "conceded" that Malcolm might have been successful in convincing at least one African nation to raise the issue of human rights at the United Nations, it did not for a moment doubt that Malcolm had had some influence at the United Nations during the debate over the Congo. The African delegates denounced American policy both at home and abroad and cited as evidence the attitude of the United States Government toward the civil rights struggle in Mississippi. M. S. Handler, writing in *The New York Times* (January 2, 1965), reported that Malcolm had urged the Africans to use "the racial situation in the United States as an instrument of attack in discussing international problems," because "Such a strategy would give the African states more leverage in dealing with the United States and would in turn give American Negroes more leverage in American society."

In assessing his own impact on African thinking in December 1964, Malcolm observed that the greatest accomplishment that was made in the Afro-American struggle in 1964 was the successful linking together of the Afro-American and the African problems:

> And today you'll find in the United Nations, and it's not an accident, that every time the Congo question or anything on the African continent is being debated, they couple it with what is going on, or what is happening to you and me in Mississippi and Alabama.[22]

When he was asked in a radio interview (January 28, 1965) if he took credit for the African delegates at the United Nations linking up the problems of the Congo with Mississippi, Malcolm would only say that the African states were represented by intelligent men and it was only a matter of time before they saw the obvious connections. Furthermore, his response reflects the broad identification he had achieved with the oppressed peoples of the world and his awareness of racism as an instrument of imperialism and neocolonialism:

> And it is a good example of why our problem has to be internationalized. Now the African nations are speaking out and linking the problem of racism in Mississippi with the problem of racism in the Congo, and also the problem of racism in South Vietnam. It's all racism. It's all part of the vicious racist system that the Western powers have used to continue to degrade and exploit and oppress the people in Africa and Asia and Latin America during recent centuries.
>
> And when these people in these different areas begin to see that the problem is the same problem, and when the 22 million black Americans see that our problem is the same as the problem of the people who are being oppressed in South Vietnam and the Congo and Latin America, then-the oppressed people of this earth make up a majority—then we approach our problem as a majority that can *demand*, not as a minority that has to beg.[23]

Lastly, it should be remarked that Malcolm's honesty, sincerity, and forthrightness in dealing with the problems posed by racism, imperialism, and neocolonialism endeared him to African radicals and gave to many who had seen or heard him a sense of dignity and pride often so lacking in many of their leaders.

the last days

When Malcolm returned to the United States after his eighteen weeks abroad, he saw his major task as educative. The Sunday evening talks at the Audubon Ballroom in New York were designed primarily to enlarge the consciousness of Afro- Americans and to reshape their sense of identity so that they would see themselves as an extension of the African peoples and part of the Black Revolution. The basic perspective and ideas he had espoused in Africa and the Middle East had been re- affirmed by the receptivity to them of the African peoples and officials he had met. But Malcolm admits in his *Autobiography* that he had to be honest and frank-he knew that Afro-Americans were not going to rush to take their problem before the United Nations. Two of the "big six" civil rights leaders had already indicated in 1963 that Chairman Mao Tse-tung's statement of support was not the kind of assistance they needed or were looking for. It was also clear from some of the comments of leaders and ordinary people who asked him about his program that the Afro- American community by and large did not see what could be gained by going to Africa and the Middle East instead of going into the ghetto and trying to forge some kind of program that would create better opportunities for jobs, housing, and education. Malcolm insisted that unless the Afro-Americans understood their problems in the context of the world struggle, they would not really understand the possibilities open to them. He believed that once a man really understood his problem, he will do whatever is necessary to solve it. Consequently, he spent a great deal of time trying to explain the broad political and economic picture as it affected oppressed people throughout the world, and tried to show the Afro-American the connections between his situation and the Third World struggle for decolonization. It would not be an exaggeration to say that Malcolm's main effort was to transform the consciousness and identity of the Afro-American and to prepare him for a revolutionary struggle in America.

Malcolm was convinced that the Western imperialist system was faced with an "external" rebellion in the colonial and ex-colonial areas that had affected and intensified the rebellion of the colonized peoples inside the imperialist nations. The effect of this rebellion was to intensify the Afro-American's drive for his own freedom. What

Malcolm envisioned was the linking up of the external and internal rebellions against the imperialists in as many places as possible to exert pressure both on the domestic and international scene. Thus, when he was in Ghana and in France he formed chapters of the OAAU to function as pressure groups against America's domestic colonialism and her neocolonialism abroad. When Malcolm returned to France in November 1964 on the invitation of the Afro-American community in Paris, he was refused entry. Apparently, the Communist trade unions, alarmed at the threat of racial divisions within the labor ranks, put pressure on willing officials to refuse him entry. The potential coalition of Afro-Americans, Africans, and Arabs had alarmed French officials. This incident was cited by Malcolm as further proof that the "power elite" in France, England, and America were becoming concerned about the oppressed within their countries:

> The newly awakened people all over the world pose a problem for what is known as Western interests which are imperialism, colonialism, racism and all these other negative isms or vulturistic isms. Just as the external forces pose a grave threat, they can now see that the internal forces pose an even greater threat only when they have properly analysed the situation and know what the stakes really are.[24]

America, Malcolm felt, was the real bastion of international imperialism, and the Afro-American once he appreciated the overall global revolution and understood his relation to it would realize his strategic position in relation to the international power system. On this regard Malcolm was also concerned with the problem of *method* and insisted that Afro-Americans should employ whatever means were necessary to win freedom. The means Malcolm envisioned seem to have included violence, which he felt had proved effective abroad. On one occasion he invited Sheik Abdul Rahman Muhammad Babu of Tanzania, who had taken part in the 1964 Zanzibar revolution, to speak to the audience at the Audubon. Muhammad Babu addressed the audience, and significantly brought the following greetings from another revolutionary, Che Guevara, who wrote:

> Dear brothers and sisters of Harlem, I would have liked to have been with you and Babu, but the conditions are not good for this meeting. Receive the warm salutations of the Cuban people and especially those of Fidel, who remember enthusiastically his visit to Harlem a few years ago.

After Babu spoke, Malcolm rendered this advice to his audience:

> You may say, "Well, how in the hell are we going to stop them? A great big man like this?" Brothers and sisters, always remember this. When you're inside another man's house, and the furniture is his, curtains, all those fine decorations, there isn't too much action he can put down in there without messing up his furniture and windows and his house. And you let him know that when he puts his hands on you, it's not only you he puts his hands on, it's his whole house, you'll burn it down. You're in a position to—you have nothing to lose. Then the man will act right ... he will only act right when you let him know that you know that he has more to lose than you have. You haven't got anything to lose but discrimination and segregation.[25]

In the summer of 1964 Malcolm predicted that the Afro-Americans would eventually be forced to resort to terroristic tactics as other colonized peoples had done to achieve their freedom. He wrote in the *Egyptian Gazette* that for the black masses, particularly the young people, the American dream had become a racist nightmare. By November 1964 he had become convinced that revolutionary struggle was the only alternative that Afro-Americans had in the face of the continued repression and resistance to their efforts to gain their rights within the established political system. The refusal of the Democratic Party leaders to seat the black representatives of the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party at the Democratic Convention in August 1964, coupled with the brutalities inflicted on black people during and after the Mississippi elections, underscored the futility of trying to work with a corrupt and morally defunct political system. After listening to Fannie Lou Hamer's account of her experience both in Mississippi and in Atlantic

City with the leaders of the Democratic Party, Malcolm concluded that to communicate with white America, Afro-Americans needed to change to the language of force and brutality, and adopt methods such as those used by the Kenya freedom fighters:

> . . .you and I can best team how to get real freedom by studying how Kenyatta brought it to his people in Kenya, and how Odinga helped him, and the excellent job that was done by the Mau Mau freedom fighters. In fact, that's what we need in Mississippi. In Mississippi we need a Mau Mau. In Alabama we need a Mau Mau. In Georgia we need a Mau Mau. Right here in Harlem, in New York City, we need a Mau Mau. I say it with no anger; I say it with careful forethought.... We *need* a Mau Mau. If they don't want to deal with the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party, then we'll give them something else to deal with; if they don't want to deal with the Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee, then we have to give them an alternative.[26]

from Black Nationalism to Internationalism

The most remarkable thing about Malcolm's brilliant but short career of dedicated leadership was his capacity for constructive intellectual development. After his break with the Muslims Malcolm underwent an ideological transformation. He came to understand the latent implications of his basic concept of the Black Revolution. When Malcolm spoke of the Black Revolution prior to his visit to the Middle East and Africa he used the words in the framework of political independence or decolonization. At this time he was an advocate of black nationalism in a racially inconclusive sense of the black, yellow, brown, and red peoples-the colonized of the earth. The shift from black nationalism occurred as a result of his African and Middle Eastern experience, which enabled him to see that the basic problem confronting the unindustrialized or colored world was not race but the disadvantageous economic effects of the international capitalist system. This insight strengthened Malcolm's earlier conviction about the need for the people in the underdeveloped world to unite not only to destroy colonialism but capitalism as well. In August 1964 when Malcolm said that it would take REVOLUTION for the black man to achieve freedom in America, he meant the destruction of the capitalist system both domestically and internationally. It was not a question of winning through the ballot anymore but of using the bullet to destroy an economic system that is nationally and internationally incompatible with freedom for the oppressed peoples of the world. When he was asked in January 1965 whether he still felt that there would be an Armageddon in the United States by 1984, as had been predicted by Elijah Muhammad, Malcolm discounted Muhammad's teachings but said he believed that the world was moving toward a showdown:

> I believe that there will ultimately be a clash between the oppressed and those that do the oppressing, I believe that there will be a clash between those who want freedom, and those who want to continue the systems of exploitation.

We now suggest that Malcolm's basic perspectives were Pan-Africanist combined with a Third World socialist view which saw the struggle going on in the world as being against capitalism, colonialism, and racism. At the time of his death Malcolm's world view was similar to Frantz Fanon's as exemplified in the latter's book, The *Wretched of the Earth*. It is very likely that Malcolm read this book, as it was pre- s6nted to him as a gift when he was in Africa, but whether he was influenced by Fanon's thinking or not, he was already predisposed to this kind of ideological development. The trip to Africa and the Middle East enabled him to understand the economic implications of his basic concept of the Black Revolution.

But Malcolm was not thinking solely in racial terms toward the end of his life. He very clearly indicated that the oppressed might find allies both in America and in Europe that were opposed to the capitalist system. Several times he reiterated that he would be willing to cooperate with any person or group that was honestly willing to fight against the American system that oppressed its black citizens at home and other peoples abroad.

The revolutionary struggle in the world, as Malcolm saw it, revolved around *power-power* to control human material resources and to determine the rate and path of economic development so that the peoples in the underdeveloped areas (including all the Harlems in the United States) might extricate themselves from the impoverishing colonial economic relationship whereby they have remained suppliers of raw materials and have in turn served as markets for the finished products of the developed countries. Malcolm denounced the American military intervention in the Congo in 1964, pointing out the strategic geographical position of the Congo as the gateway to the racist imperialist regimes of South-West Africa, South Africa, Southern Rhodesia, and Mozambique, where there are huge Western investments in mineral resources. He frequently argued that unless Afro-Americans understood their relation to the Congo, they would not be able to deal effectively with their problem in Mississippi since the same domestic racist interests are linked up internationally with similar interests that combine to oppress the darker races. He tried to destroy the image of America's invincibility in the minds of the Afro-Americans and make them realize that the American, French, British, and other European imperialist powers were being successfully challenged by formerly colonized peoples. He felt that as these newly independent states assumed control over their own resources they were weakening the international capitalist system. When he was asked in an interview what he thought about the struggle between capitalism and socialism, Malcolm remarked:

> It is impossible for capitalism to survive primarily because the system of capitalism needs some blood to suck. Capitalism used to be like an eagle, but now it's more like a vulture. It used to be strong enough to go and suck anybody's blood whether they were strong or not. But now it has become more cowardly, like the vulture, and it can only suck the blood of the helpless. As the nations of the world free themselves then capitalism has less victims, less to suck, and it becomes weaker and weaker. It's only a matter of time in my opinion before it will collapse Completely.[28]

Alone, or almost single-handedly, Malcolm sought to link the Afro-American liberation movement with the liberation movement of the Third World, or what he called the Black Revolution. In his effort to internationalize the Afro-American problem Malcolm added a new and powerful dimension to a worldwide struggle that could take on more meaning as the racial conflict in the United States intensifies. Malcolm initiated the linking up of the black freedom fighters in America with revolutionaries all the way from Cuba to Mozambique. In other words, he sought to foster a world-wide revolutionary fraternity that would grow in strength and size as the conflict between the haves and the have-nots intensifies. The radical wing of the Black Power advocates in the United States appears to be executing the ideas implicit in his geo-political analysis of the Black Revolution. In May 1967. SNCC declared that it was no longer a civil rights organization but a human rights organization interested in human rights not only in the United States but throughout the world, and declared its support for liberation groups struggling to free people from racism and exploitation. In July 1967, Stokely Carmichael attended the Organization of Latin American Solidarity Conference in Havana. When Carmichael left Cuba, he visited Vietnam, Algeria, Syria, Egypt, Guinea, Tanzania, Scandinavia, and France. He talked with leaders in all these countries, including Fidel Castro, Ho Chi Minh, Sekou Toure, Kwame Nkrumah, and Julius Nyerere. In August 1967, James Forman and Harold Moore, Jr., represented SNCC at a seminar sponsored by the United Nations in Kitwe, Zambia, on "Apartheid, Racial Discrimination and Colonialism in Southern Africa." The position paper of their organization was "The Indivisible Struggle Against Racism, Apartheid and Colonialism." These are but a few examples which suggest Malcolm's influence in reshaping and reorientating the Afro-American's perception of the nature of his struggle.[29]

A logical extension of Malcolm's basic concept of the Black Revolution is revolutionary socialism. He believed that eventually the oppressed peoples of the world must comes to grips with the *cause* of their exploitation. The only way out for the "haves and have-nots" cycle is through a radical break by the latter with the colonial economic relationship. The disappointing results of the recent UNCTAD (United Nations Conference on Trade and Development) point up the far-reaching implications and visionary scope of Malcolm's concept of the Black Revolution. After the conference Dr. Raul Prebisch, Argentine general secretary, predicted:

> If we do not succeed in effective and vigorous economic development the alternatives are clear. The deteriorating situation in the have-not countries will demonstrate that the extremists are right.

> Black power—now merely a U.S. phenomenon—will become brown, yellow and black power on a global scale.[30]

The reverberations of the Black Revolution or Black Power have also been heard in Great Britain. In response to M.P. Enoch Powell's speech in Parliament in April 1968, advocating a clampdown on colored immigration and a scheme to encourage one in fifty colored immigrants to return to their homelands, delegates from twenty- one organizations representing Africans, Indians, Pakistanis, and West Indians formed a Black Peoples' Alliance in the United Kingdom. The meeting was sponsored by Mr. Jagmohan Joshi, president of the thirty thousand-strong Indian Workers Association. "For the first time," said Mr. Joshi, "black people have decided to unite their forces."[31] Malcolm X would not have expected less!

FOR FURTHER READING:

E. U. Essien-Udom, *Black Nationalism* (Chicago University Press, 1964); George Breitman, *Malcolm X Speaks* (Grove Press, 1965); Archie Epps, The *Speeches of Malcolm X at Harvard* (New York: William Morrow and Company, 1969).

NOTES

1 "Prospects for Freedom in 1965," in *Malcolm X Speaks*, edited by George Breitman (New York: Merit Publishers, 1965). The address was given under the auspices of the Militant Labor Forum.
Ruby M. and E. U. Essien-Udom. "Malcolm X: An International Man," from John Henrick Clarke, ed., Malcolm X: The Man and His Times *(Collier Books, 1969), 235-267. Reprinted with permission of John H. Clarke and E. U. Essien-Udom.*

2 *Ibid.*, pp. 155-64.

3 The expression is used in the same broad sense as Frantz Fanon uses it. See *The Wretched of the Earth* (Baltimore: Penguin Books, 1967).

4 Malcolm X and Alex Haley, *The Autobiography of Malcolm X* (London: Hutchinson and Collins Ltd., 1966), v. 367.

5 This may be defined briefly as the preoccupation with the need for Afro-Americans to control the political, economic, and social life of their communities in America. It may also include notions of separation from the dominant white society.

6 See E. U. Essien-Udom, *Black Nationalism: A Search for an Identity in America* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1962).

7 Breitman, *op. cit.*, p. 5.

8 *Ibid.*, p. 50.

9 *Ibid.*, p. 35.

10 *Ibid.*, p. 38

11 Malcolm X and Haley, *op. cit.*, p. 420.

12 *Ibid.*, p. 424

13. *Ibid.*, p. 128

14 Unpublished ms.

15 Malcolm X and Haley, *op. cit.*, p. 426.

16 *Ibid.*, p. 433

17 Breitman, *op. cit.*, p. 66

18 Malcolm X, "Racism: The Cancer That Is Destroying America," in the *Egyptian Gazette*, August 25, 1964.

19 Quoted in Breitman, *op. cit.*, p. 92

20 *Ibid.*, p. 93.

21 *Ibid.*, p. 94.

22 *Ibid.*, p. 151

23 *Ibid.*, p. 234

24 *Ibid.*, *p.* 169

25 *Ibid.*, *p.* 111.

26 *Ibid.*, *pp.* 114-15

27 *Ibid.*, p. 252

28 *Ibid.*, *p.* 21529 The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), *Position Paper*, Lusaka, July 24-August 4, 1967; mimeographed.

30 "The Haves and Have-Nots," *Newsweek*, April 22, 1968.

31 Quoted in the *Daily Sketch (Ibadan)*, April 30, 1968, p. 2.

PART THIRTEEN

THE AFRICAN DIASPORA IN THE CARIBBEAN

THE FEDERAL VENTURE: THE FORMATIVE YEARS

by

Gordon K. Lewis

The transformation of Commonwealth Caribbean countries from colonial status to independence had profound implications for established economic and social structures. This also challenged social attitudes on the part of ethnic groups and individuals. The challenge of independence meant the growth of a new positive citizenship, personal involvement, and personal responsibility. Independence after three hundred years of colonialism meant national stock-taking of heroic proportions. The newly organized political parties and trade unions were forced out of necessity to cooperate to solve such problems as high unemployment, illiteracy, a declining sugar industry, and the high cost of imported materials.

As Caribbean societies grappled with these imperatives, the search for new national interest was readily associated with the search for a new cultural identity. This occurred because nation building involved the growth of cultural nationalism rooted for the first time in Caribbean experience. National interests, too, could not be compartmentalized but necessarily must be intricately linked to economic and political growth. Independence conferred sovereignty upon the new nations, but this could be rendered negative if political and economic powers continued to be controlled externally.

The private sector of the colonial export oriented economy espousing capitalist industrialization must now be responsive to the policies of local governments if the economy must serve as a vehicle for social changes. This challenge should not see nationalization as an easy answer. Rather, the private sector and government should chart new economic policies which will integrate the interests of all sectors of the society. All possible efforts should be made to cure the ills of economic colonialism despite the fact that there is a sociocultural dimension which, because it has long served the interest of a few, is extremely difficult to eradicate. Because government leaders are usually drawn from the educated middle class, they are ipso facto psychologically disposed to and benefit materially from a policy that emphasizes cultural dependency on the more developed external societies. A continuance of this policy guarantees the traditional dependence of Caribbean islands on imported luxury items. Having been influenced by an external economic order, Caribbean leaders are inclined to perpetuate this with minimum changes.

Caribbean leaders are confronted with yet another perplexing factor. The grant of independence signalled the transformation from the old European colonialism to the new American hemispheric power system. Pragmatic Caribbean leaders must constantly and with vigilance seek to prevent economic dependence on the United States of America from destroying political independence.

Arthur E. Burt

The recognition of the seminal truth that only a unified Caribbean, politically and economically, can save the region from its fatal particularism is at least a century old. In its particular variant of West Indian federation it certainly goes back to the *Appendix* written in 1860 to the *lectures on Colonization and Colonies* delivered at Oxford University by Herman Merivale of the Colonial Office between 1839 and i84i. Many of the authors who wrote on the West Indies—Meikle, Darnell Davis, Salmon, de Verteuil, Lamont, Murray, Rippon—advocated federation and drew up their own private constitutional models. Viscount Elibank's lecture of 1911 before the West India Committee in London, speaking in his capacity at that time as Administrator of St Vincent, included a draft bill for a federal constitution prepared by the then Chief Justice of British Honduras which proposed among other things a Federal Council to be indirectly elected from the memberships of the various local legislatures. These private proposals were supported, first, by official British recommendations, from the ill-fated proposals of 1876 to the Colonial Office *Despatches*, respectively, of 1945 and 1947 that laid down the basis of the federal experiment between 1956 (the date of the definitive conference on the federal constitution) to 1962 (the date of the official termination of the Federation). They were supported, secondly, by West Indians themselves, dating at least from the acceptance of Captain Cipriani's resolution at the 1926 Labour Conference (with reservations on the part of the Guianese delegates), through the important Dominica Conference of 1932, to the decisive Montego Bay Conference of 1947 in which British and West Indian opinion came together to accept, in principle, the idea of federal nationhood. Apart from those developments there were peripheral movements: the Leeward Islands Confederation (1871-1956), the various efforts to gain admittance to the Canadian Confederation, Sir Edward Davson's proposals of 1920 for an advisory joint executive council to provide a body of *expertise* in specialist fields for the individual island legislatures, the manufacture of ingenious constitutional nostrums by enthusiastic amateurs like Ebenezer Duncan of St Vincent. Certainly, if continuous discussion of an idea over a period of eighty years or more is proof of its power then West Indian federation was a powerful issue indeed.

Yet that would be a disastrously erroneous view. For an examination of the prolonged discussion preceding the Montego Bay meeting makes it painfully clear that the federation debate, unlike the earlier Abolitionist debate, possessed no clear purpose, no central driving force to give it energy and direction. In the first place, there was complete absence of agreement as to the scope of the proposed federation. Practically every proposal had its own special conception of what territories should or should not be included. The 1897 Royal Commission limited federation to Barbados and the Windwards, the 1932 Closer Union Commission proposed instead a loose federation of both Leewards and Windwards. The Dominica Conference envisaged a union of Trinidad, Barbados, the Leewards and Windwards, while the later Caribbean Labour Congress proposals Of 1938 went further, to include even the Bahamas and the two mainland territories. Some wanted to include Jamaica, others to exclude it. There was, secondly, a comparable confusion as to the very necessity of federation. The Royal Commission of 1882 envisaged some form of ultimate federation, that of 1897 opposed the idea and even saw no virtue in the less ambitious proposals for a unified regional civil service. Major Wood's 1922 Report emphasized the absence of adequate transportation facilities as a conclusive argument against federation; the 1938 Royal Commission, on the other hand, while reiterating Major Wood's skepticism, accepted federation as an ideal to be worked for, and noted that if West Indian communications were deficient that was because, in large part, the Imperial government had failed to help British shipping companies, by means of subsidies, to compete with the passenger services offered West Indian travellers by the modern and luxurious ships of the foreign lines.

Finally, and in the third place, there was little agreement about the final purposes that federation would presumably serve. With many of its individual West Indian champions, Marryshow, for example, there was little more than a vaguely romantic feeling about West Indian 'unity', and a typically middle class emphasis upon the nationalist content of federation. For the radical groups, the Caribbean Labour Congress, for example, federation meant self-government and dominion status, those concepts in turn being conceived as essential instruments for the overall planning and development of the Caribbean area as an integral part of the larger world economy. For Cipriani, with his strong trade union leanings, it meant the means whereby West Indian social problems such as education and child labour could receive immediate attention in a way that Crown Colony government could not offer. Official British opinion, on the other hand, throughout viewed federation, not as a vehicle for West Indian self-government, but, overwhelmingly, as a problem of colonial administrative convenience. Examination of the voluminous documentation of that opinion in Westminster debates, royal commission reports, Colonial Office memoranda and the published correspondence between the Colonial Secretary and individual West Indian governors shows that the most persistently recurring reason evoked in support of federation was the greater economy and the improved administrative efficiency it was supposed federation would bring about. There was little appreciation of the economic side of federation; which led inevitably to West Indian suspicions about imperial intentions and motives, giving rise to the strong feeling, never at any time really cleared away, that London wanted federation merely to rid herself of continuing obligations in the area;[1] summed up in the alleged remark of a Colonial Office junior official that the general idea be- hind the official sponsorship of federation was 'to make these scattered legislatures into one compact body in order that the Colonial Office could more expeditiously deal with them in matters relating to the British Government'.[2]

There were, of course, other contributing strains in the general pro-federal movement. There was the contribution of 'functional federalism, that is, the processes of regional co-operation between" the various West Indian unit governments on limited matters of common concern: higher education, currency, shipping services, information services, the work of the various Trade Commissioners, judicial co-operation through the West Indian Court of Appeal; and much else.[3] Much of this was 'Federation by conference', the meetings, for example, of the old West Indian Conferences after 1926 or, as an example of one of the many urgent regional problems facing local governments, the first regional Veterinary Conference of 1947 that discussed the question of animal quarantine. Most notably of all, there was the work after 1949 of the Regional Economic Committee, dealing with various matters from shipping services and trade surveys to the United States farm labour programme; the work was especially important because the Committee's habit of rotating its meetings in various island capitals served to educate many local politicians into a regional view of their own insular problems. Yet the conference habit was of limited use. The meetings only involved senior civil servants and a handful of political leaders; they were administration-oriented; they had advisory powers only; and they were no substitute for the single federal agency, with over- riding political powers, which alone could speak and act with authority for the region as a whole. Above all, they suffered from the official touch, being held, up to 1944, under the aegis of the Colonial Office and, after that date, under that of the Anglo-American Caribbean Commission. In the earlier period they assumed, for the West Indies, a sort of tropical extension of the British imperialist mercantilist system after the manner of the old Liberal-imperialist dream in which, as the English Governor of Barbados told the 1929 meeting, Britain and the West Indies would form one trade unit for marketing purposes and in which the imperial connection would, inferentially, be increased and not diminished. But later developments belied the promise. The general temper of this much-vaunted 'consultative' method may be gauged, altogether, from the fact that the inaugural meeting of the West Indian Conferences of 1926 gathered in the Moses chamber of the House of lords and was conceived as being an effort to duplicate in the West Indies the conference technique recently developed, at that time, by the British administrations in the East African Colonies and Protectorates; an aim, moreover, described to the delegates by a Colonial Secretary of State who, on his own confession, had never been to the West Indies.[4]

There was, further, as Braithwaite has noted, the contribution of the pre-federal 'federal' associations and institutions of the region. The federal stand of the organized labour movement, going back at least to the 1926 conference, is well known, culminating in the radical pronouncements of the 1945 and 1947 meetings of the newly- formed Caribbean Labour Congress in favour of federal union along with dominion status, both of those essentially political devices being conceived, as in Richard Hart's brief at the 1945 meeting, as instruments to further the cause of regional socialist planning, constituting, as that planning would, so argued the brief, a far stronger basis for the federal state than mere sentiment or traditional loyalty. The Associated Chambers of Commerce, founded in 1917, likewise contributed to regionalist thinking, first by way of their successive conferences that publicized essentially federal concepts like regional shipping services and a regional customs union, and secondly by way of their support, albeit generally lukewarm, of a political federation, going back as early as the pro-federal pamphlet published in 1917 by the West Indian Federal League, a body actually founded by some of the delegates to the foundation conference of the larger Association held in Trinidad.[5] There were, again, the various professional associations organized on a regional basis and concerned with regional problems: the Caribbean Union of Teachers after 1935 seeking support for the ideals of uniform educational standards, increased salaries and the abolition of the dual system of educational control; the Caribbean Bar Association after 1916 concerned with the codification of separate island laws and with the principle of uniformity in re the right of admission to practice; most importantly, perhaps, the Civil Service Federation after 1944 fighting against the colour bar in the colonial civil service and working for, among much else, the unification of the service as a regional whole. Finally, there were the federal institutions proper or, to be more exact, extra-federal: the Imperial College of Tropical Agriculture, followed in 1948 by the University College of the West Indies, the West Indian Meteorological Service, and the various churches with their doctrinally universalistic bias calculated to encourage, if not a national viewpoint, at least a regional one. It would be difficult to exaggerate the importance of the one single feature all of those bodies, ideologically so diverse, shared together, that is, their habit of frequent regional meetings, for it was a habit that helped measurably to counteract the disease of insularity in a region so utterly bereft of decent communications that, as Gideon Murray put it, personal interchange of ideas by West Indians on West Indian affairs was almost as rare as the St. Vincent parrot.[6]

Yet there are difficulties in interpreting all this, to see what it means. There is a temptation, perhaps natural, to see any regional body as, *ipso facto*, proof of a burgeoning West Indian nationalism. The University College of the West Indies, for example, as the unitary creation of planned federationist thinking, might have been expected to be such a body, to give some intellectual stimulus to the federal movement. But, as a matter of fact, the UCWI faculty, with a few individual exceptions, did not do so and did not participate at all openly iii the federal debate of the 1950's. The West Indian press, again, with exceptions like the Jamaican *Gleaner*, was, as it still largely is, notoriously insularist and failed dismally to carry on the early federal tradition of the old Grenadian *West Indian* under Marryshow's editorship. While it is true, again, that the federal nationalism of the labour movement was throughout diluted by its middle class Anglophilism, thus sharing that characteristic with the business groups, it is nonetheless also true that the essential ideological quality of labour thought was radically nationalist in a way that the business group outlook was not. So, while labour espoused federation as a vehicle for democratic social growth, as the advanced programme of the 1947 meeting Of the Caribbean Labour Congress showed, West Indian business thought of federation merely as a device for furthering its own narrow economic interests as primary producers dependent upon an external market and requiring joint lobbying methods in the metropolitan capitals. For labour, it meant a strong federal state. For business, it meant merely a loose confederal association in which, as an early group put it, 'any suggestion of pooling revenues or equalising tariffs with a Lord High Somebody in authority over the whole West Indies would be resented by every colony'.[7] There were, then, qualitative differences in different pro-federal approaches. Some groups embraced a common West Indian loyalty as an act of faith. Others accepted it simply as a necessity of existence; in Braithwaite's phrase, in a sense West Indianism was forced upon the West Indian civil servant as a tactical move in the struggle for senior appointments. The special professional interest, likewise, of the legal profession in federation was perhaps sufficiently indicated in Sir Grantley Adams' observation in one of the early Barbados debates on the subject, that the West Indian lawyer class, like their counterparts in Australia and Canada, might carve a handsome living out of cases of appeal to the Privy Council concerning problems of the constitutionality of local and federal activities within a federal structure.[8] The Caribbean Union of Teachers, again, formed in 1935, espoused with real enthusiasm a West Indian view of educational problems. The business tycoon, on the other hand, who, like Abe Issa, was federalist in his sympathies was so because of his commercial interests spread throughout the islands or, like Sir Robert Kirkwood, saw federation mainly as an improved instrument for negotiating trade agreements with external buyers and investors. For the business groups, obviously, federation, again to quote Murray, was a means to equip the West Indies 'in modern fashion for the commercial battle which is now being waged throughout the civilized world'.[9]

The discussion of the growth of West Indian regional feeling, clearly enough, must distinguish carefully between a West Indianism of groups resident in the area and having a sense of belonging to it, and a West Indianism which is something more, a sense of transcending colonial boundaries and yielding a new loyalty to the larger regional boundaries. The old Creole governing classes of the *ancien régime* before 1834 were thus West Indian in the first sense but not in the second. So, when Père Labat noted in 1700 in the Barbados of that time that many of the English planters and officials spoke a fluent French that fact was due less to any sense of Pan-Caribbean feeling in them than it was to a situation in which both trade and war with the French islands had brought them into intimate contact with the French Antillean culture; a contact subsequently lost. But that, at best, was nothing more than the powerful localist prejudice of the white Creoles of the old West Indian families, usually directed against the 'home' government and its agents; the imported officials, *the métropolitains*. Conversely, the churches were West Indian in the second sense but not in the first; that is to say, being in the main international organizations of expatriate clergy they readily appreciated the fact that a common West Indian culture of family and social habits called for some uniform diocesan structure in the region as a whole, some regional basis of church action. The tremendous life work of the great Bishop Anstey in the West Indian parish after 1911 can be seen, in one way, as an exemplification of that truth. It is therefore necessary to see the later struggle for a native ecclesiastical hierarchy —culminating in Jamaica in 1955 with the appointment of the first native Anglican bishop —not so much as a sign of a larger West Indian regionalism as an indication of the growth of a new class of laity in the individual colonies seeking to set itself up as the heir of the old Anglican plantocracy. Regional identity, this is to say more generally, was frequently not so much an indigenous phenomenon on native grounds as it was the effort of the outsider groups, themselves not sharing, and therefore impatient with individual island loyalties, to impose an abstract ideal upon an intractable insularity, and often for purposes alien to West Indian interests.

The outstanding example of that truth is the series of West Indian Conferences held after 1944 under the aegis of the imperialist Anglo-American Caribbean Commission. For the main purpose of that body was political, to maintain 'stability' in the Caribbean during the war period. That meant, in part, the consolidation of the growing American influence in the region, a purpose aptly summed up in the feeling of American officials at the time that they preferred to set up the Commission's headquarters in Trinidad with an American boss, rather than in St Thomas with a British boss, so that they could have a listening post in the British West Indies.[10] The West Indian Conferences, overcrowded with the Commission's expatriate officials and local government advisers, mostly European, reflected that bias. Their reports were essentially conservative documents, usually advocating common West Indian action on specific subjects such as public works, fisheries and agriculture, tourism, health quarantine, venereal disease, and so on, but failing completely to face up to the problem of the organization of appropriate regional political institutions without which any joint action on those issues would revert to the control of the Commission itself, with its traditional disinterest in organizing independent West Indian action for West Indian purposes. To compare, for example, the 1944 Report of the first such Conference with the Report of the 1945 meeting of the Caribbean Labour Congress is to appreciate the point. For whereas the first document recommended, at its boldest point, mild industrial development to be coordinated through the Industries Section of the Caribbean Commission, the second document warned strongly against a policy of heavy capital investment by outside forces which would lead to external economic and political control and could only be avoided by a regional political body democratically accountable to the peoples of the individual territories. [11]

All of this finally culminated, after 1945, in the series of conferences that led up to the establishment of the West Indies Federation in 1958: the Montego Bay founding conference of 1945, and the two London conferences of 1953 and 1956. In the very nature of the case the record was that of a prolonged effort to establish a deliberately conscious act of political construction, for the essence of federation—the process whereby a developing sense of national solidarity is reconciled with the attachment for localist identity, through the setting up of a dual political organization —presupposes a written constitution of some detail. Apart from the long-term causative factors noted above, the period after 1945 brought additional and more immediately pressing factors into being the intellectual ferment stimulated by the war, for wars, as Marx said of revolutions, are the locomotives of history; universal suffrage and the new popular political movements it threw up; the reconstruction of the civil services on a 'national' basis from the middle 1940's onwards; the wider horizons opened up by professional training and residence abroad; student liberation at McGill and London; the work of the Regional Economic Committee in laying the basis for a federal administrative service; and the rapid development of cheap popular air travel, particularly significant in the light of the observation of the British Guiana observer to the Montego Bay Conference that, hitherto, inter-colonial travel had been restricted to the two categories of visiting cricket teams and civil servants.

The hammering out of the federal constitution—optimistically assumed by the Montego Bay conference to be the work of a brief period only—became, in fact, a tedious process. It produced a mountain of literature: the various conference reports themselves, the Standing Closer Association Committee report of 1949 (the Rance Report), the 1949 report of the Holmes Commission on civil service unification, the 1955 report of the conference of freedom of movement, the reports of the three pre-Federal Commissioners, the Judicial, the Fiscal, and the Civil Service, appointed by the 1953 London conference, the 1957 Mudie Commission report on the controversial matter of the federal capital site, the 1958 report of the Trade and Tariffs Commission, not to mention the endless debates on delegate reports that took place in all of the territorial legislative councils, as well as the academic discussion generated by the federal developments.[12] It was perhaps inevitable, indeed, that the process should have been so maddeningly protracted, for tire initial Montego Bay conference did little more than pass a short, simple resolution accepting 'the principle of a federation in which each constituent unit retains complete control over all matters except those specifically assigned to the federal government'. To clothe such a vague directive, itself expressive of the serious divisions of opinion between the radical and conservative forces of West Indian opinion, with the flesh and blood of a full-scale constitutional instrument, of necessity had to take time.

Certain leading features about the process must be noted. In the first place, the federation was the work, almost exclusively, of British officials and West Indian politicians. There was little of a movement of enthusiastic popular opinion behind it. Viscount Elibank had blandly assumed in his book of 1912 that the leading personnel of a federal legislature would be recruited from the class of white managers and planters. That, of course, was no longer possible after, say, 1938. But the federal idea after that date became little more than the plaything of the creole heirs of that class, the new group of coloured politicians thrown up by universal suffrage. The 1947 conference took as its model the Australian federal concept (a choice never really adequately explained), as the Hammond advisory paper on the Australian experience written for that conference shows.[13] But the more democratic aspects of the Australian concept were overlooked, the reference back of successive constitutional drafts to the local electorates, for example, as took place with the plebiscitary approval of the Commonwealth of Australia Act in 1900. Nor was there anything of a serious effort to educate the West Indian peoples of federal association such as the work of the Federal League in, again, the Australian case in the years before 1900. There was, it is true, the remarkable educational effort of Dr. Williams in his popular lectures of 1955-56.[14] But that was almost a single-handed Herculean feat and did not have the influence of, for example, the *Federalist Papers* in the popular American debate at the time of the ratification process of 1787. Nor did the new University College of the West Indies, after 1948, fill the gap, for, modelled as it was as a sort of colonial Oxbridge under its English Vice-Chancellors and senior academic staff, and wedded to the imperial intellectual tradition, it did little to fulfil the vision of the Caribbean Labour Congress in its 1945 meeting of a West Indian university which would become in all its phases a 'centre and focus of West Indian social, cultural, economic, and political aspirations'. The urgent task of mass education in the realities of federation—the task of a lifetime's education, on any showing—was thus left to any odd civic-minded organization that chose to undertake it, the Kingston and St Andrew's Taxpayers and Ratepayers Association, for example, that valiantly tried to penetrate Jamaican popular ignorance of the subject in 1957.[15]

Throughout all of the foundation meetings there reigned an atmosphere, in truth, of official secrecy. The fact, too, that after Montego Bay they were all held in faraway London only added to their general isolationism away from popular life and thought. All of the arguments, moreover, that were advanced by the various conferences—the Federation, in one way, was the child of the conference habit—managed to avoid the seminal question as to what benefits, if any, the new scheme would offer to the West Indian peasant and worker. It was argued that federation would mean a more dignified international personality for the West Indies, that the area's bargaining power on the world economic markets would be enhanced if a single central government replaced a number of weak separate governments, and so on. But none of those could be expected, as reasons, to appeal much to the poverty stricken masses. They certainly could not count on the hope that federation would bring them prosperity or employment. The most that was offered them was Mr. Manley's candid admission in his Montego Bay speech that federation by itself would not bring prosperity, only that it would enlarge the area of action and the possibilities of a prosperity which, as he saw it, only West Indians alone could create for themselves: a piece of cold comfort indeed.[16] Or there was the merely sentimental argument, again only of possible appeal to the socially comfortable person, that federation was a 'long hard road with little to gain for the present generation save the knowledge of doing work comparable to the "champions of Magna Carta", the "Founding Fathers of the United States" and all those who by vision, enterprise and sacrifice have wrested freedom and consummated nationhood'.[17] From the proletarian viewpoint, indeed, all of the justificatory reasons in favour of 'closer association' were problematical, even nebulous and, indeed, so pedestrian as to make it impossible to work up any enthusiasm either for or against them. In return for that the man in the street was expected to take on the additional load of yet another structure of government, to accompany a structure already sufficiently burdensome. Federation, as basically a constitutional change, thus had little interest for the masses. Inevitably, then, it became the monopoly of the West Indian civil intelligentsia. And they, naturally enough, as a reading of the various island legislative debates on successive conference delegate reports showed, discussed federation as if it had no real base in the economic lives of their unit territories. Looked at from this view- point, Federation marked a stage in which the intelligentsia took over the leadership of the nationalist movement from the popular mass force that had controlled it in the period after 1938.

The second characteristic of the federal venture, allied to the first, was its excessive dependency upon British guidance. Both as an idea and as a set of institutions it was British inspired throughout, even British imposed, imposed, that is to say, in the special British sense in which the colonials were presented with imperial proposals which, they were politely assured, they could accept or not but which were so conditioned that in effect the dependent peoples had no alternative but to accept, the acceptance then in turn being advertised by the colonial officialdom as evidence that federation was the 'free choice' of the governed. The generally disastrous consequences of this could be seen in a number of ways. It was there in the way in which the British, discreetly but firmly, shaped the main outlines of the federal constitutional framework, finally producing an enlarged Crown colony type of constitution which omitted nearly all of the items previously insisted upon by West Indian leaders, including the demand made by a leader as generally conservative as Grantley Adams for (1) a unicameral system, since an upper chamber was an anachronism in modern conditions, and (2) complete excision of any reserve powers for Governors on either unit or federal level, echoing here the radical federation proposals of the 1945 Caribbean Labour Congress meeting, not to mention the proposals of the Pan-African Congress held in Manchester during the same year.[18] It was there in the general atmosphere of all of the main conferences, couched in terms of West Indian leaders assuring the British that they were 'reasonable' people who only wanted British 'co-operation', summed up in Adams' observation, in his Montego Bay speech, that 'if we put our case before you in a reasonable way, you will see that you can trust the West Indies as much as you trusted the Boers', a rather unfortunate analogy in the light of the fact that the 'trust' placed in the Boers some forty years earlier had been extracted from the British only after they had been defeated in a humiliating war by the Boer farmer-guerrillas, something the West Indians had signally failed to do.[19] It was revealing, indeed, that the only delegate at the Montego Bay conference who attempted to call this elaborate British bluff was Bustamante, speaking, as he put it, as 'an outspoken Jamaican who has come from the gutter'; he alone challenged the Colonial Secretary, as conference chairman, to answer the widespread West Indian suspicion that federation was being imposed upon West Indians as a device for terminating British responsibilities for the general West Indian mess British colonial policy had created; a charge which it is difficult, in the light of subsequent developments, not to dismiss easily.[20] It took other West Indian leaders nearly two decades to catch up with the angry scepticism of the 'Busta' attitude, and it was not until 1966 that a 'small island' leader like John Compton could finally shatter the polite hypocrisies of yet another constitutional conference in Lancaster House with a speech of bitter reprimand directed against yet another Colonial Secretary, this time a Labour minister who seemed to be ignorant even of the elementary geography of the West Indian islands.[21] The same obsequious deference could be seen, again, in the West Indian acceptance, even to the point of signing the documents, of all of the British-made advisory papers and reports. There was, for example, the Rance Committee report of 1949, of which it is not too much to say that it painfully illustrates the dangers of permitting British civil servants, who are dilettantes in matters dealing with problems of federal states, to compose briefs for societies of which they practically know nothing; and only the fact, perhaps, that, as a West Indian newspaper has acidly noted, there is nothing that the average West Indian likes more than to be a civil servant-a post which offers the maximum of security with the minimum of effort[22]—explains why West Indian leadership so timidly accepted their disastrous proposals.

For on every crucial issue the Rance Report was uncannily wrong. It defended the proposed federal Senate with the hackneyed English argument about providing an arena of public service for men who might not want to face the hurly-burly of electoral politics without appreciating that in the West Indian context any second chamber meant, for West Indians, the perpetuation under another name of the nominated seat with all of its evil results. In dealing with the problem of dual sovereignty in a federal state the report assumed, contrary to the grim experience of all modern federal societies, that there would take place a tranquil and reasonable transfer of power from the circumference to the centre of political power, and that facile optimism was compounded by the spirit of haughty disdain in which, with typical English academic parochialism, the American experience was discussed. For, in truth, such transfer has taken place, in actual federal experience in Australia, Canada, and the United States, mostly by means of conflict, often bitter and prolonged, especially in the controversial area of federal powers. It is worth noting, indeed, that the Rance Report proposals concerning the fiscal foundations of the Federation were rendered largely obsolete by the far more incisive Report of the pre-Federal Fiscal Commissioner, for whereas the first report restricted the revenue of the federal government to a fixed percentage of unit customs duties as a mandatory levy, the second report sharply exposed the ridiculous inadequacy of such a formula, for the arrangement in effect made the federal government the fiscal prisoner of the individual territorial governments. It is no exaggeration to say that the early demise of the Federation was in large part due to the fact that the later conferences, in debarring the federal government from the strategic income tax field, accepted the Rance Report recommendations despite the demon strated obsolescence of its proposals. Nor was the Rance Report any more up-to-date in its views on the critical question of continuing United Kingdom economic aid to the new federal nation, for it dismissed the problem with a curiously Victorian assertion that such aid 'would not breed that spirit of self-reliance and that determination to stand on our own feet economically and financially if we are to attain full political independence'; a passage penned, it might be noted, at a time when the British people were receiving massive financial aid from the United States by means of the Marshall Plan without showing any resultant breakdown in their spirit of 'self-reliance'. Political self- government was thus identified with denial of metropolitan financial aid. One grim outcome of that Gladstonian fiscal conservatism, perpetuated by the Treasury mentality, was that whereas in 1834 the imperial Parliament gave a compensation award of some twenty million pounds to the dispossessed West Indian planter class, in 1958 a British Government could only otter a miserly two million dollars to an impoverished West Indian Federation. All in all, it is difficult to agree with Professor MacInnes that the Rance Report was a 'notable State-paper'.[23]

Yet the most intriguing example of the London psycho-complex of West Indians was without doubt the report of the Federal Capital Site Commission Of 1956, made at the request of West Indians themselves by 'three wholly impartial persons who have never resided in the West Indies' and whose odd duty it was to recommend a priority list of sites for the federal capital on the basis of a hurried two months' visit which was, inferentially, to make them experts among other things on West Indian 'political and social sentiment'. Their report was no less curious than the manner of their appointment. The mental climate of the chosen capital, it argued, should be metropolitan, not provincial. Yet it proceeded then to nominate Barbados as its first choice, making the choice seem plausible only by the expedient of glossing over the realities of Barbadian life. Only three Englishmen, perhaps, could have opted for a society which, in Leigh-Fermor's words, reflected most faithfully the social and intellectual values and prejudices of a golf club in Outer London or of the married quarters of a barracks in Basutoland, hardly England's most interesting contribution to world civilization. Of the report's passages on Trinidad, in turn, the kindest thing to say is that they were deplorably unsociological. For they managed at once to libel the East Indian community by labelling it a 'disturbing element', thus repeating one of the evil myths of West Indian life, and to fail completely to take cognisance of the new note of positive citizenship introduced into Trinidadian life by the rising PNM. It is difficult not to feel that the Commissioners brought with them the social values of Englishmen for whom the West Indies have traditionally been a promising employment agency or a pleasant vacation spot; certainly, the conditions set out as being necessary to a capital town read quaintly like those that a senior officer of the Colonial Administrative Service might have laid down as conditions of an appointment in the region. At other times the report read like a tourist agency brochure and its final choice was, in fact, the tourist economy of Barbados. On which the proper comment, perhaps, was the remark of Dr Groome of Grenada at the time that the Federal House of Representatives surely did not need an audience of gilded tourists to applaud its deliberations. All in all, the report revealed much, between the lines, of the psychology of the English in the West Indies, even more perhaps than what it said about the capital site controversy. It is not surprising, then, that the 1957 meeting of the Standing Federation Committee jettisoned the report and proceeded to elect Trinidad for the federal headquarters.[24]

What all of this ended in—as the third leading feature of the Federation commencement exercises—was a process in which, somewhere along the way, the earlier West Indian dream of independence, or what more usually was euphemistically called 'self- government within the Commonwealth', was sacrificed to a quite different outcome, a continuing quasi-colonial status under the guise of federation. The one killed the other. How Jamaican nationalism and, later, Trinidadian nationalism allowed itself to be side- tracked into a futile exercise of British manufacture is in fact a whole topic in itself that one day will deserve a West Indian dissertation. In part, it was brought on by the heady optimism of the period after 1945 when the Adams-Manley colonial Fabian axis surrendered its leadership role to the British Labour Party. It was a fatal tactic, for it grossly overestimated the capacity or perhaps even the willingness of British Labour to implement the sort of massive economic aid—the type of ambitious plan voiced, for example, by the Deputy Leader of the British Labour Party in his address to the foundation meeting of the West Indies Federal Labour Party in Castries in 1956[25]—which federation needed if it was to mean anything concrete. It also misread British Labour's attitude to the colonies, which has always had something of a chauvinistic paternalism about it. To read, for example, the booklet put out on the region at this same time by the Labour Party's Commonwealth Officer, John Hatch's *Dwell Together in Unity*, is to be made embarrassingly aware of how the British socialist has always misconceived the complex nature of West Indian society, trying to fit it into the ideological categories of a Europocentric socialism created out of the special conditions of advanced industrial capitalism. So, every West Indian politician who calls himself 'socialist' receives tendentious approval, while those outside the chosen fold are 'flamboyant' or 'irresponsible' or 'corrupt'; the real significance of PNM radicalism, as distinct from the essentially conservative bias of Barbadian 'socialism', is over- looked because the PNM is not, technically, a socialist movement; the deep power of the 'Busta' personality in Jamaican life cannot he appreciated; while Mr. Manley is described in terms more appropriate to the adoration of a saint.[26] All this is worth emphasizing because the internationalist bias metropolitan Labour precluded it from comprehending the emotional power of West Indian nationalism; its white liberal bias precluded it from appreciating the tremendous drive, in Dr Williams, of the idea of *Négritude;* while its essentially United Kingdom-centred framework of reference made it impossible to see that an independent West Indies would have to turn more and more to relationships with the non-English societies of its Caribbean Latin neighbours, the United States and the Latin American countries. Those prejudices in turn were only faintly challenged by West Indian leaders who themselves suffered from the social religion of Anglolatry and so could not break, psychologically, the umbilical cord that tied them to British values.

Hence the relinquishment, early on, of a bold drive for nationalism and independence. The 1945 and 1947 Caribbean Labour Congress programmes had postulated a federal scheme posited on (1) the membership of British Guiana (2) full internal self-government for each unit and (3) dominion status for the federation. The federation finally proposed by Britain lacked all of those terms. It was allowed to do so because, by the Adams-Manley decision, increasingly felt after 1950, to split with the left wing of the nationalist movement, the Caribbean Labour Congress and all that it stood for was rendered impotent; and Richard Hart, indeed, speaking of his experiences at the 1945 meeting, has recorded that Adams spoke in favour of accepting federation on any terms that the British Government would be willing to grant, while later on Manley, as Government leader in Jamaica, failed to take a stand in defence of the Caribbean Labour Congress proposals.[27] The original ideology of the PNP, the extension of democracy in the whole region through winning complete autonomy first for Jamaica, was thus allowed to give way to the pursuit of a federal idea that was not even shaped for West Indian needs. There was about that decision, as W. A. Domingo has pointed out, something of a lack of elementary political sagacity, for it assumed, contrary to all known experience, that a British imperial government would grant independence and favour federation simultaneously; a prognostication corroborated by later events.[28] It was argued by the defenders of the decision with pontifical finality that no colony in any case could hope separately to achieve independence; a prophecy that proved to be false as later events showed.[29] It is possible, of course, that it was not in itself the idea of federation as such that caused the trouble, despite the convictions of the powerful West India lobby in New York of which Domingo was a leading member. Rather, it might have been that, federation in itself being necessary, what went wrong was the West Indian acceptance of a British-made product drafted by constitutional 'experts' with no real experience of federal problems: the thesis of the PNM-Williams faction. Whatever thesis is correct, the end-result was the same; independence, as a fact, was delayed for years by the endless, tortuous federal negotiations. The decisive 1956 conference scaled the matter with the failure of the West Indian delegates to secure full Commonwealth status, despite the immediately prior example, which was called to their attention, of the wresting of complete self-government from the British Government of the day by Mr. Rahman and others for the people of Malaya.[30]

There was, in brief, a fatal ambiguity in the West Indian psychology. It believed passionately in West Indian nationalism. At the same time it accepted uncritically the British belief in the civilizing mission of British imperialism. An early pro-federal pamphlet like Wendell Malliet's *Destiny of the West Indies* (1928) showed how difficult it was for the West Indian middle class patriot to resolve that ideological contradiction, even to see that it existed.[31] Naturally enough, then, the constitutional forms of the Federation based upon that contradiction were at once imperfect and unsatisfactory.

The London Plan Of 1953 followed the Consolidated Recommendations of the Rance report in setting up a bicameral legislature. The pragmatic rule adopted by that report for the allotment of seats to the individual units—a broad adherence to the size of population criterion, but in a diminishing proportion—was wisely adhered to, thus preventing the possibility that a territory like Jamaica, with one-half of the federal population, would become a sort of overweening Prussia in the scheme. Equally wisely, the federal constitution eschewed the idea, so popular with earlier federal proposals, in, for example, Darnell Davis' curious scheme of 1890 for colonial consolidation,[32] that the members of the federal House of Representatives should be chosen by their respective local legislatures; for a federal house so chosen would not have been very different from the West Indian Council proposed in the Secretary of State's *Memorandum* of 1947 as an alternative to federation. Such a body would have constituted, to quote Mr. Gomes, little more than a debating society where West Indians would have enjoyed themselves by frequent flights into the rhetorical stratosphere.[33] Yet certain local elements still continued to toy with the idea of reducing the federal parliament to exactly such a status of a 'talking shop' with no independent authority, as can be seen in the continuing discussion of alternative schemes such as that of a West Indian League, like the Arab League, operating essentially as a consultative assembly for limited purposes only, 'free from subjection to a central, omnipotent authority'.[34] Such ideas, however, were put aside, to guarantee the independent prestige of the popular federal house. Thus guaranteed, the prestige was further made certain by the 1956 conference decision to reinstate the ban on dual membership of unit and federal legislative and executive bodies, which had been originally recommended by the Rance committee and rejected by the 1953 conference. For dual membership, had it been retained, would have been disastrous. It would have weakened an already weak federation in its effort to compete with the individual unit governments for interest and attention; and also would have delayed the acceptance of an exclusively federal political career as at once a prestigious and full-time occupation. The argument for the dual seats had always been the assertion that there existed a limited quantity of political talent in the region. Yet the 1956 Trinidad elections, in bringing a whole new set of able newcomers into the Trinidadian political field, showed how really empty the argument was. All this, of course, was the literary theory of the lower house. In practice, the fateful decision of both the Trinidadian and Jamaican political leaders to 'stay at home' Father than be drafted into federal leadership meant that the territorial governments tended to send their 'second strings' of talent to Port-of-Spain, so that the federal House, as its debates after 1958 showed, never rose to the level of quality it ought to have shown.

The Senate, of course, was worse. For although the federal architects were right in emphasizing the dangers of an elected second chamber like the American Senate their alternative scheme of a wholly nominated body was hardly more satisfactory. For in giving the nominating power to the Governor-General, in consultation with the Governors of the respective units (who in turn were required to consult with their respective Executive Councils) the procedure completely insulated the Senate from the elective elements. The experience of the old, unreformed Canadian Senate was warning enough that an executive, if its power to nominate is not curbed, will always be tempted to fill vacancies in a nominated chamber with its own supporters. That, indeed, was what happened in the West Indian case, for most of the Senators appointed after 1956 were 'safe' people whose sole apparent reason for selection was reward by their 'home' governments for services rendered, usually as local nominated members or, as in the case of the two aged Dominican members, the principle of mere longevity. It is of interest that the new Senate of the 1962 Jamaican independence constitution has subsequently shown how a second chamber whose nominees are named by the two main party leaders will rapidly become a place filled by staunch party supporters owing their first loyalty to their party chieftains rather than to the Senate as an entity of some dignity and independence.[35] The justification advanced by the federal planners for a second chamber was the hackneyed one that it could delay 'hasty' decisions on the part of an 'excitable' lower house. This assumes a rash and importunate house impatient of any careful consideration of novel proposals. The West Indian legislative history would hardly seem to prove the point. Slavery emancipation took some fifty years to achieve its end; it took over two decades for the post-1918 constitutional proposals to finally blossom out in the form of the popular constitutions of the 1940's and 1950's; while federation itself, if it be dated from the Secretary of State's Despatch of 1945, took some thirteen years to become a reality. To look at the facts would be enough to persuade any observer to request a technique for accelerating the passage of West Indian legislation rather than delaying it. It hardly makes sense, in the light of this, to speak of the Senate as a 'careful driver' who would put on the brakes if the lower house were going 'too fast' or 'off the road'.[36]

It ought to be noted, finally, that the federal second chamber had the effect of giving a new lease of life to the discredited nominated system at the very moment when the system was being given its *coup de grace* at the individual territorial level. For the Secretary of State's *Despatch* of 1956 to the Governor of Trinidad clearly conceded the point that the nominated members would have to be appointed after consultation with the local Chief Minister and that their appointment, even more, should be made with the view of providing a workable majority for the Government party in the executive council. This effectively compromised the principle which alone had given the system justification, that is, that the nominated member was an independent spirit acting as a check upon the elected element. The *Despatch,* as Mr. Hudson-Phillips pointed out at the time for the Trinidadian case, finally applied to the Crown Colony system the established principle of British constitutional law that the party commanding a majority in the popular house must he assured the right to have its leaders placed in office and to expect full co-operation from the executive in the efficient conduct of government.[37] It is odd that the federal arrangements seemed at this point to be putting the clock back. The only way, in any case, to get rid of the constitutional vexations accompanying nominations to a second chamber is to do away with it entirely. The experience of the United States Virgin Islands would appear to indicate that a unicameral legislature best suits these small island societies.

Yet it was the executive-administrative arrangements that underlined most the gross anachronism of the federal constitutional instrument. The principal policy-making body was conceived to be a Council of State constitutionally advisory to the Governor-General as chief executive and appointed by him. Of its 14 members only eight were to be constituted, democratically, the federal Prime Minister and seven colleagues chosen by him, the other six to be made up of three senior civil servants to be designated by the Governor-General at his discretion and three Senators to be nominated by him in Executive Council. This odd procedure produced some odd anomalies. The three Senators chosen to sit on the Council had to suffer a divided allegiance between the Council, as effective Cabinet, and their own parent body, the Senate. It is not for nothing that reform schemes advocating secondment of Senators to the federal Cabinet have always been rejected as unworkable in the American system. The three nominated civil servants, in turn, were liable to behave as the Governor-General's agents in the Cabinet, thus seriously compromising at once the position of the Prime Minister and the doctrine of cabinet collective responsibility. There was everything to be said, as the 1956 conference argued, for allowing the right of officials to attend Cabinet meetings either to fall into desuetude or to be withdrawn from constitution.[38] In 1960 London did in fact finally agree to the abolition of the Council of State in favour of fail cabinet government. Yet the matter managed to illustrate the reactionary premises of the constitutional draughtsmen, their conviction that there should be associated with the federal policy-making process men 'who can bring special knowledge and experience to bear on the problems of an entirely new political and administrative structures'.[39] which really meant that British senior administrators should be given a niche in the structure because West Indian political leadership inferentially lacked such 'knowledge' and 'experience'. The argument in any case presupposed an administrative rather than a political concept of a modern executive; it failed at any point to conceive the federation as an instrument for propelling rapid social and economic change.

Nothing better illustrated this than the absence of any clear, bold concept of the office of the Prime Minister. Not only was he not master in his own house; the house itself was not in any way an imposing edifice. He was to be elected from the House of Representatives from among its members, a questionable procedure that opened up the possibility, as Mr. Mapp noted, that the office would become the object of parliamentary 'lobbying', which could only be avoided by explicitly requiring that the post should be in the power of the Governor-General to offer to the political leader commanding a majority following in the House.[40] The Prime Minister, moreover, had no assurance (until the belated amendments of 1956) that he would be consulted in the choice of candidates to the Senate or that his advice would either he sought or followed in areas like external relations and the maintenance of public order. He had no power to dissolve the federal parliament although the British Prime Minister in effect possesses that power in the British case; indeed, as the exchange of correspondence at much the same time on that point in the London Times during 1950 brought out, there was much to be said for making that power explicit in the British case by a formal transfer of the right of dissolution from the Crown to the Prime Minister. The draft constitutions, all in all, seemed not to envisage any really large, imaginative function for the Caribbean Prime Minister. The Rance Report paid as much attention to his function as constitutional adviser to the Governor-General as it did to his function as leading policy maker; yet the latter was surely far the more vital of the two. The *Report* of the pre-Federal Civil Service Commissioner was obliged to speak of his functions as a whole in almost laughably parochial terms, and drew up a curious organizational chart for the federal government which included a Department of the Prime Minister composed of an economic adviser, a public relations officer and a statistician, accompanied with the naive observation that 'the Prime Minister might wish to concern himself with the general development of the region' and that lie could choose to 'concentrate on political and constitutional issues, or to assume wider overall responsibilities for development and planning at the regional level'.[41] Nor was it enough, to offset all this, to enunciate the doctrine of cabinet collective responsibility as the basis of the Prime Minister's prestige, or what there was of it. For that prestige could only be the fruit of function, not of doctrine. And there was little recognizable function. Prestige of any value required, obviously, a quite different concept of the office, seeing it, as the Trinidadian economic planners saw it, as the spearhead of a planned economic development of the region as a whole.

The federal constitution-makers, however, were the prisoners of an astonishingly narrow idea of federation. They saw its West Indian leaders as, primarily, Her Majesty's Ministers overseas, not as the vanguard of a West Indian regional nationalism. That explains why, finally, they invested the office of the Governor-General, not that of the Prime Minister, with most of the panoply of the federal power. At a time when Governor-Generals in the historic Dominions had become overseas replicas of the Crown in England subject, in the main, to the political authority of their respective cabinets, the West Indian federationists managed, almost comically, to revive the office as it had been known before the Statute of Westminster. The 1958 constitution contained some thirty references empowering the Governor-General to act 'in his discretion' or 'in his individual judgment'. He personally appointed all Senators, federal Supreme Court justices, and members of the Public Service Commission. In certain circumstances he could remove any or all of them. He could refuse assent to any bill or reserve it for review by London. He could determine any urgent matter, however important, by himself if time did not permit consultation with the cabinet. The power retained to the Queen, indeed, to legislate for the federation by order-in-Council —a power curtailed in only one detail by the 1956 conference—meant, as Grantley Adams put it, that because of a disturbance anywhere in the federal territory the home government could pass a law prohibiting the holding of a meeting in St John or the holding of a regatta at Oistins.[42] The Governor-General, in brief, had at his disposal powers normally accepted in Dominion constitutional practice as belonging to the Prime Minister—the power to dissolve parliament, the power to setup a 'packed' upper house, even the power to argue his case in cabinet as the recognized master of certain of its members. And all that was accompanied by budgetary arrangements in which, as a Barbadian conservative critic noted, his total salary and emoluments equalled those of the governor of a state of the United States as wealthy as New York.[43] What all this did, in sum, was to transfer to the federal level the very colonialism to which the individual units had been subjected at the territorial level.

All the way, in brief, the decorative elements of the constitutions were given priority over the efficient elements. It produced, as the subsequent short history of the federation showed, a federal establishment controlled by the civil service mentality, the inevitable result of a situation in which, strangely, the administrative officials were enabled to get themselves established into a position of entrenched power almost before the federal political class arrived on the scene. It was a power-bloc insulated against the harsh realities of West Indian life by a public relations apparatus which appeared to believe that what the federal public wanted to hear about was the sartorial style of the Governor-General's wife or West Indian stamps or West Indian coins or the history of the House of Commons mace or even the story of the Royal Military College at Sandhurst. It placed a high premium on the merely entertainment value of the enterprise. The fancy of the West Indian press, understandably, was tickled by the spectacle: 'We can imagine,' wrote the leading St Lucian newspaper *apropos* the appointment of pages for service at the Governor-General's residence, 'His Excellency hailing: "Barbados, bring me some rum; Dominica, some water; and Grenada, nutmeg. Jamaica, what about a banana split.'"[44] It fitted all this, then, that the top posts of the federal government should have been filled by London with a whole new set of 'safe' expatriates. Every such post, with the exceptions of the Federal Financial Officer, the Federal Secretary and the Public Relations Officer, was given to an outsider: the Federal Attorney-General, the Federal Establishment Officer, the Chief justice and, of course, the Governor-General himself in the form of Lord Hailes. The appointment to the Governor-General's office, indeed, of a former Conservative Party Chief Whip and Minister of Works was especially shocking to West Indian opinion, for it filled that critically important post with an appointee who before coming to the West Indies was merely a minor party hack in Westminster politics, who knew nothing of the West Indies and whose appointment was made without any real consultation with West Indian leaders. The transition from Crown Colony to the representative principle in its fullest form was clearly incomplete even in 1958. 'If you wished to find the Governor-General of the West Indies,' Viscount Burnham had observed in 1923, 'You might have to pace the passages of the Colonial Office until you came to a small room indifferently lighted and there you would find in the person of an excellent head of a department the power behind the throne.[45] For all of the grand rhetoric that accompanied the prolonged formative period of the federation it was translucently clear that, in the end, the power behind the throne was still there.

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2. Jesse Harris Proctor, Jr., 'Britain's Pro-Federation Policy - - .', p. 322. See also Dr W. A. Osborne, 'The Forces behind Federation', Trinidad *Chronicle* (Port of Spain), g6 August, 2 September i956.

3. Lloyd Braithwaite, 'Progress Toward Federation..' Part B: 'Functional Federalism'.

4. Crown Agents for the Colonies, *Proceedings of the West Indian Conference* (London, May-June 1926), pp. 3-6; and *Proceedings of the First West Indies Conference* (Barbados, January-February, 1929).

5. West Indian Federal League, *What Federation Does Not Mean* (Port of Spain, Trinidad, c. 1917).

6. Lloyd Braithwaite, 'Federal Associations and Institutions in the West Indies', *Social and Economic Studies* (Vol. 6, No. 2, June 1957)- Murray's contribution to the federal debate is to be found in Hon. C. Gideon Murray, *A Scheme for the Federation of Certain of the West Indian Colonies* (London, The West India Committee, N.D.), and *A United latest Indies* (London. The West Strand Publishing Co., 1912).

7. *What Federation Does Not Mean,* p. 5.

8. Sir Grantley Adams, Barbados, *House of Assembly Debates,* 5 November 1951, Col. 1232.

9. Murray, *A Scheme for the Federation,* p. 27.

10. Quoted, Eric Williams, *My Relations with the Caribbean Commission, ,1943-1955* (Port of Spain, People's Educational Movement of the Teachers' Economic and Cultural Association, 1955), p. 23.

11. *Report of the West Indian Conference,* 1944 (Barbados, Advocate Co., 1944), and Caribbean Labour Congress, *Official Report of Conference* (Barbados, Advocate Co., 1945)-

12. For a *résumé* of all this see *A List of Books on West Indian Federation,* compiled by the West India Reference Library, Institute of Jamaica (Kingston, 2nd edition, 1962).

13. S. A. Hammond, *Notes on Federation in Australia,* mimeographed, N.D.

14. Eric Williams, 7'he *Pros and Cons of Federation.*

15. Kingston and St Andrew's Taxpayers and Ratepayers Association,*Report on the Federal Enlightenment* Campaign, mimeographed (Kingston, N.D.).

16. *N.* W. Manley, in Colonial Office, *Conference on the Closer Association of the British West Indian Colonies. Part 2 - Proceedings* (London, Her Majesty's Stationery Office, Col. No. 218, 1948), P. 61.

17. *Report on the Federal Enlightenment Campaign,* P. 2.

18. Sir Grantley Adam, in *Conference on the Closer Association* ... pp. 37-45; Caribbean Labour Congress, *Official Report of Conference, and Statements and Resolutions agreed on by the Caribbean Labour Conference,* September 1945 (Bridgetown, Advocate Co., Ltd.); Report of Pan African Congress held in Manchester, 1945, in *The Masses* (Kingston, Jamaica), 24 November 1945.

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20. Sir Alexander Bustamante, in *Conference on the Closer Association* . . . pp. 20-27.

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40. R. G. Mapp, Barbados, *House of Assembly Debates.* Official Record, 5 November 1951, Cols. 1297-28.

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42. Sir Grantley Adams, Barbados, *House of Assembly Debates.* Official Record, 19 July 1954, p. 1121 .

43. Barbados, *House of Assembly Debates.* Official Record, 16 February 1956, p. 1962.

44. The *Voice of St Lucia*, quoted, 'West Indian Opinion', *Daily Gleaner*, 16 January 1958.

45. *Venture* (London, Fabian Colonial Bureau), Vol. 9, No. 2, June 1957. For West Indian press and professional bodies' comment see, for example, *Trinidad Chronicle*, 27 January, 12 May 1957- For earlier anticipatory remarks of T. A. Marryshow on the matter see Grenada, Legislative Council, *Debates*, 26 August 1953, p. 14.

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PART FOURTEEN

THE BLACK POWER MOVEMENT

Black people must redefine themselves, and only they can do that. Throughout this country, vast segments of the black communities are beginning to recognize the need to assert their own definitions, to reclaim their history, their culture; to create their own sense of community and togetherness. There is a growing resentment of the word "Negro," for example, because this term is the invention of our oppressor; it is his image of us that he describes. Many blacks are now calling themselves African-Americans, Afro-Americans or black people because that is our image of ourselves.

Stokely Carmichael and Charles V. Hamilton

BLACK POWER: ITS NEED AND SUBSTANCE

by

Stokely Carmichael and Charles V. Hamilton

"To carve out a place for itself in the politico-social order," V. 0. Key, Jr. wrote in *Politics, Parties and Pressure Groups,* " a new group may have to fight for reorientation of many of the values of the old order" (p. 57). This is especially true when that group is composed of black people in the American society—a society that has for centuries deliberately and systematically excluded them from political participation. Black people in the United States must raise hard questions, questions which challenge the very nature of the society itself: its long-standing values, beliefs and institutions.

To do this, we must first redefine ourselves. Our basic need is to reclaim our history and our identity from what must be called cultural terrorism, from the depredation of self-justifying white guilt. We shall have to struggle for the right to create our own terms through which to define ourselves and our relationship to the society, and to have these terms recognized. This is the first necessity of a free people, and the first right that any oppressor must suspend.

In *Politics Among Nations,* Hans Morgenthau defined political power as "the psychological control over the minds of men" (p. 29). This control includes the attempt by the oppressor to have his definitions, his historical descriptions, *accepted* by the oppressed. This was true in Africa no less than in the United States. To black Africans, the word "Uhuru" means "freedom," but they had to fight the white colonizers for the right to use the term. The re- corded history of this country's dealings with red and black men offers other examples. In the wars between the white settlers and the "Indians," a battle won by the Cavalry was described as a "victory." The "Indians' " triumphs, however, were "massacres." (The American colonists were not unaware of the need to define their acts in their own terms. They labeled their fight against England a "revolution"; the English attempted to demean it by calling it "insubordination" or "riotous.")

The historical period following Reconstruction in the South after the Civil War has been called by many historians the period of Redemption, implying that the bigoted southern slave societies were "redeemed" from the hands of "reckless and irresponsible" black rulers. Professor John Hope Franklin's Reconstruction or Dr. W. E. B. Dubois' *Black* Reconstruction should be sufficient to dispel inaccurate historical notions, but the larger society persists in its own self-serving accounts. Thus black people came to be depicted as "lazy," "apathetic," "dumb," "shiftless," "good-timers." Just as red men had to be recorded as "savages" to justify the white man's theft of their land, so black men had to be vilified in order to justify their continued oppression. Those who have the right to define are the masters of the situation. Lewis Carroll understood this:

> "When I use a word," Humpty Dumpty said in a rather scornful tone, "it means just what I choose it to mean—neither more nor less."
>
> "The question is," said Alice, "whether you can make words mean so many different things."
>
> "The question is," said Humpty Dumpty, "which is to be master—that's all."

Today, the American educational system continues to reinforce the entrenched values of the society through the use of words. Few people in this country question that this is "the land of the free and the home of the brave." They have had these words drummed into them from childhood.

Few people question that this is the "Great Society" or that this country is fighting "Communist aggression" around the world. We mouth these things over and over, and they become truisms not to be questioned. In a similar way, black people have been saddled with epithets.

"Integration" is another current example of a word which has been defined according to the way white Americans see it. To many of them, it means black men wanting to marry white daughters; it means "race mixing"-implying bed or dance partners. To black people, it has meant a way to improve their lives-economically and politically. But the predominant white definition has stuck in the minds of too many people.

Black people must redefine themselves, and only they can do that. Throughout this country, vast segments of the black communities are beginning to recognize the need to assert their own definitions, to reclaim their history, their culture; to create their own sense of community and togetherness. There is a growing resentment of the word "Negro," for example, because this term is the invention of our oppressor; it is *his* image of us that he describes. Many blacks are now calling themselves African-Americans, Afro-Americans or black people because that is our image of ourselves. When we begin to define our own image, the stereotypes—that is, lies—that our oppressor has developed will begin in the white community and end there. The black community will have a positive image of itself that it has created. This means we will no longer call ourselves lazy, apathetic, dumb, good-timers, shiftless, etc. Those are words used by white America to define us. If we accept these adjectives, as some of us have in the past, then we see ourselves only in a negative way, precisely the way white America wants us to see ourselves. Our incentive is broken and our will to fight is surrendered. From now on we shall view ourselves as African-Americans and as black people who are in fact energetic, determined, intelligent, beautiful and peace-loving.

There is a terminology and ethos peculiar to the black community of which black people are beginning to be no longer ashamed. Black communities are the only large segments of this society where people refer to each other as brother-soul-brother, soul-sister. Some people may look upon this as *ersatz*, as make-believe, but it is not that. It is real. It is a growing sense of community. It is a growing realization that black Americans have a common bond not only among themselves, but with their African brothers. In *Black Man's* Burden, John O. Killens described his trip to ten African countries as follows:

> Everywhere I went people called me brother... ."Welcome, American brother." It was a good feeling for me, to be in Africa. To walk in a land for the first time in your entire life knowing within yourself that your color would not be held against you. No black man ever knows this in America [p. 160].

More and more black Americans are developing this feeling. They are becoming aware that they have a history which pre-dates their forced introduction to this country. African-American history means a long history beginning on the continent of Africa, a history not taught in the standard textbooks of this country. It is absolutely essential that black people know this history, that they know their roots, that they develop an awareness of their cultural heritage. Too long have they been kept in submission by being told that they had no culture, no manifest heritage, before they landed on the slave auction blocks in this country. If black people are to know themselves as a vibrant, valiant people, they must know their roots. And they will soon learn that the Hollywood image of man-eating cannibals waiting for, and waiting on, the Great White Hunter is a lie.

With redefinition will come a clearer notion of the role black Americans can play in this world. This role will emerge clearly out of the unique, common experiences of Afro-Asians. Killens concludes:

> I believe furthermore that the American Negro can be the bridge between the West and Africa-Asia. We black Americans can serve as a bridge to mutual understanding. The one thing we black Americans have in common with the other colored peoples of the world is that we have all felt the cruel and ruthless heel of white supremacy. We have all been "niggerized" on one level or another. And all of us are determined to "deniggerize" the earth. To rid the world of "niggers" is the Black Man's Burden, human reconstruction is the grand objective [p. 176].

Only when black 'people fully develop this sense of community, of themselves, can they begin to deal effectively with the problems of racism in this country. This is what we mean by a new consciousness; this is the vital first step.

The next step is what we shall call the process of political modernization—a process which must take place if the society is to be rid of racism. "Political modernization" includes many things, but we mean by it three major concepts: (1) questioning old values and institutions of the society, (2) searching for new and different forms of political structure to solve political and economic problems; and (3) broadening the base of political participation to include more people in the decision-making process. These notions (we shall take up each in turn) are central to our thinking throughout this book and to contemporary American history as a whole. As David Apter wrote in *The Politics of Modernization,* the struggle to modernize is what has given meaning to our generation. It tests our cherished institutions and our beliefs. . . . So compelling a force has it become that we are forced to ask new questions of our own institutions. Each country, whether modernized or modernizing, stands in both judgment and fear of the results. Our own society is no exception" (p. 2).

The values of this society support a racist system; we find it incongruous to ask black people to adopt and sup- port most of those values. We also reject the assumption that the basic institutions of this society must be preserved. The goal of black people must not be to assimilate into middle-class America, for that class—as a whole—is without a viable conscience as regards humanity. The values of the middle class permit the perpetuation of the ravages of the black community. The values of that class are based on material aggrandizement, not the expansion of humanity. The values of that class ultimately support cloistered little closed societies tucked away neatly in tree-lined suburbia. The values of that class do not lead to the creation of an open society. That class mouths its preference for a free, competitive society, while at the same time forcefully and even viciously denying to black people as a group the opportunity to compete.

We are not unmindful of other descriptions of the social utility of the middle class. Banfield and Wilson, in *City Politics,* concluded:

> The departure of the middle class from the central city is important in other ways. . . . The middle class supplies a social and political leavening in the life of a city. Middle-class people demand good schools and integrity in government. They support churches, 'lodges, parent-teacher associations' scout troops, better-housing committees, art galleries, 'and operas. It is the middle class, in short, that asserts a conception of the public interest. Now its activity is increasingly concentrated in the suburbs [p. 14].

But this same middle class manifests a sense of superior group position in regard to race. This class wants "good government" *for themselves;* it wants good schools *for its children.* At the same time, many of its members sneak into the black community by day, exploit it, and take the money home to their middle-class communities at night to support their operas and art galleries and comfortable homes. When not actually robbing, they will fight off the handful of more affluent black people who seek to move in; when they approve or even seek token integration, it applies only to black people like themselves—as "white" as possible. *This class is the backbone of institutional racism in this country.*

Thus we reject the goal of assimilation into middle-class America because the values of that class are in themselves antihumanist and because that class as a social force perpetuates racism. We must face the fact that, in the past, what we have called the movement has not really questioned the middle class values and institutions of this country. If anything, it has accepted those values and institutions without fully realizing their racist nature. Re- orientation means an emphasis on the dignity of man, not on the sanctity of property. It means the creation of a society where human misery and poverty are repugnant to that society, not an indication of laziness or lack of initiative. The creation of new values means the establishment of a society based, as Killens expresses it in *Black Man's* Burden, on "free people," not "free enterprise" (p. 167). To do this means to modernize-indeed, to civilize-this country.

Supporting the old values are old political and economic structures; these must also be "modernized." We should at this point distinguish between "structures" and "system." By system, we have in mind the entire American complex of basic institutions, values, beliefs, etc. By structures, we mean the specific institutions (political parties, interest groups, bureaucratic administrations) which exist to con- duct the business of that system. Obviously, the first is broader than the second. Also, the second assumes the legitimacy of the first. Our view is that, given the illegitimacy of the system, we cannot then proceed to transform that system with existing structures.

The two major political parties in this country have become non-viable entities for the legitimate representation of the real needs of masses —especially blacks—in this country. Walter Lippmann raised the same point in his syndicated column of December 8, 1966. He pointed out that the party system in the United States developed before our society became as technologically complex as it is now. He says that the ways in which men live and define themselves are changing radically. Old ideological issues, once the subject of passionate controversy, Lippmann argues, are of little interest today. He asks whether the great urban complexes—which are rapidly becoming the centers of black population in the U.S.—can be run with the same systems and ideas that derive from a time when America was a country of small villages and farms. While not addressing himself directly to the question of race, Lippmann raises a major question about our political institutions; and the crisis of race in America may be its major symptom.

Black people have seen the city planning commissions, the urban renewal commissions, the boards of education and the police departments fail to speak to their needs in a meaningful way. We must devise new structures, new institutions to replace those forms or to make them responsive. There is nothing sacred or inevitable about old institutions; the focus must be on people, not forms.

Existing structures and established ways of doing things have a way of perpetuating themselves and for this reason, the modernizing process will be difficult. Therefore, timidity in calling into question the boards of education or the police departments will not do. They must be challenged forcefully and clearly. If this means the creation of parallel community institutions, then that must be the solution. If this means that black parents must gain control over the operation of the schools in the black community, then that must be the solution. The search for new forms means the search for institutions that will, for once, make decisions in the interest of black people. It means, for example, a building inspection department that neither winks at violations of building codes by absentee slumlords nor imposes meaningless fines which permit them to continue their exploitation of the black community.

Essential to the modernization of structures is a broadened base of political participation. More and more people must become politically sensitive and active (we have already seen this happening in some areas of the South). People must no longer be tied, by small incentives or handouts, to a corrupting and corruptible white machine. Black people will choose their own leaders and hold those leaders responsible to them. A broadened base means an end to the condition described by James Wilson in *Negro Politics*, whereby "Negroes tended to be the objects rather than the subjects of civic action. Things are often done for, or about, or to, or because of Negroes, but they are less frequently done by Negroes" (p. 133). Broadening the base of political participation, then, has as much to do with the quality of black participation as with the quantity. We are fully aware that the black vote, especially in the North, has been pulled out of white pockets and "delivered" whenever it was in the interest of white politicians to do so. That vote must no longer be controllable by those who have neither the interests nor the demonstrated concern of black people in mind.

As the base broadens, as more and more black people become activated, they will perceive more clearly the special disadvantages heaped upon them as a group. They will perceive that the larger society is growing more affluent while the black society is retrogressing, as daily life and mounting statistics clearly show (see Chapters I and VIII). V. 0. Key describes what often happens next, in *Politics, Parties and Pressure Groups:* "A factor of great significance in the setting off of political movements is an abrupt change for the worse in the status of one group relative to that of other groups in society. . . . A rapid change for the worse . . . in the relative status of any group . . . is likely to precipitate political action" (p. 24). Black people will become increasingly active as they notice that their retrogressive status exists in large measure because of values and institutions arraigned against them. They will begin to stress and strain and call the entire system into question. Political modernization will be in motion. We believe that it is now in motion. One form of that motion is Black Power.

The adoption of the concept of Black Power is one of the most legitimate and healthy developments in American politics and race relations in our time. The concept of Black Power speaks to all the needs mentioned in this chapter. It is a call for black people in this country to unite, to recognize their heritage, to build a sense of community. It is a call for black people to begin to define their own goals, to lead their own organizations and to support those organizations. It is a call to reject the racist institutions and values of this society.

The concept of Black Power rests on a fundamental premise: *Before a* group can *enter the open society, it must first close ranks.* By this we mean that group solidarity is necessary before a group can operate effectively from a bar- gaining position of strength in a pluralistic society. Traditionally, each new ethnic group in this society has found the route to social and political viability through the organization of its own institutions with which to represent its needs within the larger society. Studies in voting behavior specifically, and political behavior generally, have made it clear that politically the American pot has not melted. Italians vote for Rubino over O'Brien; Irish for Murphy over Goldberg, etc. This phenomenon may seem distasteful to some, but it has been and remains today a central fact of the American political system. There are other examples of ways in which groups in the society have remembered their roots and used this effectively in the political arena. Theodore Sorensen describes the politics of foreign aid during the Kennedy Administration in his book Kennedy:

> No powerful constituencies or interest groups backed foreign aid. The Marshall Plan at least had appealed to Americans who traced their roots to the Western European nations aided. But there were few voters who identified with India, Colombia or Tanganyika [p. 351].

The extent to which black Americans can and do "trace their roots" to Africa, to that extent will they be able to be more effective on the political scene.

A white reporter set forth this point in other terms when be made the following observation about white Mississippi's manipulation of the anti-poverty program:

> The war on poverty has been predicated on the notion that there is such a thing as a community which can be defined geographically and mobilized for a collective effort to help the poor. This theory has no relationship to reality in the deep South. In every Mississippi county there are two communities. Despite all the pious platitudes of the moderates on both sides, these two communities habitually see their interests in terms of conflict rather than cooperation. Only when the Negro community can muster enough political, economic and professional strength to compete on somewhat equal terms, will Negroes believe in the possibility of true cooperation and whites accept its necessity. En route to integration, the Negro community needs to develop a greater independence—a chance to run its own affairs and not cave in whenever "the man" barks-or so it seems to me, and to most of the knowledgeable people with whom I talked in Mississippi. To OEO [Office of Economic Opportunity], this judgment may sound like black nationalism . . . .[Christopher Jencks, "Accommodating Whites: a New Look at Mississippi," *The New Republic* (April 16, 1966).]

The point is obvious: black people must lead and run their own organizations. Only black people can convey the revolutionary idea-and it is a revolutionary idea—that black people are able to do things themselves. Only they can help create in the community an aroused and continuing black consciousness that will provide the basis for political strength. In the past, white allies have often furthered white supremacy without the whites involved realizing it, or even wanting to do so. Black people must come together and do things for themselves. They must achieve self-identity and self-determination in order to have their daily needs met.

Black Power means, for example, that in Lowndes Countv, Alabama, a black sheriff can end police brutality. A black tax assessor and tax collector and county board of revenue can lay, collect, and channel tax monies for the building of better roads and schools serving black people. In such areas as Lowndes, where black people have a majority, they will attempt to use power to exercise control. This is what they seek: control. When black people lack a majority, Black Power means proper representation and sharing of control. It means the creation of power bases, of strength, from which black people can press to change local or nationwide patterns of oppression—instead of from weakness.

It does not mean merely putting black faces into office. Black visibility is not Black Power. Most of the black politicians around the country today are not examples of Black Power. The power must be that of a community, and emanate from there. The black politicians must start from there. The black politicians must stop being representatives machines, whatever the cost might be in terms of lost patronage and holiday handouts.

Black Power recognizes—it must recognize —the ethnic basis of American politics as well as the power-oriented nature of American politics. Black Power therefore calls for black people to consolidate behind their own, so that they can bargain from a position of strength. But while we endorse the procedure of group solidarity and identity for the purpose of attaining certain goals in the body politic, this does not mean that black people should strive for the same kind of rewards (i.e., end results) obtained by the white society. The ultimate values and goals are not domination or exploitation of other groups, but rather an effective share in the total power of the society.

Nevertheless, some observers have labeled those who advocate Black Power as racists; they have said that the call for self-identification and self-determination is "racism in reverse" or "black supremacy." This is a deliberate and absurd lie. There is no analogy—by any stretch of definition or imagination—between the advocates of Black Power and white racists. Racism is not merely exclusion on the basis of race but exclusion for the purpose of subjugating or maintaining subjugation. The goal of the racists is to keep black people on the bottom, arbitrarily and dictatorially, as they have done in this country for over three hundred years. The goal of black 'self-determination and black self-identity—Black Power—is full participation in the decision-making processes affecting the lives of black people, and recognition of the virtues in themselves as black people. The black people of this country have not lynched whites, bombed their churches, murdered their children and manipulated laws and institutions to maintain oppression. White racists have. Congressional laws, one after the other, have not been necessary to stop black people from oppressing others and denying others the full enjoyment of their rights. White racists have made such laws necessary. The goal of Black Power is positive and functional to a free and viable society. No white racist can make this claim.

A great deal of public attention and press space was de- voted to the 'hysterical accusation of "black racism" when the call for Black Power was first sounded. A national committee of influential black churchmen affiliated with the National Council of Churches, despite their obvious respectability and responsibility, had to resort to a paid advertisement to articulate their position, while anyone yapping "black racism" made front-page news. In their statement, published in the *New York Times* of July 31, 1966, the churchmen said:

> We, an informal group of Negro churchmen in America, are deeply disturbed about the crisis brought upon our country by historic distortions of important human realities in the controversy about "black power." What we see shining through the variety of rhetoric is not anything new but the same old problem of power and race which has faced our beloved country since 1619.
>
> . . .The conscience of black men is corrupted because having no power to implement the demands of conscience, the concern for justice in the absence of justice becomes a chaotic self-surrender. Powerlessness breeds a race of beggars. We are faced with a situation where powerless conscience meets conscienceless power, threatening the very foundations of our Nation.
>
> We deplore the overt violence of riots, but we feel it is more important to focus on the real sources of these eruptions. These sources may be abetted inside the Ghetto, but their basic cause lies in the silent and covert violence which white middle-class America inflicts upon the victims of the inner city.
>
> . . .In short, the failure of American leaders to use American power to create equal opportunity in *life* as well as *law,* this is the real problem and not the anguished cry for black power.
>
> ...Without the capacity to participate with power, i.e., to have some organized political and economic strength to really influence people with whom one interacts, integration is not meaningful.
>
> . . .America has asked its Negro citizens to fight for opportunity as *individuals,* whereas at certain points in our history what we have needed most has been opportunity for the whole group, not just for selected and approved Negroes.
>
> . . .We must not apologize for the existence of this form of group power, for we have been oppressed as a group and not as individuals. We will not find our way out of that oppression until

both we and America accept the need for Negro Americans, as well as for Jews, Italians, Poles, and white Anglo-Saxon Protestants, among others, to have and to wield group power.

It is a commentary on the fundamentally racist nature of this society that the concept of group strength for black people must be articulated-not to mention defended. No other group would submit to being led by others. Italians do not run the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith. Irish do not chair Christopher Columbus Societies. Yet when black people call for black-run and all-black organizations, they are immediately classed in a category with the Ku Klux Klan. This is interesting and ironic, but by no means surprising: the society does not expect black people to be able to take care of their business, and there are many who prefer it precisely that way.

In the end, we cannot and shall not offer any guarantees that Black Power, if achieved, would be non-racist. No one can predict human behavior. Social change always has unanticipated consequences. If black racism is what the larger society fears, we cannot help them. We can only state what we hope will be the result, given the fact that the present situation is unacceptable and that we have no real alternative but to work for Black Power. The final truth is that the white society is not entitled to reassurances, even if it were possible to offer them.

We have outlined the meaning and goals of Black- Power; we have also discussed one major thing which it is not. There are others of greater importance. The advocates of Black Power reject the old slogans and meaningless rhetoric of previous years in the civil rights struggle. The language of yesterday is indeed irrelevant: progress, non-violence, integration 'fear of "white backlash," coalition. Let us look at the rhetoric and see why these terms must be set aside or redefined.

One of the tragedies of the struggle against racism is that up to this point there has been no national organization which could speak to the growing militancy of young black people in the urban ghettos and the black-belt South. There has been only a "civil rights" movement, whose tone of voice was adapted to an audience of middle-class whites. It served as a sort of buffer zone between that audience and angry young blacks. It claimed to speak for the needs of a community, but it did not speak in the tone of that community. None of its so-called leaders could go into a rioting community and be listened to. In a sense, the blame must be shared—along with the mass media—by those leaders for what happened in Watts, Harlem, Chicago, Cleveland and other places. Each time the black people in those cities saw Dr. Martin Luther King get slapped they became angry. When they saw little black girls bombed to death in *a church* and civil rights workers ambushed and murdered, they were angrier; and when nothing happened, they were steaming mad. We had nothing to offer that they could see, except to go out and be beaten again. We helped to build their frustration.

We had only the old language of love and suffering. And in most places-that is, from the liberals and middle class-we got back the old language of patience and progress. The civil rights leaders were saying to the country: "Look, you guys are supposed to be nice guys, and we are only going to do what we are supposed to do. Why do you beat us up? Why don't you give us what we ask? Why don't you straighten yourselves out?" For the masses of black people, this language resulted in virtually nothing. In fact, their objective day-to-day condition worsened. The unemployment rate among black people increased while that among whites declined. Housing conditions in the black communities deteriorated. Schools in the black ghettos continued to plod along on outmoded techniques, inadequate curricula, and with all too many tired and indifferent teachers. Meanwhile, the President picked up the refrain of "We Shall Overcome" while the Congress passed civil rights law after civil rights law, only to have them effectively nullified by deliberately weak enforcement. "Progress is being made," we were told.

Such language, along with admonitions to remain non- violent and fear the white backlash, convinced some that that course was the only course to follow. It misled some into believing that a black minority could bow its head and get whipped into 'a meaningful position of power. The very notion is absurd. The white society devised the language, adopted the rules and bad the black community narcotized into believing that that language and those rules were, in fact, relevant. The black community was told time and again how other immigrants finally won *acceptance:* that is, by following the Protestant Ethic of Work and Achievement. They worked hard; therefore, they achieved. We were not told that it was by building

Irish Power, Italian Power, Polish Power or Jewish Power that these groups got themselves together and operated from positions of strength. We were not told that "the American dream" wasn't designed for black people. That while today, to whites, the dream may seem to include black people, it cannot do so by the very nature of this nation's political and economic system, which imposes institutional racism on the black masses if not upon every individual black. A notable comment on that "dream" was made by Dr. Percy Julian, the black scientist and director of the Julian Research Institute in Chicago, a man for whom the dream seems to have come true. While not subscribing to "black power" as he understood it, Dr. Julian clearly understood the basis for it: "The false concept of basic Negro inferiority is one of the curses that still lingers. It is a problem created by the white man. Our children just no longer are going to accept the patience we were taught by our generation. We were taught a pretty little lie—excel and the whole world lies open before you. *I obeyed the injunction and found it to be wishful thinking*." (Authors' italics) *The New York Times* (April 30, 1967), p. 30.

A key phrase in our buffer-zone days was nonviolence. For years it has been thought that black people would not literally fight for their lives. Why this has been so is not entirely clear; neither the larger society nor black people are noted for passivity. The notion apparently stems from the years of marches and demonstrations and sit-ins where black people did not strike back and the violence always came from white mobs. There are many who still sincerely believe in that approach. From our viewpoint, rampaging white mobs and white night-riders must be made to understand that their days of free head-whipping are over. Black people should and must fight back. Nothing more quickly repels someone bent on destroying you than the unequivocal message: "O.K., fool, make your move, and run the same risk I run—of dying."

When the concept of Black Power is set forth, many people immediately conjure up notions of violence. The country's reaction to the Deacons for Defense and justice, which originated in Louisiana, is instructive. Here is a group which realized that the "law" and law enforcement agencies would not protect people, so they had to do it themselves. If a nation fails to protect its citizens, then that nation cannot condemn those who take up the task themselves. The Deacons and all other blacks who resort to self- defense represent a simple answer to a simple question: what man would not defend his family and home from attack?

But this frightened some white people, because they knew that black people would now fight back. They knew that this was precisely what they would have long since done if they were subjected to the injustices and oppression heaped on blacks. Those of us who advocate Black Power are quite clear in our own minds that a "non-violent" approach to civil rights is an approach black people cannot afford and a luxury white people do not deserve. It is crystal clear to us-and it must become so with the white society *-that there can be no social order without social justice.* White people must be made to understand that they must stop -messing with black people, or the blacks will fight back!

Next, we must deal with the term "integration." According to its advocates, social justice will be accomplished by "integrating the Negro into the mainstream institutions of the society from which he has been traditionally excluded." This concept is based on the assumption that there is nothing of value in the black community and that little of value could be created among black people. The thing to do is siphon off the "acceptable" black people into the surrounding middle-class white community.

The goals of integrationists are middle-class goals, articulated primarily by a small group of Negroes with middle-class aspirations or status. Their kind of integration has meant that a few blacks "make it," leaving the black community, sapping it of leadership potential and know-bow. As we noted in Chapter 1, those token Negroes—absorbed into a white mass—are of no value to the remaining black masses. They become meaningless show-pieces for a conscience-soothed white society. Such people will state that they would prefer to be treated "only as individuals, not as Negroes"; that they "are not and should not be preoccupied with race." This is a totally unrealistic position. In the first place, black people have not suffered as individuals but as members of a group; therefore, their liberation lies in group action. This is why SNCC—and the concept of Black Power—affirms that helping individual black people to solve their problems on an individual basis does little to alleviate the mass of black people. Secondly, while color blindness may be a sound goal ultimately, we must realize that race is an overwhelming fact of life in this historical period. There is no black man in this country who can live "simply as a man." His blackness is an ever-present fact of this racist society, whether be recognizes it or not. It is unlikely that this or the next generation will witness the time when race will no longer be relevant in the conduct of public affairs and in public policy decision-making. To realize this and to attempt to deal with it does not make one a racist or overly preoccupied with race; it puts one in the forefront of a significant *struggle.* If there is no intense struggle today, there will be no meaningful results tomorrow.

"Integration" as a goal today speaks to the problem of blackness not only in an unrealistic way but also in a despicable way. It is based on complete acceptance of the fact that in order to have a decent house or education, black people must move into a white neighborhood or send their children to a white school. This reinforces, among both black and white, the idea that "white" is automatically superior and "black" is by definition interior. For this reason, "integration" is a subterfuge for the maintenance of white supremacy. It allows the nation to focus on a handful of Southern black children who get into white schools at a great price, and to ignore the ninety-four percent who are left in unimproved all-black schools. Such situations will not change until black people become equal in a way that means something, and integration ceases to be a one-way street. Then integration does not mean draining skills and energies from the black ghetto into white neighborhoods. To sprinkle black children among white pupils in outlying schools is at best a stop-gap measure. The goal is not to take black children out of the black community and expose them to white middle-class values; the goal is to build and strengthen the black community.

"Integration" also means that black people must give up their identity, deny their heritage. We recall the conclusion of Killian and Grigg: "At the present time, integration as a solution to the race problem demands that the Negro foreswear his identity as a Negro." The fact is that integration, as traditionally articulated, would abolish the black community. The fact is that what must be abolished is not the black community, but the dependent colonial status that has been inflicted upon it.

The racial and cultural personality of the black community must be preserved and that community must win its freedom while preserving its cultural integrity. Integrity includes a pride—in the sense of self-acceptance, not chauvinism—in being black, in the historical attainments and contributions of black people. No person can be healthy, complete and mature if he must deny a part of himself; this is what "integration" has required thus far. This is the essential difference between integration as it is currently practiced and the concept of Black Power. The idea of cultural integrity is so obvious that it seems almost simple-minded to spell things out at this length. Yet millions of Americans resist such truths when they are applied to black people. Again, that resistance is a comment on the fundamental racism in the society. Irish Catholics took care of their own first without a lot of apology for doing so, without any dubious language from timid leadership about guarding against "backlash." Everyone understood it to be a perfectly legitimate procedure. Of course, there would be "backlash." Organization begets counterorganization, but this was no reason to defer.

The so-called white backlash against black people is something else: the embedded traditions of institutional racism being brought into the open and calling forth overt manifestations of individual racism. In the summer of 1966, when the protest marches into Cicero, Illinois, began, the black people knew they were not allowed to live in Cicero and the white people knew it. When blacks began to demand the right to live in homes in that town, the whites simply reminded them of the status quo. Some people called this "backlash." It was, in fact, racism defending itself. In the black community, this is called "White folks showing their color." It is ludicrous to blame black people for what is simply an overt manifestation of white racism. Dr. Martin Luther King stated clearly that the protest marches were not the cause of the racism but merely exposed a long-term cancerous condition in the society.

We come now to the rhetoric of coalition as part of the traditional approach to ending racism: the concept of the civil rights movement as a kind of liaison between the powerful white community and a dependent black community. "Coalition" involves the whole question of how one approaches politics and political alliances. It is so basic to an understanding of Black Power that we will devote an entire chapter to the subject.

PART FIFTEEN

COMMENTARIES ON DIASPORA ISSUES

Since the late 1960s, the migration of African skilled and highly trained professionals to the West (and to the United States in particular) has been substantial. The massive migration of skills, that are in short supply in Africa, coincided with a period of hard economic times for Africa and a period of retrenchment in government spending on all social services. Refugees from civil wars and the economic strictures of "structural adjustment" increased the flow of Africans to the United States.

Elliott P. Skinner

Spielberg's movie says - "Let's not fight." The Maestro wants us to merge the stories of human suffering; genocide and slavery are one. This position is well meaning, but also dangerous. If things are different, they should not be portrayed as the same.

Ibrahim K. Sundiata

W. E. B. Du Bois was right when he said: "We cannot, if we are sane, divide the world into whites, yellows and blacks, and then call blacks white." He might have said that it was equally as strange to call them "Mediterranean," or "Hamitic," or a hundred other euphemisms. One assumes that these various authors in Black Athena Revisited have seen, if not met, an African American. And here lies the rub - the very catholicity of the term "Black" in the North American context. The "social" construction of race in America does not rely on skin color. "African Americans," as Asante notes, "constitute the most heterogeneous group in the United States biologically, but perhaps one of the most homogeneous socially."

Ibrahim K. Sundiata

THE NEW AFRICAN IMMIGRANTS AND UNITED STATES FOREIGN POLICY

by

Elliott P. Skinner

Once again, the presence of new groups of immigrants on the American soil, is giving rise to the debate about whether this is an opportunity or a threat. When Jean Crevecoeur, visited this country in 1782, he found that its people expressed the sentiment that in America, "individuals of all nations are melted into a new race of men, whose labors and posterity will one day cause great changes in the world. Americans are the western pilgrims, who are carrying along with them that great mass of arts, sciences, vigor and industry, which began long since in the east. They will finish the great circle."[i]

Nevertheless, because of the ethnic and racial mélange that created the United States of America, such founding fathers as Madison and Washington feared that factionalism might hurt the emerging nation. In the Federalist Paper Number 10, Madison warned against combinations of citizens who "united and actuated by some common impulse of passion or of interest," may be adverse to the rights of other citizens, or to "the permanent and aggregated interests of the community."

Intimately involved in the divisive Gênet Affair (1793) and with the Alien and Sedition Act (1798), George Washington in his farewell address urged the people that whether they were citizens "by birth or choice... The name of America which belongs to you in your national capacity, must always exalt the just pride of patriotism more than any appellation derived from local discriminations." Washington primarily feared those "local discriminations," due to ethnic concentrations within the United States of America. He felt that it was only in "union" that Americans would experience that "security from external danger, a less frequent interruption of their peace by foreign nations, and what is of inestimable value, they must derive from union an exemption from those broils and wars between themselves which so frequently afflict neighboring countries..."[ii]

Except for the divisive Civil War over the question of race and slavery, it was increasing conflict over ethnicity, due to immigration, that created those local discriminations that affected the United States, and troubled those responsible for our foreign relations. This was perhaps inevitable given the changing demographic profile of the nation. Initially a society of "Englishpersons" whose values impregnated the emerging nation, the United States soon became a "nation of immigrants." Whereas between 1861 and 1870, 87.7 percent of the migrants came from Northwestern Europe, by the turn of the century, a concentrated wave of some 70.8 percent of the migrants came from Southeastern Europe. Moreover, this flood came as America was emerging as a world power; at a time when liberal revolutionary movements were affecting Europe; and when racial theories, asserting the superiority of Anglo-Saxon peoples, were abroad in the land.

Concern for American values characterized the anti-foreign feelings of the "Know-Nothing" movement of the 1850s raising concern for future American homogeneity and culture. The Congress even passed an immigration law with a "national origin" quota designed to favor white, Anglo-Saxon, and Northern European immigrants. However, this came too late to change the demography of the country, and its ethnic complexity. By 1976, the bicentennial year, nearly 50 million representatives of almost all nations of the world had settled in the United States.

Glazer and Moynihan once wrote that "without too much exaggeration it could be stated that the immigration process is the single most important determinant of American foreign policy." They admitted that United States foreign policy "responds to other things as well, but probably first of all to the primal facts of ethnicity." Over the years many scholars and statesmen have dreaded the ethnic factor in our political life and foreign policy. President Theodore Roosevelt was particularly hostile to the attempts of ethnic groups (often then referred to as "the hyphenates") to influence American foreign policy. In a speech in 1895, he inveighed against the particularisms of "the hyphenated Americans –the German-American, the Irish-American, or the native-American." He warned that unless all of these groups considered themselves "American, pure and simple" then the future of the nation would be impaired. Woodrow Wilson attributed the propensity of many American ethnic groups to seek the interests of their ancestral lands to the fact that "only part of them has come over" from the old countries.

True, there are a few but well-known cases where American-born persons have been punished for betraying this country on behalf of ancestral lands and foreign ideologies. Some of them even suffered the supreme penalty. The fear, now, is that the threat to America might be more complex and pervasive. Therefore, we must examine carefully the circumstances that are bringing the new immigrants to our shores and what we should reasonably expect of them.

We Americans are understandably proud of our role in structuring the modern world that has made this country such a target for immigrants. We initiated the age of democratic revolutions, thereby helping to end the age of feudalism. True, the United States experienced its own imperial phase in the Caribbean and in the Pacific, but many Americans deplored this jingoism. Then when we defeated Japan's attempt to beat the West at its own game, many American statesmen felt that the age of empire was over. Some Europeans have never forgiven us for their "loss of empire" even though the United States had to wage a costly Cold War to combat Soviet-led world communist imperialism.

The fall of the Soviet empire marked an important transition in the global system. The relatively - backward Soviets simply could not compete against American power and wealth. The United States truly played a major role in finishing that "great circle" of which Jean Crevecoeur spoke. The current problem is the uneven quality of this development. While the center prospered, semi-peripheral states even in Europe, are experiencing economic difficulties. And many parts of the developing and underdeveloped world are in grave economic difficulty. The ex-communist states, and the former European colonies are having difficulty creating viable economic and political systems.

In their attempt to deal with the resulting incoherence, many populations, both in the ex-Soviet zone and the former colonial world, are increasingly relying upon kinship and ethnic ties, to share in their country's wealth, and to seek greater political freedom. These activities have contributed to a greater and more complex form of *ethnogenesis* than the world has witnessed for centuries. People now assert or invent ethnic ties with distant groups on the basis of "race" "languages" and "culture," in order to gain allies to combat former friends, now judged to be new enemies. Some groups even attempt to validate their ethnic claims through migration, ethnic cleansing, mass rapes, irredentism and anschluss -- often transnationalizing their ethnicity in the process.

This transnationalization of ethnicity is problematic because it involves sentimental as well as structural conflicts between ethnicity and nation-states or the remnants of empires. In so doing this process generates or revives fears of nation-states that the rise of ancestral loyalties among their citizens might clash with the national interest of the entire body-politics. This situation is further complicated by the importance of modern universal rights and privileges, which people manipulate when competing, whether at home or abroad.

The problems raised by the nationalization of ethnicity, are further aggravated by such factors as: the globalization of trade and markets; the incidences of mass legal and illegal migrations; the search for new forms of governance; and cyberspace. The problem is not that the major nations cannot agree about the goals most groups are seeking. The fact is that they are not willing to use their power to put these goals in place. Both former Cold Warriors now look inward, and despite the work of humanitarians agencies, ethnic conflicts in Rwanda, Somalia, Ethiopia, the Sudan, Liberia, East Timor, Kashmir and Sri Lanka have cost millions of lives.

While most Americans lament what some policy makers have termed" tea-cup" wars, disasters such as Lebanon and Somalia, make us leery about getting involved in the affairs of unknown populations. Thus most Americans would undoubtedly have shrugged their shoulders when, in scanning the Internet, they read that "U.S. Regrets Disruptions at Ethiopian Meeting in Boston" that took place on August 21, 1997. For the second time in two weeks, Ethiopians of "different political persuasions" meeting in Cambridge, Massachusetts, had refused to hear a talk by officials of the Ethiopian government. James P. Rubin, State

Department spokesman, expressed regrets that the behavior of the disrupters was not "consonance with the values of the country in which they reside." He recognized that "the Ethiopia's future must be decided by its own people," but insisted that the United States desired most of all, the fostering of a "tolerant pluralist society in which the rights of all citizens can be best protected."

What the State Department was aware of, and was trying to deal with, was the desires of a growing number of immigrants from Sub-Saharan Africa to influence American foreign policy. Most Americans have forgotten or never knew that during World War II, our authorities enlisted the aid of a number of Africans students, including Francis (Kwame) Nkrumah (of the Gold Coast/Ghana) and Nnamdi Azikiwe (Nigeria), to brief them about West Africa. When these men returned home to lead their countries towards independence, neither they nor the next generation of African students who arrived here, could persuade official America that it was nationalism, and not communism that was driving the African revolution[iii]. What the United States was prepared to so, was to invite many African students here rather than have them go to Patrice Lumumba University in Moscow. Many of the students from the "Robert Kennedy Airlift" from Kenya never returned home.

The first significant group of Africans willing to attempt to influence the American public on an African issue were the Nigerian students who considered themselves, "Biafrans." Their efforts to influence the policies of both the Johnson and Nixon administrations, are now part of the mythology of the State Department. Much to the distress and concern of the State Department, the Biafrans were quite successful in mobilizing African Americans and even American Zionists to their cause. When Biafra was finally defeated many Nigeria students feared to return home, and increased the core of the new African migration.

Since the late 1960s, the migration of African skilled and highly trained professionals to the West (and to the United States in particular) has been substantial. This massive migration of skills, that are in short supply in Africa, coincided with a period of hard economic times for Africa and a period of retrenchment in government spending on all social services. Refugees from civil wars and the economic strictures of "structural adjustment" increased the flow of Africans to the United States.

Thus, like most immigrant groups coming to the United States, the "new Africans" left their countries as a result of economic woes, and political repressions. Many of them believe that they will eventually return home, but there is no evidence that this is taking place. Moreover, because of the confusing immigrant statuses of the continental-born Africans and now of their American-born children, (plus the number of illegals), no one is sure about the number of new Africans living here. Demographers indicate that between 1960 and 1990, the number of foreign-born members of American society increased three times, from 3 millions to 8 millions. The number of Africans increased from 3% to 4% during this period. The Society of Ethiopians Established in Diaspora (SEED) believes that there were some 200,000 of their compatriots in the United States.[iv].

In general, and like other immigrant groups in the past, the new African immigrants live in areas most receptive to them--primarily those areas inhabited by people of color. And although some of these immigrants, like most immigrant groups, have faced discrimination[v] and have had brushes with the legal authorities, they are allegedly among the brightest and best of the recent immigrants to the US. There is a growing consensus is that they are the most highly educated and have one of the highest per capita incomes of any immigrant group. They are believed to outshine native-born Americans by far.

Like other migrant "strangers" in the United States, African groups occupied old economic niches and created new ones in adapting to American society. They are steadily branching out both to serve their own communities and the public at large. In the Washington DC area, Ethiopians service most parking lots, and in New York City, Nigerian gypsy cab drivers keep up with news of their homeland. The coastal francophones are not far behind, but so far those from Chad and Niger are few and far in between. What is more interesting is that continental-born Africans and their American-born children are becoming an important economic, cultural, social and political force in the United States and in its relations with Africa.

With their high level of education and incomes, the African immigrants have not hesitated to make their voices heard with respect to American policy toward the African continent. As a matter of fact the Department of State itself has encouraged immigrant Africans to participate in the several

"Conferences for Leaders of Non-Governmental Organizations," held yearly in Washington D.C. However, the Africans have not yet started to organize themselves. For the moment, however, their hundreds of small groups are mostly unincorporated, voluntary, self-help associations run in spare times. When they finally organize themselves, the Africans, like other migrant groups before them, and profiting from the experiences of their predecessors, should add an important element to the voices of immigrants about United States foreign policy.

While the new Africans in the United States diaspora cannot hope to sway official Washington unless their views accord with this country's national interest, their activities are already being noted. Because the United States needed access to the Kagnew military communications base in Eritrea, formally controlled by Ethiopia, the State Department paid little attention to the small number of Eritreans, Somali and Ethiopian dissidents living here. All this changed after 1974-75 with the fall of Selassie, the growing Marxism of Menguistu, and the quarrels between Sidi Barre and the Soviets. Then the emigres from the Horn could plead the cause of their allies back home. Their lobbying efforts in official Washington were important factors in the decision of ex-President Carter to attempt mediation among the combatants in the Horn.

A number of events in the United States during the United States campaign, "Restore Hope," gave a hint of how African emigres are involved in United States policy toward their homelands. Many persons were surprised when it was revealed that the United States Marine who interpreted the Somali language for his Corps during "Restore Hope", was none other than the son of General Mohammed Farah Aidid. There was less surprise when later, after Aidid was killed, that the same son went off to Somalia to represent the interests of the Habar Geder, a sub-clan of the Hawiya clan.

There is growing anecdotal evidence that emigres from Central Africa living in the United States have been involved in events in that region. It is still a mystery about how and why Paul Kagame, a refugee from Rwanda, then living in Uganda, received military training in the United States, returned to Uganda to help Museveni gain power, then moved on to conquer Rwanda, and finally, to support Laurent Kabila in the seizure of Zaire.[vi] We do know more about how and why, Mwenze Kongolo, who took a degree from Temple University in Philadelphia, left his post in that city's Attorney General's office to go and organize Kabila's police force.

There is a growing and noticeable propensity of African emigres to attempt to use the power of the United States to affect their homelands. Many of these persons assert that even though living in the diaspora, their remittances keep their homelands economically viable, and therefore they should influence affairs at home. The problem here is that one cannot be sure that the emigres have the same political agendas as the continentals.

For example, the citizens of Washington, D.C., were intrigued when Nigerian emigres noisily demonstrated in front of the Nigerian embassy against the regime of General Abacha. Perhaps to protect themselves and regime, Nigerian officials felt it necessary to take out a rather large advertisement in *The Wall Street Journal*. Again, just after the coup in Sierra Leone in May 1997, Sierra Leoneans in Washington, D. C., supported the ambassador of their country when he called a news conference condemning the coup. The problem was that while the demonstrators and the ambassador appealed to the United States to put down the coup, when it went in to extract its citizens, African leaders on the continent were indicating a desire to settle this problem themselves.

Yet, there is also some evidence that a number of emigres are having second thoughts about whether their political activities in the diaspora are good for their home and host communities. The Ethiopians who organized SEED confessed that "The love we have for our homeland is so strong that most of us are putting political mines everywhere with the hope of bringing meaningful changes in our country while we neglect planting seeds in the diaspora." This group of emigres suggested that they ought to also plant seeds in the American diaspora so that their children would know something about their land of origin. Moreover, they insisted that the two processes were not necessarily incompatible.

Yet another question facing Africans in the diaspora, is how to retain or strengthen primordial ties among fellow ethnics in the diaspora without militating against national unity, and unity with other diaspora populations on behalf of the African continent. A case that especially intrigued anthropologists involved the producers of the "Buganet." An ambitious group of "Bagandans" from "Uganda" living in the United States felt that with so many of their fellows leaving home, there was the risk of losing contact. They decided to organize the "Buganet" for the Bagandans,so that they could preserve their "Kiganda" language, and also preserve their "Luganda" culture.

The Ghanaians in the US who sent a letter congratulating President J. J. Rawlings, the NPP, PNC, and PCP (political parties) for conducting fair elections in 1996, obviously attempted to show solidarity with their homeland without jeopardizing primordial ties. They also thanked "all who visited our WebSite" to get the latest election returns. Another group of Ghanaians announced the formation of the *Ghana Democratic Republican Party*, and still another group announced plans for organizing a *National Salvation Congress* to vote for *The Technology Party* in A.D. 2000. Intriguingly, some culturally-inclined Ghanaian contributors to the net insisted that Ghanaians were "yearning for native beauty." Apparently, they were not at all pleased with the type of beauties they were viewing on the net.

The Nigerian emigres in the United States feel embattled because of the cool relations between their host and home communities, and have taken different positions on the conflict. Contributors to the net have posted notices declaring that no less a person than General Colin Powell has insisted that the often maligned Nigerians were in fact "quite honest." Others Nigerians have given advice to others via the Net as to how to find a Nigerian bride in New York City. Still others have informed people at home and overseas about a successful meeting of the "Badagary Infoset Organization" at which Nigerians, Ghanaians, Liberians and Beninoise were present, and at which proposals of "Syntegration" advocated a future world government in which war, poverty, ecocide, and religious intolerance would be outlawed.

While anxious to relate to all Americans, some Africans have felt the need to transnationalize their ethnicity by establishing fraternal relations with the demographically dominant African American population, to achieve a better deal for Africa.[vii] Insisting that "It's a Family Affair," one person, who called himself *Mocha*, advised: "Open your minds: the first step is to take away all preconceived opinions and attitudes (stereotypes) we may have about one another (African Americans vs Nigerians for example)." The writer suggested that African peoples should learn about each other's cultures, join common cultural and political organizations and "begin to make a difference and possibly UNITE as a powerful, effective voice in every facet of society." African students at University of California (Berkeley), did just that when they joined people of color to protest the ban on "affirmative action."

In conclusion then, it appears that the growing group of recent African immigrants to the United States are attempting to find a niche for themselves in our increasingly pluralistic society. As in the case of other immigrants, the Africans are adapting to life in the United States. However, they have and are entering this country at another stage in the evolution of the global system, and will be more aware of the relations between their host and home communities than earlier immigrants. One would be surprised if continental-born Africans and their American-born offspring did not attempt to influence how the United States and the world relate to Africa. They could be expected to take advantage of the status of the United States as the present global powerhouse to achieve these ends. But as James P. Rubin asserted at Boston, the United States hopes that the impact of immigrants on their ancestral societies would create a better world for all Americans.

Reference and Endnotes

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i. From *Letters from an American Farmer* as published in the *Encyclopedia of American History*, ed. Richard B. Morris (New York, Harper & Brothers, 1953).

ii. George Washington, in *Washington's Farewell Address: The View from the Twentieth Century*, ed. Burton I. Kaufman (Chicago: Quadrangle Books, 1969), p. 18.

iii. The early Assistant Secretaries of States, such as "Soapy Williams," used to invite academics and missionaries, and a few African Americans leaders, to give advice on the then largely unknown African continent. However, these did not succeed in convincing the United States that the Africans were more interested in their revolution than in Communism.

iv. Undoubtedly, Africans, especially highly skilled ones, will continue to attempt to enter the United States. Africans from almost all countries hope to be among the 21,000 persons from the continent who will benefit from the l997 United States Visa lottery of some 55,000 slot.

v. The undocumented Africans have had their brushes with immigration officials, but the murder of an Ethiopian in Seattle made national headlines.

vi. As time passes, more in being learned about this important figure. An article by John Pomfret in the *Washington Post* for July 9, 1997, and entitled, "Rwandans Led Revolt in Congo," stated that "While Kagame said he was unaware of any American military support for the rebels, he commended the United States for `taking the right decision to it proceed.'According to Pomfret:

> Kagame, who studied at the U.S. Army Command and General Staff College at Fort Leavenworth, Kansas, in 1990, has directed military campaigns before. In the 1994 war in Rwanda, he led a rebel force of 8,000--predominant Rwandan Tutsi exiles who had been given sanctuary and training in Uganda--against a 30,000-strong. Hutu-dominated government army that was trained and equipped by France and backed by tens of thousands of armed Hutu militiamen....
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> In early August 1996, Kagame travelled to New York and Washington, where he me with State Department official and `other people' in the Clinton administration. `I was looking for a solution from them,' he said. `They didn't come up with any answers, not even suggestions.' Kagame said he returned home sensing that war was inevitable." (Page AO1)

vii. Elliott P. Skinner, "The Dialectic Between Diasporas and Homelands," in Global Dimensions of the African Diaspora. (ed.) Joseph E. Harris. Washington, D.C.: Howard University Press, 1982, pp. 17-45.

THE AMISTAD: SPIELBERG, JEWS, BLACKS, AND LATINS

by

Ibrahim Sundiata

Several weeks ago I appeared on television to discuss Steven Spielberg's epic film *Amistad*. The interviewer asked me, with a serious mien, what the film signified for race relations in America. Would the film make things better or worse? Would it make the Blacks angry? What would they do? Obviously, even leaving aside Barbara Chase Riboud's charges of plagiarism, this project by Spielberg, Debbie Allen *et al.* is lugging a heavy load. It will supposedly expose our racial fears and phobias, leading to a national debate on everything from affirmative action to teenage pregnancy.

As one who works on the slave trade, specifically the Spanish slave trade, I found the film *Amistad* of great interest. Even before I saw the movie, I read the "official tie-in" from Spielberg's Dream Works Productions. This is Alexs Pate's novel based on the screenplay by David Franzoni and Steven Zaillan. The simply written little novel packs a wallop. And when I saw the screen version, I was both impressed and inspired. The work shows tremendous ingenuity and not a little research. Scholars such as Joseph Harris, John Hope Franklin, and Howard Jones had been called in for advice and it shows. At the same time, one is incontestably in Spielberg country: horrific violence is counterpoised to benign visions of human uplift and interracial cooperation. The Middle Passage sequence aboard the Portuguese slaver *Tecora* is gut wrenching. The historical lineaments of the story are accurate right and even the question of slavery in Africa is not completely swept under the rug. Spielberg's vision encompasses both US black/white racial payback *and* racial reconciliation. The work is a paean to the American Way.

I enjoyed it. The *mise en scene* is impressive, the acting credible. There is not a true protagonist, as in *Schindler's List*. A welter of actors portray historical and fictional figures, but their sheer abundance deprives the movie of a focus. One major character,Matthew McConaughey, rattles around in his role as the defense attorney Roger Baldwin like a Texas boy without a clue of how to play a Connecticut Yankee. Morgan Freeman, as the fictional African American abolitionist Theodore Joadson, has little to do and does it well. The Ivorien actor Djimon Housou is an African of heroic proportions as the Mende leader of the shipboard takeover, Senghe Pieh (or Joseph Cinque as he was called after his capture). Anthony Hopkins is a curmudgeon of epic proportions in his role as John Quincy Adams, the defender of the *Amistad* Africans before the Supreme Court. Hopkins' "crackerbarrel" (in his words) accent may not be appropriate for Adams, who spent a considerable part of his early life in European salons, but the British actor is believable as the sixth president. He and Housou, by the film's end, form a duo that points the way toward racial harmony, even as a flash forward indicates the outbreak of the Civil War.

I was uneasy, in spite of my enjoyment. The film, about an episode in the Cuban slave trade, raised few new questions. Indeed, it suppressed quite a few. It took an event in the Hispanic slave traffic and transformed it into a deciding moment in American slavery. Most tellingly, Spielberg's movie lives in the present, a location fatal to historical understanding. *Amistad*, the movie, fits in well with North Americans' "Old Dixie Narrative." Simply stated, this view of history says: Slavery was confined to Dixie and slaves grew cotton; nowhere else in the history of humanity has slavery existed and nowhere else were human beings chattel; Africans were selected to be slaves because they were black. In addition, the Dixie Narrative maintains that racism drove the slave trade and slavery, both of which existed as the ultimate form of psychosexual torture. The numbers immolated in the Holocaust of the Middle Passage and in the cotton fields ran up to perhaps 60 million.

The image of slavery in the American imagination has gone through various permutations without questioning basic assumptions. Early in the twentieth century Southern historians such as Ulrich B. Phillips painted a rosy picture of slavery in Dixie; indeed, slavery was a benign "school" for blacks. D. W. Griffith's *Birth of a Nation* contained images of both "faithful darkies" and "ferocious bucks." The popular image of kindly slavery (although with a few boxed black ears) reached its apogee in 1939's *Gone with the Wind*. More than a generation later, *Roots*, both in book and miniseries form, was a wildly popular antidote. Black suffering could now be presented as monumental. But there were demurrers. Around the time Alex Haley's novel was serialized on television, two economic historians argued that Blacks in the Old South ate better than most of the world's population, including peasants in Eastern Europe. From this, they seemed to maintain that North American slavery was a system of praedial management with careers open to talent. Discussion of slavery bifurcated into academic and popular discourses. On the one hand was the image of the "Black Holocaust" and, on the other, a number crunching economic history of just another form of labor migration. David Eltis, a historian sometimes of Harvard's W. E. B. Du Bois Institute, has argued that efforts to suppress the slave trade were futile and made little economic sense. Also, black people in the Americas are bigger in stature than Africans and, according to Eltis, there is little evidence that many wanted to go back. What is lost in such discussions is that slavery, for those in it, is not a chosen state. This assertion need not rest on any tables of comparative suffering. Slavery simply denies essential self determination. At the popular level, the Old Dixie Narrative floats in the American collective consciousness, even among those who have never given it much thought. It even emerges among those who should know better. Writing of John Quincy Adams and the *Amistad* Affair, Gore Vidal asserts in a recent *New Yorker* that "the United States was the last among civilized "white" nations to maintain the institution rightly called peculiar." Now, we may quibble about what constitutes "white" and "civilized," but it would be hard to argue that in 1839, the year of the *Amistad 's* capture, that many nations had outlawed slavery. The British gave complete freedom to West Indian slaves only the year before the Spanish ship sailed. The French waited until 1848, the Dutch until 1863, the Spanish until 1873 in Puerto Rico and 1885 in Cuba. Eighteen eighty-eight is the year of abolition in Brazil. The conflation of the slave trade and slavery itself causes powerful mischief. The US and Great Britain both stopped the slave trade in 1807/8 and Spain agreed to cease and desist by 1820. Boring facts perhaps, but necessary to put the *Amistad* in context.

The Dixie Narrative does have it attractions; That is why Americans cling to it. For many blacks, looking back through the prism of Jim Crow and lynch law, it provides ample proof of the ultimate fixity of human nature. Racism was as alive in fifteenth century Lisbon as it was in nineteenth century Mobile. History is one long version of *Up from Slavery* and always a struggle against the Manichean "Other." For whites the scenario works as well. Blacks are the ultimate Outgroup, one which erases European division and suffering. Indeed, *White Slavery* disappears from the collective consciousness and only reemerges in references to the subculture of certain streets, massage parlors and kinkier motels. Whites are an eternal *Herrenvolk* freed from the stigma of any "Peculiar Institution." From both sides of the racial divide, there is agreement that blacks have always been drawers of water and hewers of wood. Class is eternally raced. The hype surrounding *Amistad* seeks to portray it as a signal event in the fight against Old Dixie. Unfortunately, the *Amistad* incident was not the turning point in the fight against slavery; it was one incident in an ongoing attempt to suppress the Atlantic slave trade. W. E. B. Du Bois, in his *Suppression of the African Slave Trade*, gave the *Amistad* only as much mention as he gave other slavers that ran afoul of the Federal courts. Indeed, he devoted more space to the case of the Creole, an American vessel captured by its black captives and then sailed to the British Bahamas in 1841. In the year in which the *Amistad* Africans were freed, the United States spent much time and effort attempting to get these rebel African Americans back. The grounds were that they, unlike the Africans on the *Amistad*, were legally slaves at the time of their "mutiny." Even the *Amistad* story itself has its glaring ambiguities. Antonio, a "Lading" slave on board was ordered returned to Havana as a slave by the very courts which freed Cinque and his confreres.

To accept the Spielbergian version of the *Amistad* episode, one would have to believe that the Southern majority on the Supreme Court experienced an abolitionist epiphany in 1841 only to fall back into old ways later. Chief Justice Roger Taney, the author of the infamous Dred Scott decision (which said that blacks had no rights whites were bound to respect) was either caught up in the grandeur of John Quincy Adams' words, or bound by the prosaic provisions of Federal law. Probably the latter. Remember, more than a generation before the *Amistad* case, the national government had voted to abolish the slave trade. And, in 1819, twenty years before Cinque and his fellow captives washed up on Montauk, Congress mandated the President to "make such regulations and arrangements as he may deem expedient for the safe keeping, support, and removal beyond the limits of the United States, of all such negroes, mulattoes, or persons of colour, as may be delivered and brought within their jurisdiction." From that time forward American naval vessels sporadically returned Africans "illegally" taken. This had no effect on the millions in bondage in Old Dixie.

Several years ago a bright and personable young student approached me with the *Secret Relationship Between Blacks and Jews* and urged me to read it. It would show that the Jews were deeply implicated in the Atlantic slave trade. When I asked him why he thought this, he replied that I should "look around and see what is happening today." If the present is simply the past without funny costumes, it will surely serve to justify our present turf wars. For example, Samuel Freedman, writing in the New York *Times*, said that at the time of the Million Man March in 1995 he was asked: "Which is worse, what happened to six million Jews or what happened to 600 million [Africans]"?

Amistad is a Spielbergian response. It is a Holocaust movie, a reprise of *Schindler's List* with Morgan Freeman in the Ben Kingsley role. The tribulations of the Jewish and African Diasporas are equated and not opposed. The director wants the audience to draw the parallel and feel the pain. The liberation of the slave barracoons at Lomboko resembles the liberation of the death camps by the Allies in 1945. Slave trading and genocide are the same; the film is quite explicit in its argument that the slave trade was more than just forced labor transfer. Profits were so high in the trade that slavers preferred to kill many of their captives rather than have the sick and injured landed in the Americas. The film *Amistad* accepts the Black Holocaust; although, it is doubtful if Mr. Spielberg intends any criticism of capitalism.

The director of *Amistad* wants to bridge a divide. Usually, the jostling of the Jewish Holocaust and the African Slave Trade creates an ideological dissonance in the American racial hierarchy.

"Whiteness" generally serves to sever or blur ties to the suffering of the Old World. From congeries of immigrants, it manufactures a new American identity based, in part, on color. However much Bosnians, Serbs and Croats may disembowel one another, their divisions are, from the American perspectives, no more than the distempers of naive nationalisms not "race wars." Jews are the wild card instead of behaving like their immigrant brethren, they remind us of a time before "Whiteness" before the presence of the "Black." And this discordance is troubling to all concerned, for we accept black "Otherness" as the starting point for all discussions of race, be they reformist or revolutionary.

History is not destiny, but it is central to identity; appropriation of suffering is appropriation of personhood and peoplehood. Paul Berman has made an interesting observation on the competition over the terrain of suffering. Both Jews and African Americans say "You look like an oppressed minority. But it is I who belong to the true minority." Furthermore, "you are making it harder for the world to appreciate the cruelty that has historically been done to me." In the North American context, Jewish suffering as the epitome of misery appears to fly in the face of an ideology (White Supremacy) woven into the fabric of national life. If this is a "White Man's Country," Jewish cosmic suffering must be, to many black minds, a chimera. Given this worldview, such misery can be only be strainingly explained by asserting that Jews are not "White."

Spielberg's movie says - 'Lets not fight.' The Maestro wants us to merge the stories of human suffering; genocide and slavery are one. This position is well meaning, but also dangerous. If things are different, they should not be portrayed as the same. Jewish suffering is horrendous, but not in the United States. Indeed, the Nazi obsession with Jews as the "Anti-Race" runs counter to the color fixation of American racial thought. Daniel Goldhagen has pointed out that Nazi ideology put Blacks at or near the bottom of an elaborately constructed world racial hierarchy. However, Jews were not just inferior, like "Chinamen and Negroes." They stood, *sui generic*, outside and beyond such simple hierarchies; they were mortal contestants in an eternal struggle for world supremacy. Indeed, the difference in treatment meted out by the Germans to Jewish civilians as opposed to that given French African troops is glaring and to Americans completely incomprehensible. *Amistad* has been attacked from the Right and the Left for the uses which have been made of it. This is especially true of the film as a teaching aid. Course packets based on the film have been distributed to hundreds of schools throughout America. The materials blend fictional and historical characters with abandon and ask students to respond to situations in which the fictional and the historical interact. Michael Medved, sometime guest host on the Rush Limbaugh show and a great admirer of the Old Confederacy, attacked Dream Works' study materials head on: "It's bad enough when schools miseducate our kids in the name of political correctness, but now a Hollywood studio has gotten into the act, pushing its own recklessly dishonest agenda for the purpose of selling tickets." From the opposite end of the political spectrum, the iconoclastic Garry Trudeau notes that: "Once again, fictional characters were being served up as actual historical figures." For instance, "Theodore Joadson [Morgan Freeman], the movie's heroic black abolitionist, never drew a breath, yet the Dream Works worksheet challenged students to analyze his relationship with the conspicuously nonfictional John Quincy Adams."

I am sure that the creators of the course materials know that they are doing agitprop. Indeed, the movie is "civics" as opposed to "history." *Bay Windows*, a Boston weekly, reacted to this by commenting that: "Historical figures and fictional composites are trotted out like waxworks, or animatronics at best, to express various viewpoints." Is this criticism fair? One could ask why, if the movie can promote interracial cooperation, should we worry about its preachy tone or its marketing? Well, because there is a danger. As the historian Ralph Austen, the scion of German Jewish refugees, observes: "...there is a constant danger that history may either destroy memory or overload it with so many sites and unmotivated accumulations of information that all meaningful contact with the past is lost. The only coherent meaning which remains in such cases is commodification, the marketing of sites to consumers who may otherwise choose some other vacation itinerary or different television History Channel."' Austen observes that: "On these grounds criticism has been leveled against the excesses and tastelessness of many Holocaust projects (there's no business like Shoa business'), and the packaging of African American roots tours' to sites like Goree Island and the Ghana forts." In its own way, *Amistad* has become a "site" of the Black Holocaust, but one so encapsulated within a larger commodified American mythos that it tells us nothing we don't want to hear.

There is yet another problem. Eric Williams, the brilliant Trinidadian historian and politician, indicated long ago in his *Capitalism and Slavery* that economic systems are no respecters of persons. Writing from beyond the confines of the Dixie Narrative, he observed that "The horrors of the Middle Passage have been exaggerated. For this the British abolitionists are in large part responsible." Furthermore, "A racial twist has...been given to what is basically an economic phenomenon. Slavery was not born of racism: rather, racism was the consequence of slavery. Unfree labor in the New World was brown, white, black, and yellow; Catholic, Protestant and pagan." Yes. Slavery, like marriage is a fairly universal institution. Most societies have had some form of it. It rests on the ability to coerce labor and/or sexual reproduction. What is truly remarkable about slavery in the United States is its long afterbirth legalized segregation and a caste society. Early twentieth century racist intellectuals, like Lothrop Stoddard, noted that the country's "Peculiar Institution" was not very peculiar at all. What they boasted about was American "race feeling," a phenomenon which kept the Republic from descending into the Latin American "Coffee Colored Compromise" of race amalgamation. The United States is the most racially organized society In the Americas.

New York Times film critic Janet Maslin says that Amistad is about "a shameful chapter in American history." It is something more than that. It is a shameful chapter in several histories. Certainly it should also make us think about slavery in West Africa and the Spanish speaking Hispanophone Caribbean. In the former case, we know that Cinque was traded from the Mende country to the Vai people who were trading partners of Spanish traders like Pedro Blanco. Debt pawnage was prevalent, a fact the movie touches upon and then runs away from. According to one source, Sengbe was captured by a fellow Mende, who claimed Sengbe for debt. The man handed him over to one Bamadha, son of Siaka of the Genduma of the Vai country. The Vai were divided into free born persons (*manju dennu*, literally chief's children) andjonnu, persons without full kinship status and rights. The *jonnu* included individuals who had fallen under an economic obligation and who, in certain instances, retained certain kinship rights. Individuals captured or traded from the interior, like Cinque, constituted another group of *jonnu* export slaves. In the Dream Works novel based on the screen play, the issue is handled gingerly. The prosecutor in the case, Holabird, asks Cinque if it is not true that "certain tribes in Africa, for hundreds of years thousands, perhaps have owned slaves." In the novel the answer from Cinque's translator is— "It's different." With that, West African slavery and other forms of social oppression are dismissed. Unfortunately, such evasions make it difficult to discuss present day slavery in Sudan and Mauritania slave owners everywhere are notorious for saying that their slavery is "different."

And what about the intended destination of the *Amistad* Africans? Ben Chavis, former head of the NAACP, reminded in the early 1990s: "Don't forget that a large segment of Latinos also are of African descent." He is right. In the nineteenth century many more slaves went to the Caribbean and Latin America than came to the United States. These millions of men and women exist outside the Old Dixie Narrative. From the fifteenth century onward, over twelve million forced migrants left the African continent to people both of the Americas and the islands of the Caribbean. Less than ten percent of these people came to what is now the United States.

How did these Africans get to "Latin" America? In the decade of the *Amistad's* sailing, Jose de Moros, of ricer of a Spanish merchantman, visited West Africa three times and estimated that at least a hundred ships left the area each year bound for the Caribbean. The majority of these ships were *negreros* (slave ships). By the late 1830s Spanish slaving ventures were fraught with danger for their backers. A new Anglo-Spanish antislaving treaty in 1835 extended the British right of search, and the number of Spanish slavers captured increased rapidly. From 1830 to 1835 the British West African Squadron captured only ten *negreros* per annum on average. This average rose to thirty-five from 1835 to 1839. The challenge of continued British antislaving measures brought forth a response from the traders; clandestine bases on the coast kept supplies of equipment and to abet rapid departures. In addition, foreign flags were used by Spanish vessels. Smaller ships were employed and sailed from the Caribbean carrying ballast. They rendezvoused at appointed places on the coast and separated in different directions when the British antislaving squadron was sighted. Many vessels were captured, but some got through. In 1837 an observer in Guayama, Puerto Rico, wrote:

> A few days since a slave ship, that had been fitted out in shares by the planters, here arrived with 292 Africans on board, in a perfect state of nudity & nature. She had been absent nearly a year, when an ordinary voyage to the coast & back is five or six months. Fears were entertained that she was captured, for the English have taken and destroyed over forty vessels this year. . . .At present slaves are so valuable there is little animal suffering and few or no deaths. Here they are landed on plantations and divided into lots, & the shareholders then divide them, & they are offered for sale like any other animals.

How is this remembered? History is not what happened, but how it is remembered and used. Earl Shorris, in his book, *Latinos*, quotes a young Puerto Rican as saying of African Americans "They weren't the only slaves in this world. Practically everybody been slaves. I say, 'What is their problem?' " What in one society is the original and irredeemable sin, can be in the other simply one stream of immigration, a stream acculturated into a wider synthetic whole. The number of people of African descent in Latin America now varies between 130 and 170 million. Significantly, many of these persons do not consider themselves members of a transnational Black Diaspora. In the United States, slavery and slaving are seen as *sui generis*, a "Peculiar Institution" without analogue. Slavery and the slave trade are the cause of *the* essential national fissure. In parts of the Spanish speaking Caribbean, the *negrero* traffic has become a footnote to the "larger" national epic. Indeed, it is subsumed within the ideal of a relatively homogeneous folk community.

In the United States, persons from the Spanish speaking Caribbean are part of a transnational ethnic category stretching from the Rio Grande to Tierra del Fuego. Contrary to some predictions earlier in this century, immigrants from Latin America do not neatly divide themselves into "White" and "Negro" categories. Instead, after intense contestation, subordinate groups appropriated the ethnic labels of dominant elites (e.g., "Latino," "Hispano"). In many cases the descendants of Africans became part of a posited Ibero American ecumene. In a complex play of forces, previously racialized categories (e.g. *pardo, mulato, trigueno*) became subsumed in the United States within the new "Hispanic" category.

The nineteenth century slave trade to Latin America was of intense brutality. Yet, it is not "raced" in ways that would make in congruent with the Dixie Narrative. Everybody on the *Amistad* captain, crew and captives would probably be a "minority" in present day American parlance. Remarkably, there are no Hispanics in any of the major speaking roles in a very long film. Since they have little or nor place in the film's dichotomized vision, they are scarcely individualized. Those killed in the *Amistad* uprising, the Spanish captain and the cook, are persons without ethnicity. If the slave trade was all about a North American black/white racial divide and had nothing to do with the intricacies of class, nationality and the workings of capitalism in the Atlantic system, this makes sense.

But, of course, the reality was complex. The film Amistad manages to avoid unsettling complexity by falling back on the hackneyed symbolism of an aristocratic Europe, full of decadent fuss, counterpoised to a young and democratic American Republic. In a coup de theatre of reversed emblems, the former is represented by a nine year child monarch and the latter by a septuagenarian former president.

The actual slave traders disappear from view before the second half of the film. The actors playing the slaveowners on the *Amistad* (one of whom is presented as a mulato) are replaced by an infantalized and feminized Europe in the person of Anna Paquin as the ruler of Spain. In what must be some bizarre nineteenth century form of state socialism, she demands the slaves for "Spain" (and not their owners). Above all, she is the White Queen. It does not matter that historically Isabel II was subject to a regency run by her mother, Maria Cristina, at the time of the Amistad Affair. She, a prepubescent white female, is an appropriate stand in for the greed and caprice of the Old World. Never mind the white, black, and brown hands that actually handled human commerce on slave ships like the *Tecora* and the *Amistad*.

The slave trade does not have to be "raced," a la Dixie, to be "obscene" (to borrow a word beloved of Elie Wiesel). A telling and, perhaps, unique vignette of the cultural complexities of the traffic is found in the 1 937 film Slave Ship, starring Spencer Tracy. In one scene a Spanish slaver on the African coast is going about his business, when a scuffle breaks out.

Several of the slave ship's crew are forcibly dragging away captives, including children. The Spaniard excitably gets up and remonstrates the crewmen; one of the dusky children is his. The mariners chuckle and release the boy. Clearly the Spanish trader's ways are simultaneously risible and reprehensible. Sixty years later, Spielberg and company have a hell of a time getting, or better yet, not getting, a fix on this aspect of the slave trade. The *negrero* Don Pedro Blanco is briefly seen and even less heard in the new film. One can only guess how Spielberg and company would have interpreted his marriage alliances with Vai kings and his multiracial menage on the Gallinas River.

Stephen Spielberg wanted to make an important film about slavery in the United States.

Unfortunately, he chose the wrong vessel.

AFROCENTRISM:

THE ARGUMENT WE'RE REALLY HAVING

by

Ibrahim Sundiata

Afrocentrism is many things to many people, from the insistent claims of Leonard Jeffries to the commercialism of the mainstream media. In the last five years it has pushed its way into the American consciousness, both as an academic movement and as an attitude. Several years ago I watched Eddy Murphy as Akenaton, Iman as Nfertiti, and Michael Jackson as a Trickster Imhotep in the music video "Remember the Time." MTV had met Afrocentrism? At any rate, it was an ambitious fantasy set in ancient Egypt for the delectation of Black Americans and, perhaps, the consternation of Whites.

I, a professional Africanist, had remained largely removed from the controversy surrounding Black nationalist historiography and, especially, Afrocentrism. Not that I hadn't heard about clashes. Several years ago, I could not help but be aware of charges of both racism and anti-Semitism at Hillary Clinton's alma mater, Wellesley College Professor Tony Martin of the Africana Studies Department taught from *The Secret Relationship between Blacks and Jews*, a book issued by the Nation of Islam; it argued that Jews dominated the Atlantic slave trade. Professor Mary Lefkowitz, a classicist, became one of Professor Martin's chief critics. He in turn accused her of leading a "Jewish onslaught." The president of the college became embroiled in an argument over freedom of speech, a debate with national reverberations, especially in a decade of supposedly deteriorating Black/Jewish relations.

Several months ago I met the same Mary Lefkowitz, a pleasant low-keyed woman with a scholarly face. In a course about Africa and the West, I had invited her to speak. Lefkowitz, now author of *Not Out of Africa: How Afrocentrism Became an Excuse to Teach Myth as History*, spoke in measured tones about the stories that many scholars, Black and White, had spun about the connection between Egypt and Greece. The student audience asked questions and probed the responses in the best scholarly fashion. And that should have been that.

Now, in May of 1996, I found myself on a panel at Wellesley with the opposing forces of Afrocentrism and anti-Afrocentrism. I had stepped into the minefield that surrounds Afrocentrism, "Blackness" and "political correctness" in the academy. The audience of several hundred, crammed into a small science auditorium, was a sea of black, brown and white faces. Some young, a few old, mostly female, they seemed to resonate with the kind of intense interest seldom reserved for ancient history. Indeed, I knew that they had not come for that, per se. In the past several months Lefkowitz has become the doyenne of those who wish to see the end of liberal "relativism" in the academy, including many on the Right who see her as the opening wedge in a crusade to cleanse the temples of learning of creeping multiculturalism. Conservative pundits like George Will in *Newsweek* are using her work as a cudgel to beat home certain ideas about standards, pedagogy and race. Not since Martin Bernal's 1987 *Black Athena: The Afroasiatic Roots of Classical Civilization*, which argued for the African roots of Attic civilization, have so many nonspecialists gotten into a lather about the sons and daughters of Hellen. The discussion has little to do with Egyptology or classics; it does involve our deepest feelings of who we are and the state of contemporary Black/White relations.

Lefkowitz is a serious scholar. We also have essential points of disagreement. She and I talked over lunch about the controversy surely to follow on the heels of the publication of her book. Lefkowitz points out that some Afrocentrists state that the ancient Greeks stole their philosophy from Egypt. She maintains that any idea of an Egyptian "Mystery System" is ultimately based on Greco-Roman sources which present only a partial and late version of Egyptian practice and ritual. These were worked up into a pseudohistorical pastiche in the early eighteenth century by a French cleric and then given wide currency. Lefkowitz argues that the Masons and certain twentieth century African American writers mistakenly used this work to construct a vision of ancient Egyptian religion and knowledge. However, she does not stop there. On the basis of a very slender number of examples, she set out to demolish what she construes to be "Afrocentrists" and to save young people from their clutches. She explicitly states that her work is a critique of "relativist" or "subjective" history that attempts to vindicate the past of any particular group-in this case Blacks. Indeed, her work has been partially funded by conservative groups hoping to stem the tide of such scholarship. If her tormentors have the Nation of Islam, Professor Lefkowitz has the Bradley and John M. Olin Foundations.

Until the publication of Bernal's work in the late 1980s, the White academic establishment took little notice of what was emerging as "Afrocentrism." However, Black nationalist historiography had already put down deep roots in the African American community. In the nineteenth century writers like Edward Blyden and Martin Delany pointed the way. In the twentieth century J. A. Rogers and others emphasized the Black contributions to "High Cultures" of the Old World, contributions which they argued had been for too long denied. At the same time, religious groups, like the

Moorish Science Temple and, later, the Nation of Islam, created a completely alternative cosmology and narrative for African Americans. This responded to the predominant ideology of White supremacy and created a universal history in which the North American racial hierarchy was turned on its head. Blacks were the original people and whites were a devolution. The Civil Rights movement of the 1960s and the following Black Power movement increased the need for a broader new history. Works like Chancellor Williams' *The Destruction of Black Civilization* and George James' *Stolen Legacy* became focal texts. The Senegalese historian Cheikh Anta Diop's works were translated into English; these were taken up by many Black Studies departments and became part of the alternative Black Studies canon.

Afrocentrists argue that Blacks must see themselves through Black eyes, as agents of history, rather than as simply subjects of investigation. Their view must proceed from an "inside place." Most emphasize the civilizations of northeastern Africa, namely Kemet (Egypt), Nubia, Axum, and Meroe. Early on it was truly a "Black Thing," involving as it did its own conferences, publishing and networks. By 1978 Jay Carruthers' Kemetic Institute was established in Chicago. A year later a similar thematic course was taken by the Institute of Pan-African Studies in Los Angeles. A meeting in that city in 1984, the First Annual Ancient Egyptian Studies resulted in the organization of the Association for the Study of Classical African Civilizations. In the same year Ivan Van Sertima's Nile Valley Civilization group held a major conference. His *Journal of African Civilization* became a major diffusion point in the burgeoning corpus of Afrocentric literature.

In spite of criticism (or maybe because of it), Afrocentrism (or Afrocentricity) was and is spreading. Elementary schools in Atlanta, Washington, D.C., and Detroit, as well as other locales, have initiated new curricula, impelled largely by the demands of parents and students. The African American Baseline Essays, created for the Portland, Oregon, school system, have had a wide impact. Covering a number of disciplines, ranging form history to mathematics, the essays attempt to topple the perceived "Eurocentrism" of the pedagogical status quo. At the same time, Afrocentrism has begun to make itself felt in higher education. The largest Afrocentric program in the United States is housed at Temple University in Philadelphia and has well-over one hundred students under the chairmanship of Molefi Asante.

The African American Studies establishment has awakened to find itself on the defensive and university administrators find their campuses being visited by a stream of Afrocentric speakers invited in by the students. In the early 1970s Orlando Patterson of Harvard, a Jamaican-born sociologist, lambasted the incipient movement as emphasizing only "pageants, pyramids and princes." Twenty years later *Newsweek* carried a feature article on it; Afrocentrism was a menacing exotic growth emanating from the bowels of urban America, rapping out a lyric of Black primacy and rapping ancient history on the head. Many Whites and not a few African Americans saw it as dangerous. In 1994 the Manhattan Institute, a public policy forum, published *Alternatives to Afrocentrism*, a collection of highly critical essays by, among others, Lefkowitz, Gerald Early, Stanley Crouch, Wilson Moses, and Frank Yurco. Early, an African American, has been especially vitriolic, dismissing Afrocentrism as just another North American experiment in "group therapy," intellectual fast food for his less sophisticated brethren.

Lefkowitz says that her own combat with Afrocentrism began after a visit to Wellesley in the early 1990s by the longtime Afrocentrist Yosef Ben-Jochannan. Given this experience and subsequent ones, the Wellesley professor advises: "University administrators ought to ask whether we need courses in flat-earth theory - or Afrocentric ancient history - even if someone is prepared to teach them." This assumes an equivalence between flat earth theory and all Afrocentrism, a simplistic assumption, at best. Some of Afrocentrism's detractors connect it with everything from anti-Americanism to anti-Semitism. True, among some of its proponents these elements are all too much in evidence. Doctrines of "Sun People" and "Ice People" have emerged that simply reverse the Manichean duality of the dominant White mindset and spit it back. *Melanism*, the doctrine that this pigment confers superior intelligence on Blacks, has been propounded, as have theories too numerous to mention, which connect the origin of Blacks with the Lost Continent of *Mu or Muria* , a kind of sepia version of Atlantis. Indeed, like former Utopians, many tendencies branch off and make the transition from the tired Profane History of this world (and the political battles it calls for) to millenarian Never Lands which exist outside the American racial nightmare.

Many of Afrocentrism's critics have chosen to battle these straw men (and women). However, "Afrocentrists do not want," according to Asante, "to replace Greece with Egypt. They want a proper recognition of African civilization." Afrocentrism "is not, nor can it be based on biological determinism." The movement is open to "anyone willing to submit to the discipline of learning the concepts and methods ...... The question is not whether or not Cleopatra was Black - Asante argues that she was not - but about "a proper recognition of African civilization." Maulana Karenga uses the term "Afrocentricity" to avoid any perception that it has aims equivalent to the

"Eurocentrism" it seeks to replace. In seeking to delimit it, he has encouraged its adherents to be autocratical. They must not "promote a static, monolithic and unreal concept of African culture which denies or diminishes its dynamic and diverse character." They must also not "overfocus on the Continental African past at the expense of recognizing the African American past and present as central to and constitutive of African culture and the Afrocentric enterprise."

Aftocentrism attracts attention in a way that new theories of the diffusion of the Indo- European languages do not. Part of this is due to the fact that Afrocentrism lends itself to a political vision. Many of its opponents, from Arthur Schlesinger to Dinesh D'Souza, see it as the historiographical groundwork for Black separatism. As it filters into the academy, it increasingly influences young African Americans who will be the leaders of tomorrow. In addition, as it filters into formerly white temples of learning, it acquires legitimacy and funding which make it harder to uproot as time progresses. To its myriad enemies, it, Hydra-like, seems to acquire new heads and new strength. Some of these new heads are White and within the Ivy League. Chief among them is Martin Bernal of Cornell. He argued that until the eighteenth century Western Europeans had seen the origins of Greek civilization in Egyptian and Phoenician colonization. In the nineteenth century this "Ancient Model" was dropped in favor of one which attributed the wellsprings of classical Greek civilization to hardy (and quite White) northerners cascading down the Balkans. Bernal labels this formulation the "Aryan Model." In it the African and Semitic roots of the West could be blotted out. Racism and anti-Semitism had triumphed, if only for a time.

Bemal's second volume of *Black Athena* was published in 1991 and it still causing fallout half-a-decade later. Indeed, cyberspace is whizzing with e-mailed debates between the twin peaks of the (White) debate on Afrocentrism. Lefkowitz and a colleague, Guy Rogers, have added fuel to the fire by editing a rather ponderous tome entitled *Black Athena Revisited* in which a wide variety of scholars hammer away at Bemal's central theses. Much of it has been heard before; much of it needs to be very seriously debated. Much of it is arcane and makes one wonder why all the media hype surrounding arguments about people who have been dead for at least twenty-five hundred years. For instance, Frank Yurco, the Egyptologist, tackles Black Athena herself and holds that Bemal's claim that the Hellenic goddess of wisdom sprang from an Egyptian prototype, Neit, is nonsense. Yurco assures us, at one point, that "H is a strongly voiced phoneme in Egypto-Coptic.. .[also] Greek theta does not exist in Egypto-Coptic, but it would have to derive from the final t in Egyptian Hwt ." Not really the kind of thing most people, even academics, discuss at parties. It is of even less concern to the "Boyz in the Hood." So why now is this "hot stuff"? Lefkowitz is invited to speak on National Public Radio and is defended by George Will, but the recent discovery of the complex relationship between the Germanic languages and the Slavic and Celtic groups won't get five minutes or five pages in the media. The issue is race. The present wrangles have two parts: the relationship between "Black" Africa and Egypt, and the relationship between Egypt and Greece. The first is primary; the issue of Egypt's relation to Greece only takes on interest (and color) when the issue of who the ancient Egyptian actually were" comes into play.

The assertion that the Egyptians were "Black" raises hackles. The three writers that deal with race in the Lefkowitz/Rogers collection go to considerable lengths to prove that "Blacks," however defined, are not part of the story. Indeed, Glen Bowersock, reviewing *Not Out of Africa* in the *New York Times,* had already questioned "why Egyptian origins or influences should be linked with Africans at all, except in the simple-minded geographical sense." This is the heart of the matter. It has bedeviled Western scholars for over one-hundred and fifty years and is still not resolved. Although in the nineteenth century Sir Richard Burton referred to modern Egyptians as "whitewashed niggers," and Sir Flinders Petrie referred to their ancient ancestors as being of "course mulatto stock," neither of these formulations serve to give an agreeable pedigree to the precursors of Western civilization. Indeed, it was for this reason that Giuseppe Sergi, an Italian anthropologist overcame the problem in the 1880s by divining that the ancient Egyptians were dark - sometimes very dark - Caucasians. He labeled his group Hamites and placed them at the intersection of Africa and Asia. Later anthropologists theorized a Hamitic or series of Hamitic languages. By the 1920s the American anthropologist, C. G. Seligman, wrote that any signs of "civilization" in Africa were the products of the penetration of these incomparable bearers of culture. A few years later, Alfred Rosenberg, chief Nazi Party ideologue, could confidently claim Egypt's ruling class for Europe's peoples - and their Aryan branch at that. By the 1960s, however, the "Hamitic Hypothesis" had fallen from grace as the established orthodoxy. The linguist Joseph Greenberg demonstrated that the "Hamitic" languages were a chimera; no such unified group could be found. The people called "Hamites" were found to belong to differing language families. As the linguistic foundations for the hypothesis fell away, so too did the idea of a conquering "Hamitic Race."

At least until *Black Athena Revisited* . On the whole, the book hedges on the race issue. Guy Rogers says, in summation that "It would be inaccurate to describe the ancient Egyptians as either black or white; the population of ancient Egypt was one of mixed pigmentation." The assertion is mild, but in the land of Colin Powell it seems more disingenuous than myopic. We live in a society of races, which few classicists have expressed any desire to declassify. W. E. B. Du Bois was right when he said: "We cannot if we are sane, divide the world into whites, yellows, and blacks, and then call blacks white." He might have said that it would be equally as strange to call them "Mediterranean," "Hamitic," or a hundred other euphemisms. One assumes that these various authors in *Black Athena Revisited* have seen, if not met, an African American. And here lies the rub - the very catholicity of the term "Black" in the North American context. The "social "construction of race in America does not rely on skin color. "African Americans," as Asante notes, " constitute the most heterogeneous group in the United States biologically, but perhaps one of the most homogeneous socially." Hypodescent, the "One Drop Rule," has molded and still molds discussions "Blackness." And, it is still maintained. As Wilson Moses points out, "Even today, this ... reasoning remains the basis for classifying appreciable numbers of people as 'black' despite their blue eyes and blond hair." While Cheikh Anta Diop did argue for a West African phenotype for the ancient Egyptians, leading Afrocentrists do not insist upon it. In fact they are quiet explicit. Karenga notes that it "is ... playing Europe's racial game to concede that Egyptians are white or Asian if they don't took like a Eurocentric version of a West African." Furthermore, "Ethiopians and Somalis, perhaps, resemble the ancient Egyptians and ancient Nubians more than any other peoples and they are, even by Eurocentric standards, African." Unless we revive the hoary "Hamitic" Myth, they are.

One need not argue that the ancestors of African Americans rafted to the Americas on papyrus boats to make the Afrocentrists' point. The issue is that if they had "Black" African ancestry, it would clearly place them in a subordinate caste in the United States. Or, as Wilson Moses has put it, "In fact many of the Pharaohs, if transplanted across time and onto the Chattanooga Choo-Choo in 1945, would have a hard time obtaining a Pullman berth or being seated in a dining car." It might be pointed out that the ancient Egypt did not see themselves as "Caucasoid" or "Negroid." The issue of imposing our racial taxonomies on the ancient Egyptians is a specious one. To call the Hittites or the Trocharians "Indo-Europeans" is to impose terminology on peoples who never themselves used it. The process of classifying and aggregating is well-known to most social scientists - witness the evolution of the 1970s ethnic neologism "Hispanic."

For those anti-Afrocentrists truly concerned with the *Black* in *Black Athena* , there is a way out. One of the writers in the attack on Bernal has it. Not only were the ancient Egyptians not Black, their nearest relatives are Europeans: "It is obvious that both the Predynastic and Late Dynastic Egyptians are more closely related to the European cluster than they are to any of the other major regional clusters in the world." In one fell swoop, he drives a stake through the heart of Bernal's argument, those of the Afrocentrists, and not a few Africanists. Relying on skulls, but not blood groupings or DNA, Loring Brace, an anthropologist at the University of Michigan, tells us that heads do talk and that the ancient Egyptians were closer, at least head-wise, to Germans and Danes than they were to Somalis, Ethiopians, Nubians or Berbers. He dismisses the term "race" and then revives it cleverly disguised within the term "cluster." There are several of these; the two of most interest to him just happen to be the "European" and the "African." And the Egyptians definitely belong with the former. Brace' s article is by far the longest and most detailed of the three in the book that deal with specifically with race. It would also vindicate much late nineteenth century racial thought on the "Egyptian Question." One of the authors in *Black Athena Revisited*, Kathryn Bard, does note that some craniometry is pretty old-fashioned. The dean of African-American classicists, Frank Snowden, in his contribution, advises Afrocentrists to give up Egypt and focus on Nubia as the first great Black civilization. Brace's contribution, far more radical than it seems at first glance, would deny even this concession. Nubians, like the Egyptians, are not part of the African head cluster. Brace's argument is admittedly clever, for it avoids any claims that might arise based on the American "One Drop Rule." The Egyptians and their neighbors to the south in Nubia and the Horn are, according to a series of impressive cranial genealogies, adaptations to climate. And the African "cluster" is not in the mix; the ancient Egyptians were people with European skulls whose epidermises gradually adapted to the rigors of a subtropical sun.

Of course, Dr. Brace is not the final word. The field of physical anthropology has progressed somewhat beyond the phrenology and craniometry of the nineteenth century. Luigi Luca Cavalli-Sforza, to many the present authority in the field, has said that we must look to gene frequencies, blood groupings and a host of other data before we construct our "racial" genealogies. *Homo sapiens* has had the annoying habit of being able to interbreed; unlike Brace, Cavalli-Sforza believes that the population of the Horn of Africa is clearly the result of a fusion of black African and non-African elements. The Italian geneticist, a former Princeton professor and one of the authors of the Human Genome Project, is hardly a radical in matters racial. At the same time, he, more than some of his American confrerès, is willing to admit to the infinite variety of human experience and the human hybridity that may have been the past of the race and which may be its future.

Where "race" has been legally enforced for over nine generations, we must take it, however socially constructed, very seriously. And here is the both the hope and the warning. Lefkowitz, the scholar, acknowledges that "If you go by the American 'one-drop rule,' the Egyptians would be black." In spite of any craniofacial legerdemain, the Egyptians and their neighbors to the south were "people of color." Hopefully, the sterile debate on whether Northeastern Africa was really within or without Africa will soon be closed. In the late 1980s an Ethiopian student, Mulugeta Seraw, was stomped to death by a group of skinheads in Portland, Oregon. They crushed his skull. Dr. Brace's measurements were irrelevant.

Acknowledgments

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